



# KAMPALA UGANDA

BY EDWIN S. MUNGER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
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# RELATIONAL PATTERNS OF KAMPALA, UGANDA

*By*

EDWIN S. MUNGER, PH.D.

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## PREFACE

Nearly all of the fieldwork for this monograph was done on a Fulbright Research Grant. The Fulbright idea became legislation through the inspiration of Senator J. William Fulbright. In my case it was carried through by Dean Robert M. Strozier, of the University of Chicago; Mr. David B. Wodlinger, of the Institute of International Education; Dr. Walter Johnson, of the Board of Foreign Scholarships; and the London Fulbright office, headed by Mr. Alan Pifer, Miss Monica Powell, and Mr. Geoffrey Watt. Mr. Walter Adams and Mr. P. F. Vowles, both of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, took up the British end of the exchange and smoothed numerous snags arising from my being the first "Fulbrighter" to go to a British colony. Mr. Bernard de Bunsen, Principal of Makerere College, and Professor Kenneth Baker, of its Department of Geography, provided a professional home, while Mr. Victor Ford lent us his private home when he was away on leave in Britain.

Mr. Walter S. Rogers, Director, and the Trustees of the Institute of Current World Affairs, while primarily concerned with providing opportunities to expand my broader, long-term study of Africa south of the Sahara, generously arranged for time and support to complete the writing of this monograph.

Field mapping assistance was given by Mr. William Kajubi and by Mr. W. J. Mbogua, special, advanced geography students at Makerere College. Mr. Justin Seng'endo-Zake, Principal of Aggrey Memorial School near Kampala, contributed manuscript suggestions in Chicago.

Professors Robert S. Platt and Chauncy D. Harris, of the Department of Geography, University of Chicago, made helpful comments on the manuscript.

Elizabeth Munger did most of the drafting. She has been an invaluable companion through all sorts of African traveling and a thoughtful critic as well.

To all these people, and to many others who contributed in large or small ways to this study, go my sincere thanks and appreciation.

The citizens of Kampala--African, European, and Asian--were kind and hospitable in every way. My nine months with them are remembered with the greatest pleasure.

Chicago, Illinois  
August, 1951

Edwin S. Munger

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## INTRODUCTION

### Viewpoint

A glance at the Table of Contents will show that this is a study of Kampala and its relationships with a series of larger areas, most of which are units having political expression. This emphasis is both deliberate and important.

Today there is a powerful school of thought, particularly in the social sciences, which decries any line of investigation or action that takes what are described as "artificial political limits" for an areal base. Such criticism has developed as a wise and necessary reaction to a widespread overemphasis on purely political division in the thinking of students, governments, and judicial bodies.

Africa is an outstanding example of a continent carved into neat-appearing political segments with a shocking disregard of sociological and physical facts. Division of the one million members of the Ewe tribe--with their uniform language, background, and culture--among the countries of French Togoland, British Togoland, and the Gold Coast; the Gambia, with no political hinterland; the Portuguese enclave of Cabinda; and the lack of a satisfactory trade outlet for Northern and Southern Rhodesia--all spring to mind as examples. Macmillan puts it even more strongly when he says that in the length and breadth of Africa there is scarcely an international boundary that does not cut some tribe in half.<sup>1</sup>

Substantial progress has been made toward avoiding the creation of such anomalies: first in the Versailles peace talks, when consideration was given to ethnic unity, but such considerations frequently lost out to political

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<sup>1</sup>W. M. Macmillan, Africa Emergent (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1938), p. 392.

expedience; and with more effect at the present time by the United Nations. The more realistic approach is also being manifested in the organization of textbooks, in university courses, and in the business world. As a result, people are beginning to think in terms of the Amazon Basin, the Pacific Northwest, the Tennessee Valley, the steel mills of Europe, water potentialities of the Nile, and political units such as Benelux and European economic union.

However, this line of thought carried too far can lead into the very trap of fallacious thinking it seeks to avoid. In Africa, Nigeria is an outstanding example, for it is purely a political creation, finally bound together in 1914 from three diverse regions. The advanced Mohammedan pastoral states of the north had economic, religious, and cultural ties across the desert to the Near East. From the southwest were added the Yoruba city-states of Negro people living from trade along the coast and shifting cultivation. The southeastern part of the new country included the Ibo and other tribes with only rudimentary forms of village government and a generally low level of development by Western standards. The contrast of the arid lands of the north with the savanna of central Nigeria and with the dense, coastal rain forest of the south interlaced with creeks is striking indeed. Child of politics and historical accident, Nigeria has today a national cohesion above mere politics and is proceeding rapidly toward becoming a British dominion. Its inhabitants are set apart from the neighboring French-governed people by a wide language-culture gap. Its economy is geared with that of the British Commonwealth. Examples from Uganda and East Africa have been left to be developed in the following pages. So it is that the arbitrary movement of a pencil across the map of Africa in a guarded foreign office a century ago has come to have permanent economic and cultural significance.

The most productive study of peoples, countries, or regions acknowledges political boundaries where they have real significance and disregards them when they cease to have more than a nominal effect. In this study the reader will find examples of political lines being all-important in ways and

fields far from the ken of government, along with other similar lines of little significance, sometimes even in the affairs of government.

### Scope of Study

The aim of this study is an understanding of the town of Kampala through examination of its functions and its relationships with the world outside its urban area. Investigation is restricted for the most part to the physical, economic, and cultural facts and ideas which woven together form the web of the town's external relationships.

It is not an enumeration of jigsaw bits of fact that is sought, but the completion of a total picture that will reveal broad relational patterns. One objective that is part of the whole may be summed up in the question: To what extent do or do not varied geographic relationships of Kampala coincide with existing political boundaries? The answers to that question reveal certain anomalies and economically undesirable situations that may bear improvement.

Relationship problems that are easiest to deal with are those which, first, are concerned with physical facts; and, secondly, in the case of Uganda, those which deal with the activities of the European population. A special effort has been made throughout this study to consider difficult and poorly known relationships of an intangible nature--most of all those involving the African majority and Asian minority. The reader is forewarned that there have been unavoidable situations where a consensus of intelligent guesses is as near as anyone can come to the truth. In Africa, no less than elsewhere, this can be deplored; but governments must function regardless of the presence or absence of some known facts. In a number of instances it has been possible for the writer to collect and present original data.

Such conventional areas of geographic investigation as early history, geology, climatology, vegetation, ethnography, and others are covered only for brief orientation except where they have specific bearing on a particular problem.

The scope of the study is limited to the outgoing relationships of

Kampala. The incoming influences are myriad. Politically, the rise of nationalism in West Africa and its spread would be important. The whole process of Westernization and encroachment of technology, widespread changes in local agriculture and economy--indeed, almost every thread in the fabric of the local society--would be involved.

The question may be asked: Why concentrate on outgoing influences if the incoming influences are so important? In the first place, the impact of the Western world has been intensively studied in many African societies and in many localities. Much more needs to be known, but the sum of knowledge is being added to daily in this respect. In the future the impact of the West on a small village in Dahomey or Angola or Uganda (through missionaries and explorers, for instance) is going to be less and less direct from abroad and more and more from abroad to a center in Africa which acts as a relay station to the rural countryside. This filtering is most noticeable in South Africa, where ideas permeating Swaziland or Basutoland are very definitely distilled from South African reaction (both white and educated African) to the outside world--although the temporal lag between the importation of an idea from Europe and its spread out from the white-dominated areas of South Africa has sometimes been a century. The writer in his study of Monrovia and its functional relationships with the rest of Liberia<sup>1</sup> first observed this channeling through not only a physical center but also through a cultural one made up of a definite culture group. Uganda does not have an outwardly distinct culture group such as the Americo-Liberians, but the same trend is discernible.

The effects of a principal town on its region are an indirect reflection of influences from the outside on the town itself. Television, radio, and widely read newspapers can catapult ideas into the rural parts of a region without necessarily passing through urban centers. For the case at hand,

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<sup>1</sup>Edwin S. Munger, "Monrovia: An Urban Study" (Unpublished M.S. dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Chicago, 1948).

in the absence of such mass media, world impact on rural areas in Uganda is channeled through Kampala. The degree to which ideas and material changes are percolated from Kampala offers a measure of the extent to which they are absorbed in the town itself. Further, the outgoing relationships of a principal town often give excellent clues to the character of the entire region.

Outgoing relationships of Kampala appear to give an understanding of its functions and to provide criteria by which the town can be distinguished functionally from others and by which changes in the function of the town over various periods of time can be recognized. In most instances it is the outgoing rather than the incoming relationships, insofar as they can be separated, that are most important in giving character to a town.

Some methodological concepts and conclusions in this relational study may have value for urban or political studies generally; but the monograph is frankly exploratory.

### Presentation

The maps, diagrams, and pictures are an integral part of this study. To a large extent the text is intended to supplement them in reverse of the usual arrangement.

An attempt has been made to present a substantial part of the material in visual form. Some of the maps are simple cartographic presentations of ideas and statistics. Others, such as the one dealing with religions, are to be read in detail in lieu of a lengthy word description.

Many types of facts are available in profusion, but the expression of ideas--particularly those associated with the social sciences--occasionally lack statistical support and are, therefore, much more subjective. In seeking a synthesis as an end result, one is prone to generalize excessively. A large amount of raw material was gathered, and part of it has been retained in the final presentation in order to show actual details. The distribution of sales of Standard Vanguard and Austin cars is a minor point in itself but is included as one example of the type of "facts" from which generalizations have been

drawn. It has not been practicable to include in the finished study maps of all distributions utilized.

### Sources of Information and Bibliography

Field work has been the principal method of building up the picture of various relationships. Nine months were spent in East Africa divided evenly between time at Makerere College on the outskirts of Kampala and time on reconnaissance along and across the various border areas in countries neighboring Uganda. Figure 1 shows areas of the writer's reconnaissance in Africa. All the studies in East Africa contributed to some degree to this study, although all were not viewed as essential to its completion.

Around Kampala the searching for information was largely carried on through interviews with responsible people. The accuracy of overall impressions and even of exact information gained in this way far surpassed what is available in written form. Almost all aspects of the study demanded inquiry on the spot. The most valuable sources were personal observation and the interviewing of individuals so circumstanced as to be able to provide information and theories from their own or their organizations' experience. Where pertinent, low-paid, illiterate Africans were questioned in Swahili (but more often through interpreters) to gain their ideas of the truth--sometimes more significant, if faulty, than the real truth.

Languages did not prove a barrier although a knowledge of Luganda would have been helpful in some instances such as the one just mentioned. A working knowledge of Swahili, the lingua franca of East Africa, was acquired and, combined with English, allowed reasonable freedom of movement and inquiry in almost all regions.

Despite the length of the bibliography, it was not of great service except in a peripheral way. The most-used library sources were a large number of books and pamphlets collected by the writer. The Uganda Society library in Kampala has a fine collection of Africana and especially Uganda material. The Makerere College library was also useful. Libraries in the

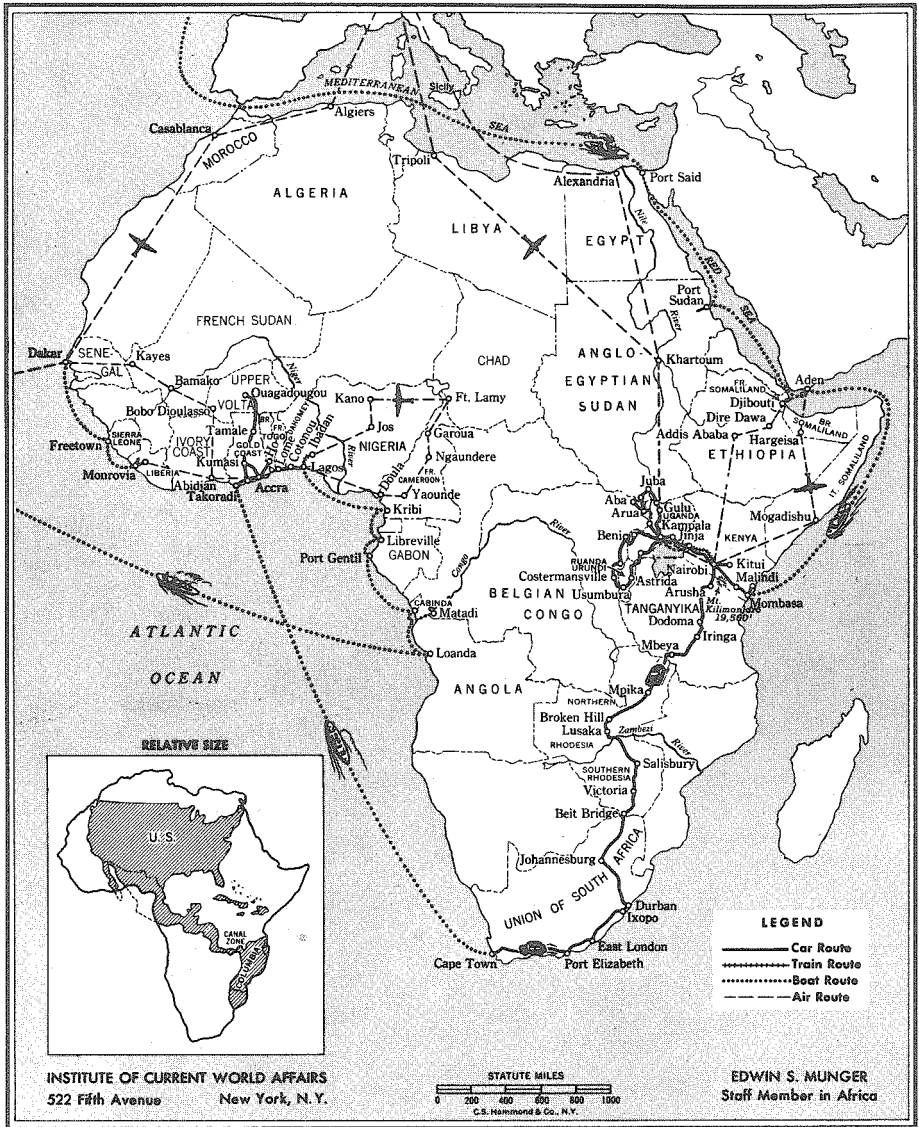


Fig. 1.--Reconnaissance of Africa

University of London, the Library of Congress, the reference files of the American Geographical Society in New York, and the University of Chicago and Northwestern University libraries all furnished various bits of information.

One reason it has been possible to restrict the scope of this study in some directions is the quantity and quality of published work that borders on it. Kampala itself has been discussed from the viewpoint of site and planning by a number of people. Outstanding are the reports of A. E. Mirams in 1929<sup>1</sup> and E. May in 1945.<sup>2</sup> To these may be added the investigations of government departments<sup>3</sup> and of the East African Statistical Department,<sup>4</sup> which have produced detailed results, for the most part on the municipality itself. The ground covered in the foregoing reports will not be retraced in detail, except as necessary to understand immediate points.

The early history of Kampala and Uganda is covered by a wealth of personal reminiscences from the pens of early pioneers. The most notable account is that by Sir Albert Cook.<sup>5</sup> Some of these are included in the bibliography.

Uganda is fortunate to have a well-written, accurate, and detailed general handbook Uganda by Thomas and Scott.<sup>6</sup> Uganda is, as the then Governor Bernard H. Bourdillion pointed out in his introduction, considerably more than a mere handbook, although based on government sources, because the

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<sup>1</sup>A. E. Mirams, Kampala: Town Planning and Development of (2 vols., Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1930).

<sup>2</sup>E. May, Report on the Kampala Extension Scheme Kololo-Naguru (Nairobi: The Government Printer, 1948).

<sup>3</sup>Including: Geological Map of Kampala, 1:5,000, and Geological Map of Mengo District, 1:250,000, published by the Land and Survey Department, Entebbe, 1946.

<sup>4</sup>An example: Uganda Protectorate, "Report on The Enumeration of African Labour, March 1949" (Prepared by the East African Statistical Department, October, 1949). (Mimeographed.)

<sup>5</sup>Sir Albert Cook, Uganda Memories, 1897-1940 (Kampala: Uganda Society, 1945).

<sup>6</sup>H. B. Thomas and Robert Scott, Uganda (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).



authors show an insight into Uganda that is far more rewarding than dry statistics could ever be. The 1935 edition has been out of print for some years, but a recent reprinting (although not brought up to date) is now available. Uganda's agriculture is well covered in a volume edited by J. D. Tothill.<sup>1</sup>

Worthington's A Development Plan for Uganda and the 1948 revision<sup>2</sup> provide a clear picture of the intended course of the Protectorate for the next decade. The Governor accepted the report and revision as a real working outline, and in many speeches reported progress and modifications of the plan.

This study, although representing a different approach to Kampala, benefits from rubbing shoulders with the works just mentioned.

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<sup>1</sup>J. D. Tothill (ed.), Agriculture in Uganda (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

<sup>2</sup>E. B. Worthington, A Development Plan for Uganda [Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1946] and The 1948 Revision of the Plan by Sir Douglas Harris (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1949).

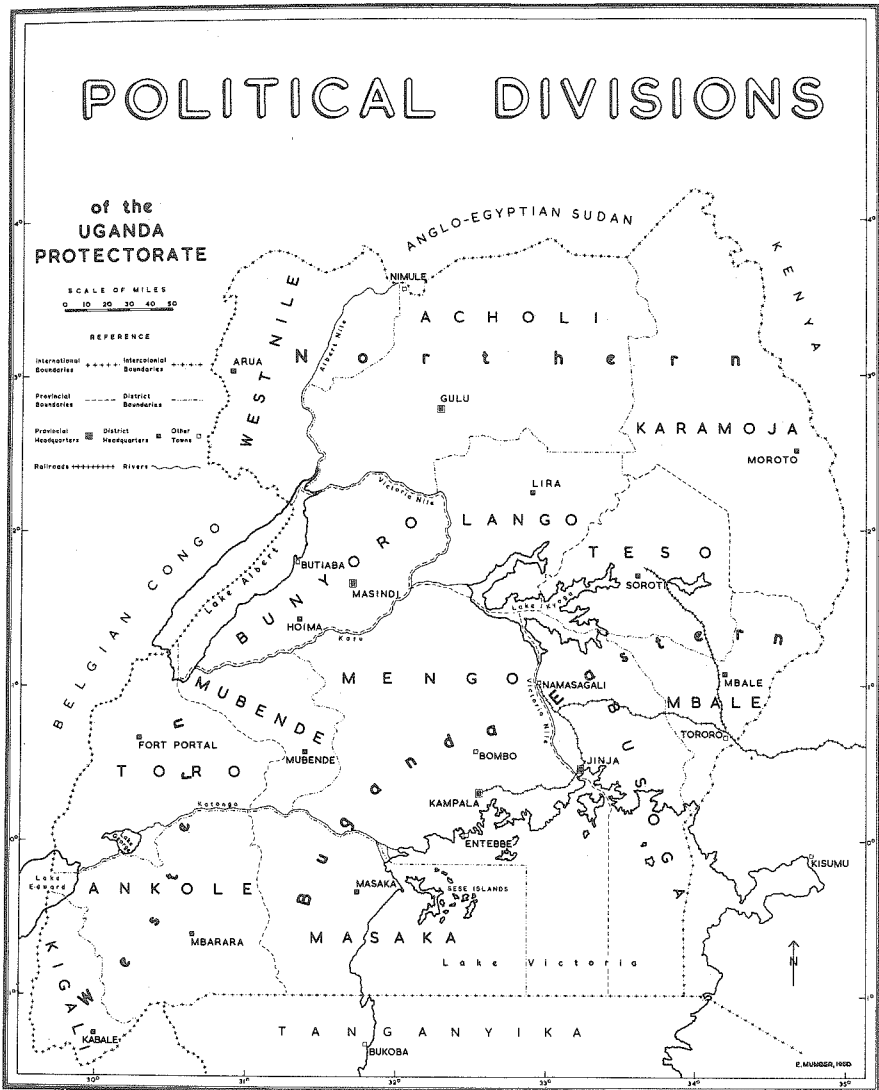


Fig. 2

## CHAPTER I

### KAMPALA

#### General Background

Kampala is the largest and most important town in the Uganda Protectorate. It has a peculiar urban area with two main foci. One is a heterogeneous commercial core surrounded by racially distinct European and Asian residential areas. The second of the foci, one and one-half miles southwest, is the capital of an African kingdom. It has a predominantly African business center around which are African homes. A railway line enters the town from the east down a valley dividing the two main urban clusters. Along the railway is a growing industrial district. Outside the urban area the countryside is densely populated with numerous small African villages.

#### Present function

Trade and transport are Kampala's chief functions. It has a complex series of varied hinterlands extending in some instances beyond the borders of Uganda.<sup>1</sup>

Almost equal to and reinforcing its commercial character is the political influence of Kampala. Mengo, the African urban center, is the official seat of the Kingdom of Buganda,<sup>2</sup> which under an agreement signed in

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<sup>1</sup>The area of Uganda is 93,987 square miles. From that figure may be subtracted 13,610 square miles of open water and 2,470 square miles of swamps. Approximately 3,000 square miles are game reserves.

<sup>2</sup>Briefly, for readers unfamiliar with Bantu prefixes: "ganda" is the root to which are added prefixes, forming "Buganda," the country; "Luganda," the language; "Baganda," the people; "Muganda," an individual; and "kiganda," the adjectival form. "Uganda" is a corrupt combination of the Swahili prefix "u" (translated freely as "the country of") with the Bantu root, which name came to be applied to the whole area of the Protectorate. Buganda is just one province of Uganda.

1900<sup>1</sup> has administrative, legislative, and judicial powers over an area comprising one-fifth of Uganda. Kampala is also on occasion the effective seat of the whole British administration, although Entebbe is the Protectorate capital.

Kampala is the site of eighteen religious headquarters, eight of which have jurisdiction extending outside of Uganda.

Finally, Kampala is the principal center of higher education in all of East Africa.

### History

Continuous occupation of the site of "Greater Kampala" dates from about 1875, although there were undoubtedly ephemeral villages on parts of the area for centuries previous.<sup>2</sup> Between 1862 and 1890, occasional intrepid explorers--notably Speke, Baker, and Stanley--and both Catholic and Protestant missionaries visited Uganda. In 1890 Captain F. D. Lugard arrived at Mengo, the African capital, and established a camp on a small hill not far from what is now the center of Kampala.<sup>3</sup>

The site proved unhealthy, so three years later, when Sir Gerald Portal arrived to set up a governmental headquarters, he chose a more salubrious spot on a peninsula running into Lake Victoria twenty miles from Kampala--the place named Entebbe, or Ntebe, meaning "stool" or "seat."

Traders continued to choose Kampala as a location, and soon the small hill of Lugard's initial camp was outgrown. Building commenced on larger Nakesero Hill in 1905, the original name going along with the growing

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<sup>1</sup> A good general account is J. V. Wild, The Story of the Uganda Agreement (Nairobi: The Eagle Press, 1950).

<sup>2</sup> Conversation with Mr. Roland Oliver, of the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies.

<sup>3</sup> A controversy has developed over the origin of the name. One version holds that it is derived from the Luganda word mpala for the antelope known today as the impala and that the Kabakas (title of the traditional Baganda ruler, usually translated as "king") of the late nineteenth century traditionally grazed their animals on the hill later occupied by Lugard's camp.

community. The first site is now referred to as Old Kampala. The expansion of the town has swallowed up Old Kampala, which long ago became almost completely contiguous with the old African capital of Mengo, making them both parts of the greater town.

In the early days, no less than now, the need for adequate transportation was felt. The Uganda Railway was started in a general atmosphere of empire expansion strongly mixed with religious fervor and a desire to put an end to the slave trade. At great cost it was first laid from Mombasa to Nairobi (that metropolis owes its start to a railway construction camp), then in 1902 extended to Kisumu to make steamer connections with Lake Victoria ports. In 1929 a northern branch of the railroad was built from Eldoret to Jinja and in the next year to Kampala. There the railhead has remained despite early and repeated plans to extend it both northward and westward. Current world and particularly American demands for strategic raw materials may be the stimulus needed to push it westward most of the way to the Belgian Congo border.

#### Contemporary background

Uganda is an African country and is likely to remain so. The British government has been extremely careful in living up to the letter and the spirit of the agreement they made with the Baganda people. The matter of mailo lands is an example. We need not go into a discussion of their origin and operation except to say that they represent a form of individual land ownership (extremely rare in Africa) that is the closest African approach to Western land-holding philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Only in special instances, and then with the approval of the Great Lukiko (Buganda "parliament") and the Governor,

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<sup>1</sup>Detailed accounts are available in: H. B. Thomas and H. E. Spencer, A History of Uganda Land and Surveys and of the Uganda Land and Survey Department (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1938); L. P. Mair, "Baganda Land Tenure," Africa, VI (April, 1933), 187-205; L. P. Mair, "Modern Developments in African Land Tenure: An Aspect of Culture Change," Africa, XVIII (July, 1948), 184-189; and C. K. Meek, Land Law and Custom in the Colonies (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1949).

can this land be alienated to non-Africans. Keeping records of individual titles has been an enormous task, and even today the surveyors are thousands of cases behind. In the future some changes may have to be made to avoid fragmentation into too-small holdings and to maintain operational units of economical size.

British attitude toward development of the Baganda and the other tribes of the Protectorate has never been stated with more understanding than in the words of the first post-World War II Governor, John Hathorn Hall, which may be quoted in part:

What has been written so far presupposes the continuance in Uganda of a system of peasant agriculture based primarily upon small individual holdings; and it might be well at this stage to examine this premise because it is a vital and limiting factor in any discussion of the potential wealth of the territory. There is little or no doubt that Uganda, with its rich soil, normally ample rainfall, and vast lakes, could be more efficiently and profitably developed by a system of large estates or concessions owned and operated by Europeans. That is axiomatic. But to adopt such a system in Uganda would be directly opposed to the established policy which aims at developing Uganda for the benefit, not of imported Europeans or Asians, but of its African population. By parcelling out Uganda into large European estates based upon optimum economic units, or by conceding fishing rights over Uganda's lakes to European controlled companies, there is no doubt that greater wealth would be produced, and would be produced more quickly. It is possible also that a larger African population could by this means be maintained. But this would create problems far more intractable than any it would solve. The cultivable land and, it is submitted, the lakes also, are held in trust for the Africans, and in accordance with the accepted policy of the government no large areas of land should be alienated to non-Africans unless it can be shown that such alienation will promote the economic or social welfare of the inhabitants of the territory.<sup>1</sup>

### Physical setting

The geology of Uganda,<sup>2</sup> like that of the African continent as a whole, is dominated by the Pre-Cambrian basement complex. Kampala lies among these ancient schists, gneisses, quartzites, and limestones.

Near the end of the Cretaceous all of Uganda was peneplained and then uplifted, tilted higher in the east causing the early rivers to flow westerly

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<sup>1</sup> Worthington, *op. cit.*, p. iii, Foreword by the Governor.

<sup>2</sup> A description of the geology of Uganda is contained in K. A. Davies and C. B. Bisset, "The Geology and Mineral Deposits of Uganda," Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, XLV (April-June, 1947), 161-180.

toward the Congo system. It was after this that the great period of diastrophism produced the Ruwenzori Range which now forms the Uganda-Belgian Congo border. The broad, shallow depression of present-day Lake Victoria followed.

During these and other adjustments the peneplain tilted several times, its original surface was eroded and newer levels formed, so that a general flatness but at varying levels with small, even-topped hills is characteristic of much of Uganda. Most of the present-day topography of the country dates from the Pleistocene or later.

Kampala is built on the remnant tops of one of the old peneplains, the hills of the town showing a striking concordance of heights. They are fairly flat on top and have been denuded sufficiently so that slopes are uniformly gentle. Between the reddish ironstone<sup>1</sup> hills were swampy valleys with papyrus, such as typify large areas of Uganda. Here stagnant water long menaced the health of the town until the valleys were drained to form parks, a golf course, and room for expansion of commercial building.

Four important features affect the climate of Kampala: (1) position within "sight" of the equator; (2) elevation of over three thousand feet; (3) presence of the huge fresh-water body of Lake Victoria; and (4) location in the interior. The climate is warm but not hot, wet but with a high percentage of sunshine, and invariably cool in the evening. The Meteorological Department says of Kampala: "Europeans generally find the climate pleasant on first or renewed acquaintance, especially if they have residences on the hills. However, the lack of marked seasonal variation usually becomes enervating after a time."<sup>2</sup>

Figure 3 presents elemental climatological data for Kampala. Uganda is an area of convectional rainfall. The two peaks of precipitation follow, after

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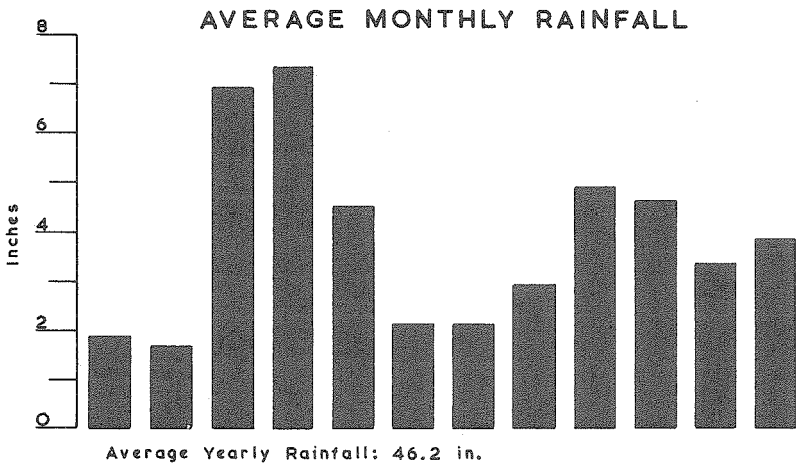
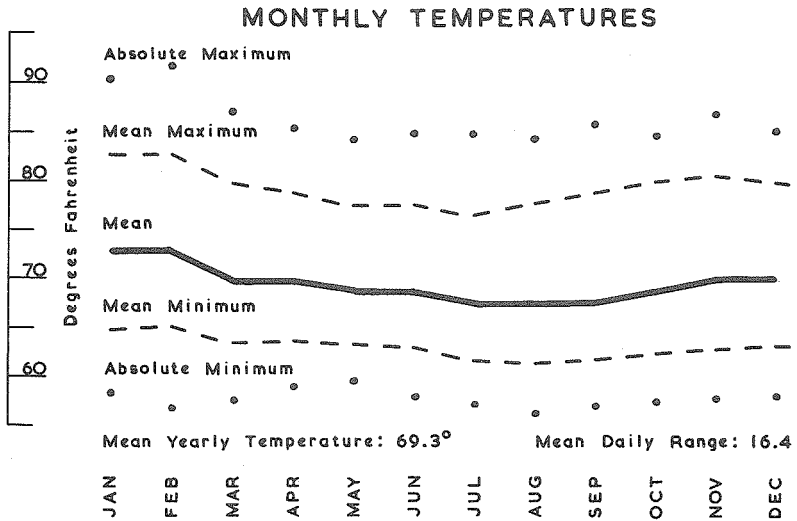
<sup>1</sup>Geologists have come to use this term in preference to "laterite" in this connotation.

<sup>2</sup>East African Meteorological Department, A Note on the Weather at Entebbe and Kampala, Pamphlet Series, No. 5 [Nairobi, 1948]. See Bibliography for further references on climate.

# KAMPALA CLIMATE

## Some General Characteristics

LONGITUDE: 32° 34' E. LATITUDE: 0° 19' N. ALTITUDE: 4,307 FT.



E.M., 1951

Fig. 3



the usual lag, the passing of the sun overhead. Kampala's rainfall is not much affected by cyclonic and monsoonal activity in the Indian Ocean or orographically by the Ruwenzori "Mountains of the Moon," which affect the precipitation of western Uganda. Its continentality is, however, modified by the equalizing influence of the lake.

Traditionally, Kampala has seven main hills, but the number is more magical than actual. They can, however, be assigned quite definite functions. (Compare with Figure 11.) (1) Lugard's Fort is on a small hill that formed the first site and is now the headquarters of the Boy Scouts of Uganda. (2) Mengo Hill is also low and is occupied by the palace of His Highness the Kabaka and buildings of the Buganda government. It is also the focus of the older African residential section. (3) Namirembe Hill is crowned by the Protestant cathedral that is the dominating structure of the town. (4) Rubaga Hill is the Roman Catholic headquarters and is topped by a brick cathedral. (5) Nakesero Hill is the main European residential area and is the most central of all the hills. On its lower southern slopes is the main business section. (6) Makerere Hill is devoted to the University College of East Africa, which bears its name. (7) Mulago Hill is given over to a large government hospital. (8) A shining mosque stands on a hill on the lake side of the town. (9) Kololo Hill has recently been developed as a European and Asian residential area. (10) African homes are being built on Naguru Hill. (11) Nakawa Hill is planned as the location for itinerant labor accommodations. (12) Makindye is a potential European suburb now in its infancy. (13) The tombs of the Kabakas occupy still another hill. As the town expands, other smoothly rounded hills may be incorporated.

### Demography

Greater Kampala has a population of 36,500.<sup>1</sup> The population is increasing rapidly and so is the urban area. Europeans (1,500) are mostly civil

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<sup>1</sup>The writer's estimate as of June, 1950. No exact figures are available for Greater Kampala. See Table 4 for African municipal figures.

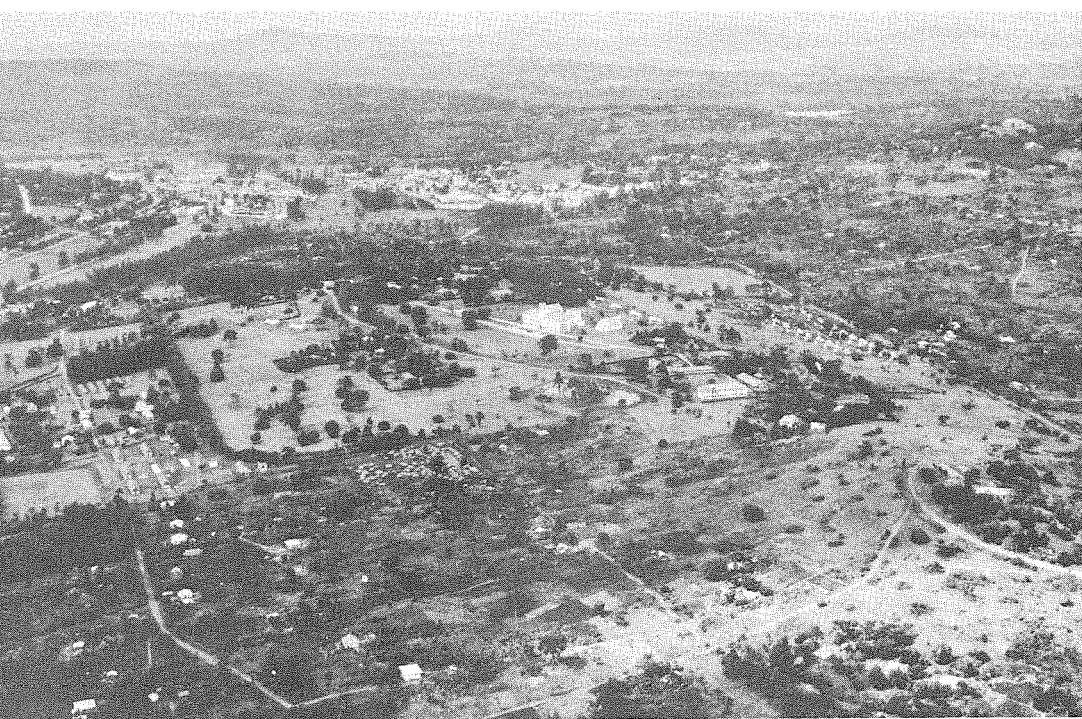


Fig. 4.--Looking northwest at part of Greater Kampala. In the center is the Makerere College administration building. At upper left is the European and Asian business core. The main Asian residential section is at upper center. Mengo village, surrounding the "Kabaka's Lake," is in the upper right.

Fig. 5.--The post office, generally accepted center of town, includes the telegraph and telephone services under a unified administration.



servants or in semi-governmental organizations. Asians (15,000) are concentrated in trade and service activities. Africans (20,000) are either in agricultural pursuits or are low-paid laborers. Exceptions to the last-mentioned are officials of the Buganda government, a few businessmen, teachers, and a considerable clerk class.

Figure 6 illustrates graphically the overwhelming African predominance in the total population of East Africa. Uganda not only has the smallest European population of the three territories but also the smallest Asian total.

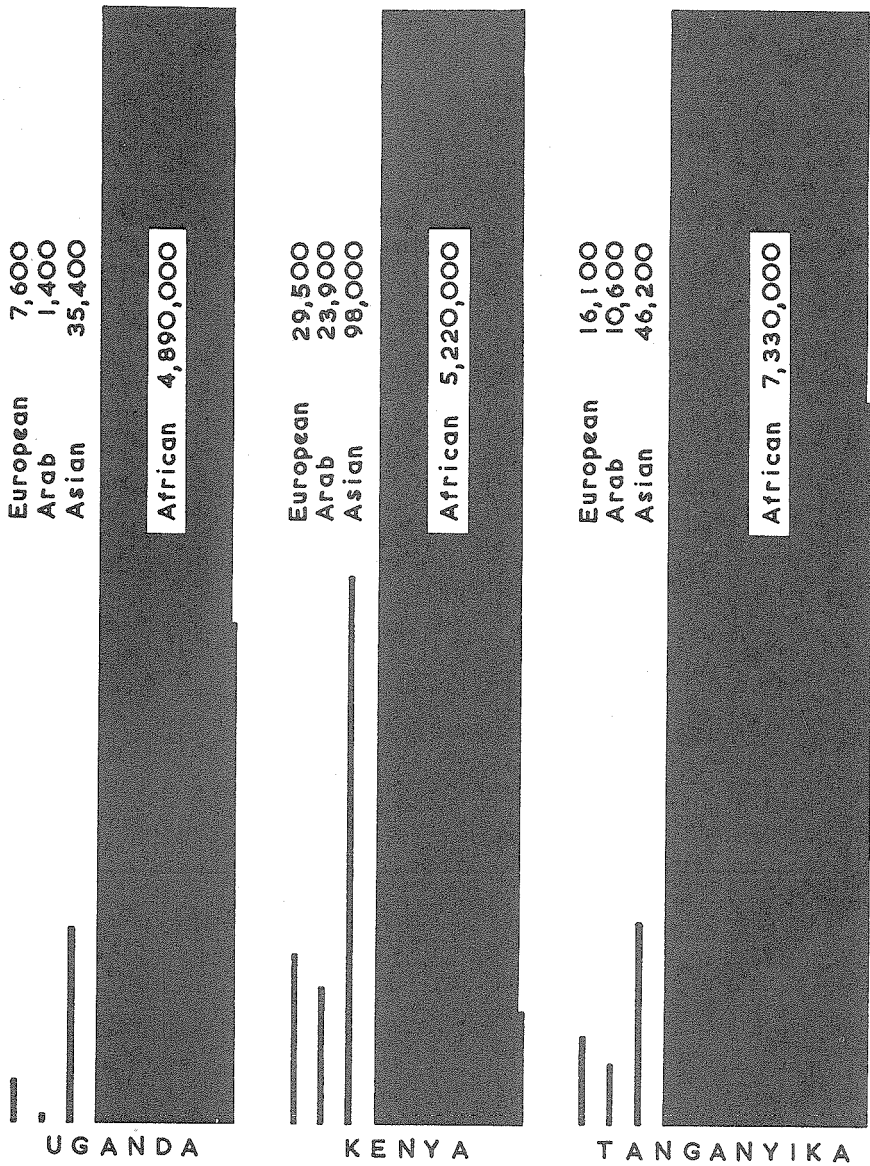
The rate of population increase in Uganda between 1931 and 1948 is shown by Table 1. It shows Uganda's low percentage of Europeans and Indians (at the time of the census this included Pakistanis). It also hints at a shift toward more permanent European settlement in Uganda in the sharply increasing percentage of European women. Since 1948 the European population has probably increased percentagewise faster than any other racial group. In considering all this population data, one should bear in mind that figures are probably most accurate for Europeans, next most reliable for Asians, and least precise for Africans. There is probably an underenumeration of the African total, but the degree is difficult to estimate.

A breakdown by Province in Table 2 shows the concentration of non-African elements in Buganda. However, the construction of the Owen Falls Dam at Jinja is boosting the number of non-Africans in the Eastern Province.

Table 3 breaks down the non-African classification within Buganda and shows the joint concentration in Kampala and Mengo Districts.

The estimated African population of Kampala municipality given in Table 4 is misleading because the boundaries of the municipality proper exclude the majority of Africans living in Greater Kampala. Within the municipality the railway and police lines (or living quarters) provide a substantial part of the total housing. The data on marital status and age groupings show that Africans in the municipality are not stable family groups but are rather

# EAST AFRICA'S MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETIES



(Source: East African Census Bureau, 1948)

Fig. 6

TABLE 1  
NON-AFRICAN CENSUS FIGURES<sup>a</sup> FOR EAST AFRICA<sup>b</sup>

		Territories				
		Uganda			Kenya	Tanganyika
		5/28/31	2/25/48	% Inc.	2/25/48	2/25/48
European	Males . . . .	1,243	3,300	170	15,200	7,900
	Females ..	758	4,300	470	14,300	8,200
	Total . . . .	2,001	7,600	280	29,500	16,100
Indian	Males . . . .	8,517	18,900	120	52,400	24,100
	Females ..	4,509	15,000	230	38,500	20,100
	Total . . . .	13,026	33,900	160	90,000	44,200
Goan	Males . . . .	805	900	10	4,400	1,200
	Females ..	319	600	10	2,700	800
	Total . . . .	1,124	1,500	30	7,100	2,000
Arab	Males . . . .	400	900	130	13,500	6,400
	Females ..	115	500	340	10,400	4,200
	Total . . . .	515	1,400	170	23,900	10,600
Other	Males . . . .	339	400	20	1,500	1,300
	Females ..	262	400	50	1,400	1,200
	Total . . . .	601	800	30	2,900	2,500
Total	Males . . . .	11,304	24,400	120	87,000	40,900
	Females ..	5,963	20,800	250	67,300	34,500
	Total . . . .	17,267	45,200	160	154,300	75,400

<sup>a</sup> Rounded to nearest hundred

<sup>b</sup> Source: East African Census Bureau

TABLE 2  
NON-AFRICAN CENSUS FIGURES FOR UGANDA<sup>a</sup>

		Province				Total
		Buganda	Western	Northern	Eastern	
European	Males . .	1,756	982	141	377	3,256
	Females	2,160	1,708	104	283	4,255
	Total . .	3,916	2,690	245	660	7,511
Indian	Males . .	9,971	1,186	732	6,912	18,801
	Females	7,857	924	571	5,582	14,934
	Total . .	17,828	2,110	1,303	12,494	33,735
Goan	Males . .	627	65	15	164	871
	Females	402	47	10	112	571
	Total . .	1,029	112	25	276	1,442
Arab	Males . .	142	36	76	648	902
	Females	62	10	42	360	474
	Total . .	204	46	118	1,008	1,376
Other	Males . .	164	56	18	143	381
	Females	138	61	20	188	407
	Total . .	302	117	38	331	788
Total	Males . .	12,660	2,325	982	8,244	24,211
	Females	10,619	2,750	747	6,525	20,641
	Total . .	23,279	5,075	1,729	14,769	44,852

<sup>a</sup>Source: East African Census Bureau

Date: February, 1948

TABLE 3

NON-AFRICAN CENSUS FIGURES FOR BUGANDA<sup>a</sup>

	District				Total
	Kampala	Mengo	Masaka	Mubende	
European					
Males ..	664	1,010	61	21	1,756
Females	633	1,481	43	3	2,160
Total ..	1,297	2,491	104	24	3,916
Indian					
Males ..	5,685	3,073	1,033	175	9,971
Females	4,374	2,374	962	147	7,857
Total ..	10,059	5,452	1,995	322	17,828
Goan					
Males ..	375	219	32	1	627
Females	263	127	12	-	402
Total ..	638	346	44	1	1,029
Arab					
Males ..	88	37	17	-	142
Females	44	12	6	-	62
Total ..	132	49	23	-	204
Other					
Males ..	92	61	11	-	164
Females	80	56	2	-	138
Total ..	172	117	13	-	302
Total					
Males ..	6,904	4,405	1,154	197	12,660
Females	5,394	4,050	1,025	150	10,619
Total ..	12,298	8,455	2,179	347	23,279

<sup>a</sup>Source: East African Census Bureau

Date: February, 1948

TABLE 4

ESTIMATED AFRICAN POPULATION OF KAMPALA MUNICIPALITY<sup>a</sup>

		Where Enumerated						Total
		Census <sup>b</sup>	Police Lines	Railway Lines	Kololo	Mulago	Makerere	
Males								
Country of Origin	Uganda	1,478	481	260	1,516	554	2,066	6,355
	Other	622	34	310	363	253	302	1,884
Marital Status	Single	1,228	250	318	1,518	419	1,628	5,361
	Married	863	222	200	354	326	675	2,640
	Widower	9	43	52	7	62	65	238
Age Group	Under 1	5	19	33	22	23	44	146
	1 - 5	8	61	73	75	172	154	543
	6 - 15	83	78	92	152	43	472	920
	16 - 45	1,959	343	254	1,523	536	1,535	6,150
	Over 45	45	14	118	107	33	163	480
Total . . . . .		2,100	515	570	1,879	807	2,368	8,239
Females								
Country of Origin	Uganda	307	293	145	665	415	1,296	3,121
	Other	47	26	162	155	56	99	545
Marital Status	Single	139	100	84	417	275	713	1,728
	Married	203	182	186	370	143	640	1,724
	Widow	12	37	37	33	53	42	214
Age Group	Under 1	1	12	18	27	31	44	133
	1 - 5	12	45	60	70	13	153	353
	6 - 15	22	57	53	102	46	281	561
	16 - 45	309	201	150	541	350	854	2,405
	Over 45	10	4	26	80	31	63	214
Total . . . . .		354	319	307	820	471	1,395	3,666
Total								
Males & Females . . .		2,454	834	877	2,699	1,278	3,763	11,905

<sup>a</sup>Source: East African Census Bureau; Date: June, 1948<sup>b</sup>Enumerated in Non-Native Census, February, 1948



individuals doing particular jobs, in most cases for specific periods of time. The absence of women means usually that wives of the workers are at home on a shamba (usually translated as "farm"), although this may be not many miles from Kampala.

Census materials in the tables are not fully satisfactory but are given here to provide as much background as possible. In the next chapter the problem will be approached subjectively but possibly more accurately in terms of Greater Kampala.

#### Previous studies

The only comprehensive town plan for Kampala is that of Mirams,<sup>1</sup> mentioned in the Introduction. It was completed in February, 1930, and was intended to make "comprehensive provision for the future development of those lands within the township, which are likely to be wanted for use within the next thirty years."<sup>2</sup>

Although he was able to plan only for the township (a small part of the whole urban area), he recognized the need to consider the entire area and to take into account the overall function Kampala might be expected to fulfill. The entire report, comprising 167 pages of text, 45 pictures, and 18 maps, gives a comprehensive view of Kampala and plans for its future as seen twenty years ago. It is to the credit of Mirams' foresight that so many of his plans and predictions have proved accurate. There are minor errors of anticipation: his failure to evaluate the great increase in automobile and truck traffic both within the Protectorate and within the town; and his expectation of a railway line from Kampala to the Congo would probably be as far from realization now as it was twenty years ago if it were not for the American drive to stockpile raw materials, specifically copper from the Kilembe mine in Western Uganda. This also applies to the extension to Bombo. Nor is the location of the Asian hospital as he planned it. But all these are reasonable errors,

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<sup>1</sup> Mirams, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. x.



Fig. 7.--Looking west from the lower slopes of Nakesero Hill. Across the valley is an Asian residential area. Lugard's Fort on Old Kampala Hill is at the left center, and Namirembe Cathedral is at right center.

Fig. 8.--A valley that has been drained, with runoff channelized as shown. Trees are planted to absorb water.



most of them stemming from the unanticipated world depression of the thirties.

Probably the most important provisions of Mirams' plan were those concerned with swamp drainage and malaria control work. Through the efforts of many people these have been continued down to the present time. Nakivubo and Kitante streams have been canalized; swampy areas dried further by planting eucalyptus trees as Mirams recommended. Shortage of firewood has been intensified rather than solved, as he expected, in ten years, but that fact only reinforces his judgment in planting trees usable for firewood. A sum of two thousand pounds sterling was budgeted to continue swamp work in the Kampala area during 1950.<sup>1</sup> Kampala's growth has been so rapid that fuel has been a continuing supply problem. A five-thousand-acre tract near Kampala was set aside in 1947 as a eucalyptus fuel plantation.<sup>2</sup>

Another report was prepared in 1947 by Mr. E. May, a private architect and town planner, at the request of the Uganda government for a plan for the development of the Kololo-Naguru area and the Nakawa settlement for itinerant labor.<sup>3</sup> This was a rather detailed frame of reference and May found it desirable from his point of view to "extend . . . consideration in several respects to a far larger area, an organism which might be termed 'Greater Kampala.'"<sup>4</sup> May's report did not meet with full government approval, one objection being the broadening of the frame of reference.

In drawing up his scheme, May made certain assumptions as to the future function of Kampala which are of interest in this study. He said:

Many people held the view that for a long time to come Kampala would remain nothing but the dominating and marketing center for a large agricultural belt.

My view, from the commencement of this work, was that consider-

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<sup>1</sup> Uganda Protectorate, Memorandum on 1950 Draft Estimates as Submitted to the Legislative Council on the 14th December 1949 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1949), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Forest Department for the Year ended 31st December, 1947 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1948), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> May, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

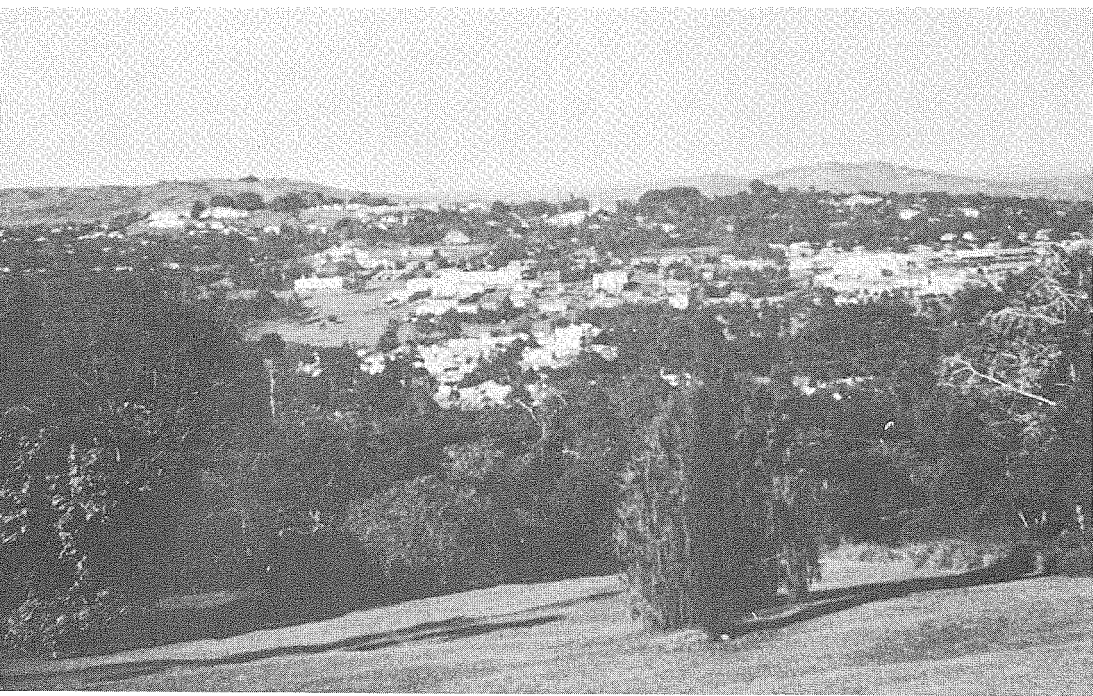


Fig. 9.--View eastward across Nakesero Hill and European residences to distant hills with uniform elevation.

Fig. 10.--Department store at left is on the south side of Kampala Road in the heterogeneous commercial core. The broad avenue allows center parking.



able industrial development was bound to come within our generation, and the facts have so far borne out my predictions. . . . The hydroelectric scheme utilizing the Nile Falls near Jinja will give great impetus for Kampala's industrialization.<sup>1</sup>

May looked at his Kololo-Naguru plans as providing for "dormitory towns, whose population will, for the greater part, be employed outside the area covered by the development scheme . . ."<sup>2</sup>

In discussing the reluctance of Asian artisans to buy available residential plots on Kololo because it was some distance from the badly overcrowded bazaar area, the Survey, Land and Mines Department commented: "Emphasis must be laid upon the fact that extension is now only possible outside the area recognized as 'Kampala' and on the newly planned areas of Kololo. . . . The supply of residential sites is otherwise exhausted."<sup>3</sup>

The bulk of May's report concerns itself with detailed plans for developing African housing, parks, and business and industrial areas, which are not the concern of this study.

In the light of rapidly expanding urban centers in Uganda, the government has wisely employed a town planner on a full-time basis.

#### Problems of Areal Delimitation

In a study dealing with a town and its relationships, it is first necessary to decide what constitutes the town. The municipal boundaries are not a realistic demarcation of the urban organism of Kampala in all its phases. Those people who drew the boundaries realized that they were distinctly artificial, but political and legal considerations had to override physical and sociological facts.

Most of the available information on Kampala is based on the municipality, sometimes plus small additional areas, and in some cases on the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Survey, Land and Mines Department for the Year ended 31st December, 1947 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1949, p. 12. (Reports, etc., in Africa are often published late. Two years behind on annual reports is common.)

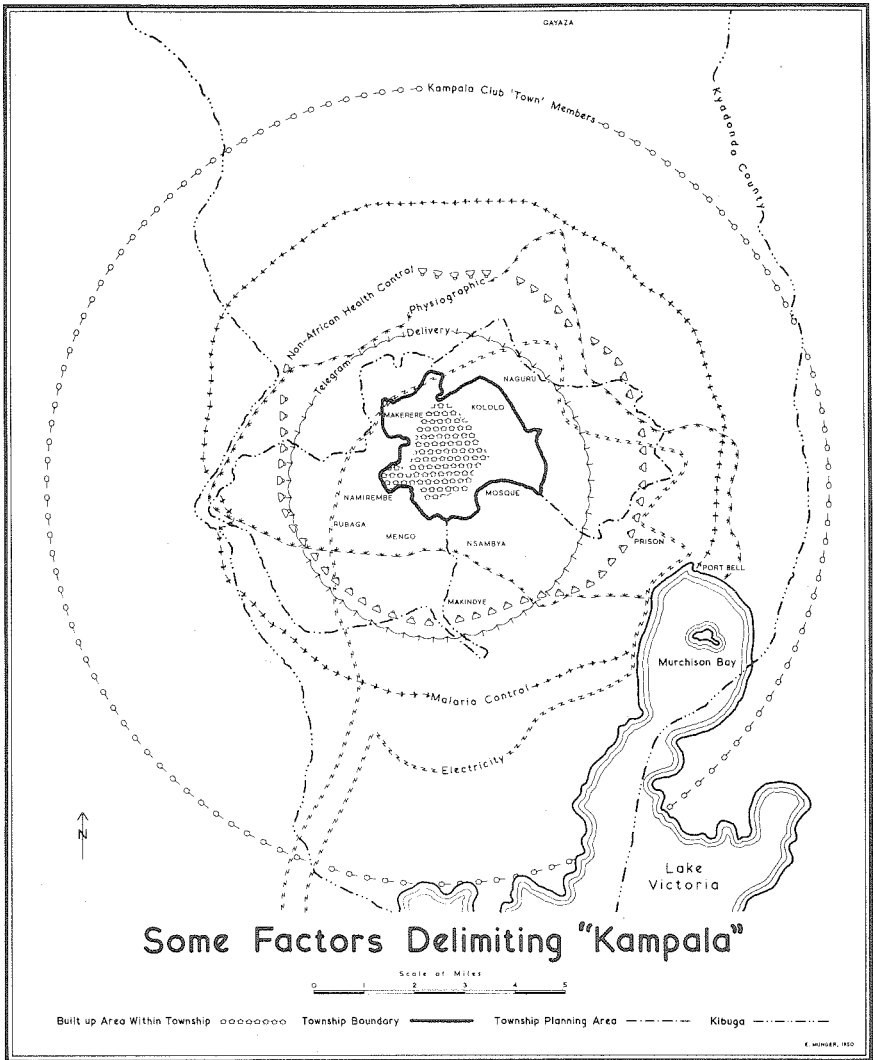


Fig. 11

African center of Mengo. In the interests of validity and meaningfulness, it is desirable, in fact almost compulsory, to depart from the relatively easily ascertained facts of the municipal area to deal with the whole urban organism. To explain this position, it may be pointed out that the municipal boundary follows a tortuous path developed through historical accidents and deliberately excludes virtually all the African residential area, the two principal churches, the seat of the Buganda government, and contiguous residential areas.

It is necessary to represent the border of Kampala by a series of boundaries rather than by any fixed line. Eleven of these political-economic-physiographic-social-medical boundaries representing differing definitions of Kampala are shown in Figure 11. Not only does the composite entity go through fluid moments, the individual factors themselves vary. None of them can be regarded as absolute. The physiographic boundary represented by a circle of swampy land is as susceptible to change as any, for it can be unmade by man just as much as others are made by man. Study of this map will show the conflicts and inconsistencies that make any one boundary highly arbitrary.

### Political

Minor areal divisions of Buganda Province are marked by gombolola (roughly equivalent to American "township") boundaries. These are political in origin but in effect are economic and social lines for the bulk of the African population. Everyone knows his gombolola chief. The poll tax is paid to him, work is done for him, and he is a seat of appeal and source of help for those in trouble. The chief knows his district and his district knows him. This unity is reinforced by the fact that these boundaries often follow lines that are easily demarcated physiographically. The line between adjoining gombololas commonly runs through the middle of an impassable swamp, through a thick forest, along a river, or along the line of a ridge or series of hills. Where a road tends to lead from one gombolola to another without any physical break, the chiefs usually erect a fence of woven elephant grass. This fence distinguishes his realm to the initiated. Nowadays the fencing may extend only





Fig. 12.--Shankar Dass music store on the south side of Kampala Road is one of a Kenya and Uganda chain.

Fig. 13.--Most of the garages have modern buildings. Gasoline is normally distributed in barrels.





ten or fifteen feet on both sides of the road, but it serves symbolically to keep the boundary clearly understood in the minds of the people.<sup>1</sup>

Greater Kampala covers a major part of four gombololas, divided between two sazas (or "counties"), and its dormitory population extends into two more. But the capital of Buganda and a large European and Asian population are also centered in the area, and tight African administrative control tends to break down. Clerks who probably speak better English and make more money than their gombolola or (rarely) saza chiefs are seldom enthusiastic about submitting to their control. These clerks have gained an economic independence which tends to become political as well.

On the map of "Some Factors Delimiting 'Kampala' " gombolola boundaries are not shown. The border of the Kibuga, which is indicated, is in effect an African township area around the African center and was formerly under a single chief.

Kampala municipality is controlled by a town council form of government which has so far been nominated, with individual members designated to represent the different racial groups, but is to be elected in the future. It was set up under an ordinance of the Protectorate government.<sup>2</sup>

### Economic

It was difficult to attempt to delimit the immediate economic area centering on Kampala. Two studies were tried. The first dealt with the trading areas of two stores in Kampala, one handling European-type goods and the other goods sold primarily to Africans. After a boundary had been set up on the basis of empirical evidence, the work was spot-checked on other days in different stores of the same character and from the charge accounts of some other stores. Results varied so widely on each check made that the

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<sup>1</sup> The Kabaka has a very special fencing around the lubiri (or "inner palace compound").

<sup>2</sup> Uganda Protectorate, Ordinance No. 34 of 1947, An Ordinance to Amend the Law Relating to Town Government and to Provide for Municipal Councils and Boards.



Fig. 14.--Small Asian and African shops in Kampala Road.  
Note the abundance of bicycles.

Fig. 15.--Upper middle class homes in the solidly Asian residential area shown in Fig. 4.



figures have not been used. It was felt the statistical base was not sufficiently broad even for speculation. The second attempt to come to grips with such delimitation was in terms of subsistence and non-subsistence production on shambas semi-circling Kampala. Here again no satisfactory basis for establishing a line could be found.

Three important criteria of the influence of Kampala on the surrounding area did show up in the second attempt. Proximity to Kampala tends to mean: (1) Less cotton is grown, plots are smaller in size and more expensive for Africans to buy, and their productivity did not appear to be significantly higher. (2) More food is grown in answer to the African demand in Kampala. (3) There was great increase in the amount of beer brewed, mostly from bananas, but also some from millet and molasses.

In terms of labor supply, Kampala's economic effect is not felt so far into the adjacent countryside as might be expected. Labor appears to be drawn either from the immediate labor pool of Kampala itself or from great distances--not so much from the intermediate area. This close-in hinterland of Kampala is relatively rich and prosperous and has a high percentage of individual land ownership as opposed to tenant-farming of plots belonging to large landowners. Further, seasonal demands for labor are not so attractive to people in the stable countryside nearby as to poorer and hungrier people at a greater distance.

## Medical

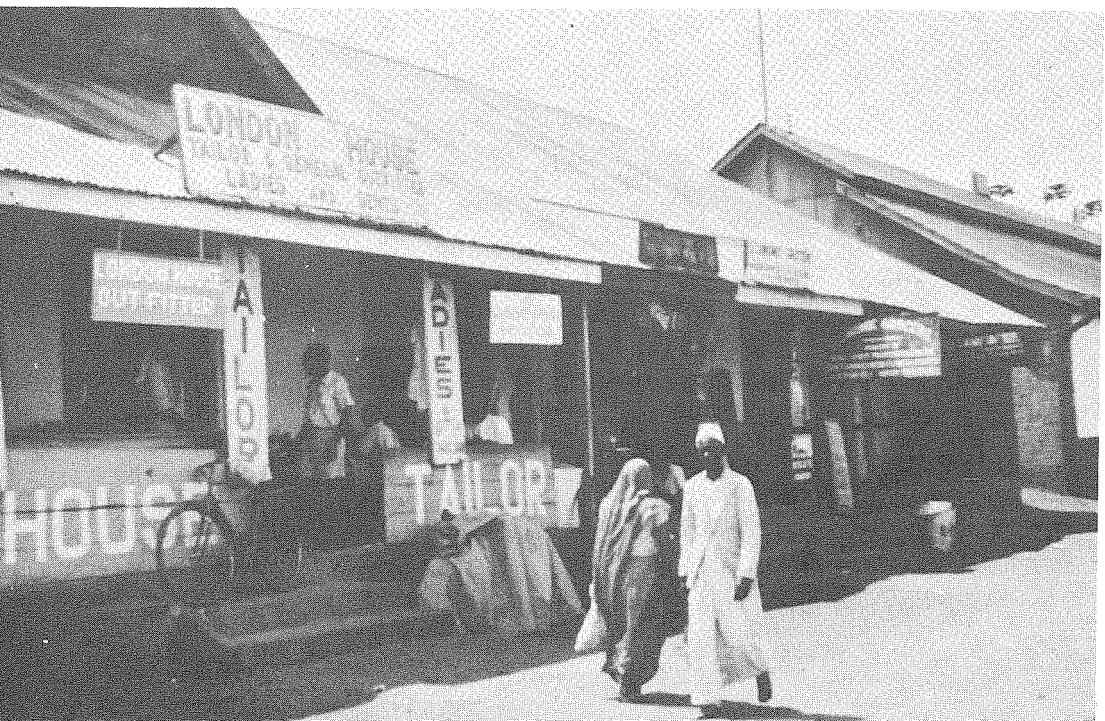
Effective preventive medicine requires an approach that is broadly realistic. Rats, mosquitos, and viruses are not likely to come to a dead stop when they reach Kampala's municipal boundary. The Medical Officer of Health must be, and is, fully conscious of the futility of attempting to control vectors of disease within strict political limits.

To carry out its mission successfully, the health department of a town must be allowed wide scope in defining the area of its jurisdiction. The health authorities in Kampala have aggressively grasped this fact and fortified



Fig. 16.--Sikh Craftsmen's Iron-Roofed Workshops

Fig. 17.--One of the Ubiquitous Tailoring Shops



their position with extensive legal backing. In a country like Uganda such authority is gained often against strenuous opposition, and there are still signs of resistance to its application.<sup>1</sup> Because health measures require control of disease vectors on a basis of fact and not fancy, two legal boundaries of health authority are shown in Figure 11.

However, there are certain items that are the concern of a Medical Officer of Health over which control is strictly limited by municipal boundaries. In Kampala such conditions as overcrowding, poor sanitation, general filth, inadequate diets--in other words, slum conditions--are found in Katwe, Kaggube, and parts of Wandegaya (Kampala "suburbs"). The effects of these districts on the general health and control of particular diseases is obviously great, but municipal ordinances do not apply in them. Improved conditions within Kampala can have a salutary influence in adjacent non-municipal areas, but this indirect approach is slow indeed.

At present the Medical Officer of Kampala is also the Medical Officer of Port Bell and Luzira Prison, which takes in a part of Greater Kampala. Jurisdiction over non-Natives within an arbitrary distance of two miles outside the municipal boundaries in all directions allows a measure of control in those areas.

Malaria control extends to an area of greater circumference, running approximately three and one-half miles beyond the municipal boundary. In the early days the malaria menace was serious. The hills provided good building sites, but the valleys were excellent anopheles breeding grounds. Mosquito control has now been enormously simplified by ditching and draining the low-lying swamps--but has not been extended yet to peripheral areas, though such work may be expected to continue as the town expands. Of the more than ten thousand pounds sterling expended on malaria control in 1949,

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<sup>1</sup>Even in the city of Chicago the Health Department had a long fight in the 1920's that on occasion led to bloodshed before their control of the milk supply was extended in a wide arc around the city. In some places this authority is extended more than two hundred miles from the city limits.





over one-half was for drainage and reclamation. So far all funds have come from the public health budget. Benefits, however, are not confined to disease control. Where the land was soggy and agriculturally useless before drainage, it now produces excellent crops for African growers who have moved onto the land. In other places the reclaimed land has been planted to grass, and the resulting green parklike appearance is a major aesthetic contribution to Kampala.

Health measures for Africans in Greater Kampala are under the control of the District Medical Officer for Mengo, whose headquarters are in Kampala. In general, it may be said that the health of Kampala is excellent if one considers the physical difficulties, standard of living of the population, and danger of endemic diseases. So far epidemics have been rare.

Nearly four thousand pounds sterling a year is spent on control of yellow fever, which in earlier years constituted a deadly menace. Intensive house-to-house inspection, documented on individual cards that must be displayed in every house, is a thorough way to combat mosquito-favoring conditions. Such things as tin cans lying within the house's "compound" are spotted and mentioned to the householder. Less successful has been the introduction of modern plumbing in an effort to cut down sewage-borne diseases. Over six hundred buckets are still used as latrines in Kampala, not to mention the instances where even that amenity is lacking. Legal compulsion is being applied as fast as the limited number of plumbers and available material permit installations. Venereal disease is an indication of the cosmopolitan nature of most cities, and while it is very bad outside the area of the municipality, it does not appear to be increasing. Within the municipality inspection of food handlers is reasonably well enforced.

### Demographic

This line is the most difficult to determine. Here the term "demographic boundary" is used to include those areas where the inhabitants are closely bound up in the life of the town in an economic and cultural relationship.

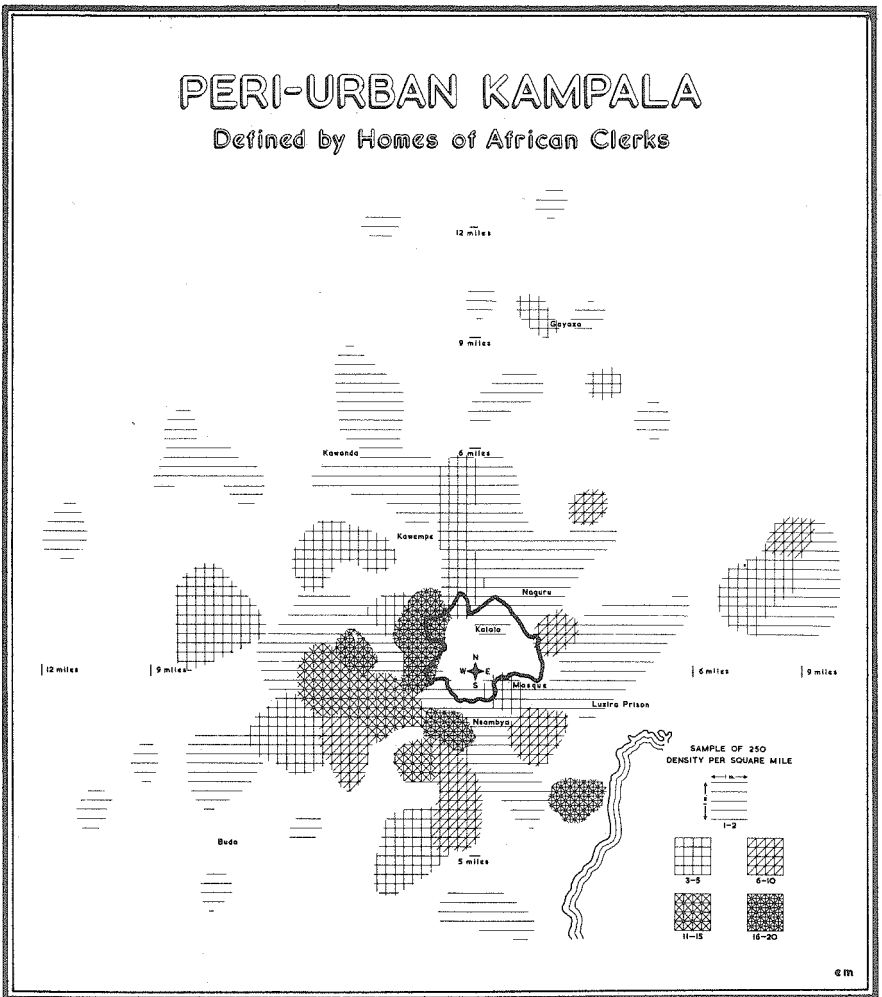


Fig. 20



Such a definition is vague indeed. In cities of the Western world, where workers are intimately related to the city, the line is not so difficult to draw. One method frequently used is an index of population density. Such detailed figures are not available for Kampala, nor could they be gathered without great expense. Further, where a member of suburbia in the United States may cultivate a garden as a spare-time hobby, in Africa that member is the wife or wives of a household, who, by working on the shamba, may supply almost all of the family's food needs even though the man may work in Kampala. In an attempt to present some approximation of this phenomenon, a total of six hundred workers in Kampala--most of them from the clerk class--were interviewed and asked to indicate where they lived on a large-scale map on which were marked even the most insignificant villages. They were also asked about their means of getting to work. From that information the map in Figure 20 was produced. It is drawn in such a way as to bring out the urban and peri-urban areas from which the African "white collar" class comes. The point of reference is the post office, which is the accepted center of Kampala. In truth, of course, only a small percentage of people are employed at that spot. Sufficient samples were taken, though, to indicate that workers did not live in particular force on the side of the town in which they were employed. There were a large enough number of cases where workers went completely across the town roughly to cancel those who did not penetrate as far as the central area.

Not all Africans live on shambas. The Uganda police have officially accounted for an increase in crime in Mengo and Busoga Districts as "partly due to the large number of detribalized Africans living on the outskirts of Kampala and Jinja who exist solely on their wages in an expensive area as compared to those further afield and who have the products of their shambas to supplement their wages and therefore have less cause to become dishonest."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Uganda Police for the Year ended 31st December, 1947 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1948), p. 20.

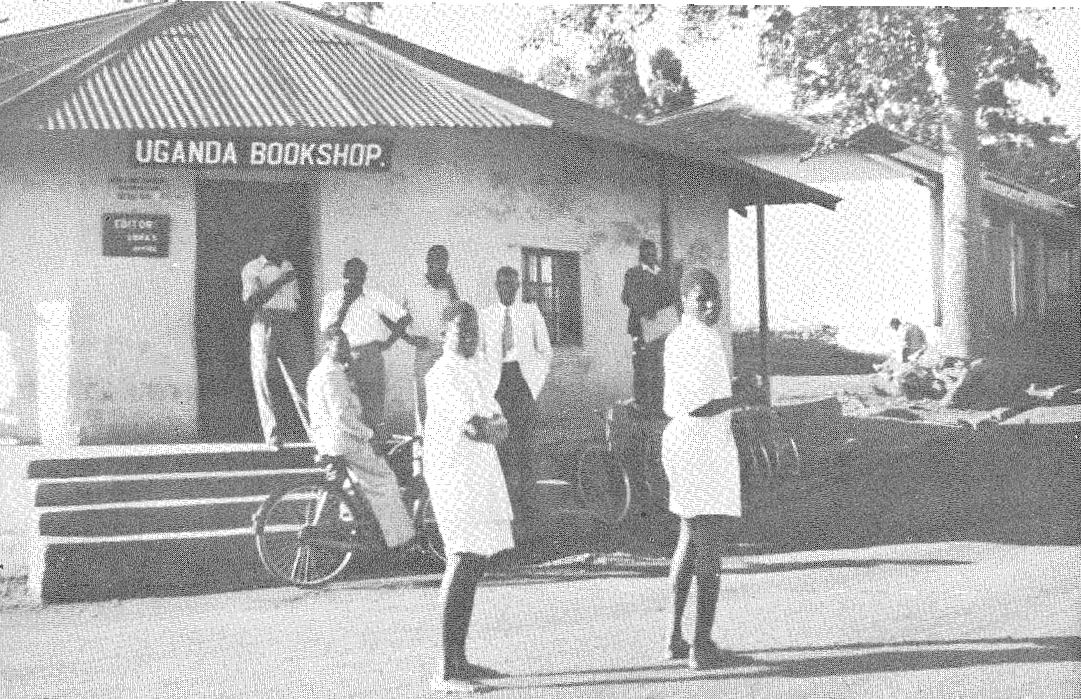


Fig. 21.--The Uganda Bookshop branch in Mengo's commercial center. Baganda boys are in the foreground and men in back.

Fig. 22.--A common situation: An Asian-owned business employing Africans for menial jobs. This automobile spraying workshop is among many that spill into the street.



As pointed out, the municipal boundaries of Kampala include such a small percentage of Africans living in the town that some larger area must be defined if one is to mark out on a map Greater Kampala and its population.

There is a strong similarity between Kampala and many cities of the Western world in dormitory arrangement. In the United States the pattern is typically a series of medium-size or small suburban villages, from which the great majority of the working population commutes each weekday over regular lines of transportation--most commonly one or two main highways or a railroad line--to places of employment in or near the center of the urban area.

Kampala's resemblance extends to the dormitorylike villages which are scattered in all directions around the town except where the lake (as it does, say, in Chicago) interferes with symmetry. There is a definite grouping along main axes of travel--not railroads, but highways.

An overwhelming proportion of African travel is on bicycles. A few people walk from close-by villages and in rare cases from twelve miles away, the survey showed. Other minor percentages travel by motorcycle and automobile. Buslines are the biggest competitors to bicycle travel, but these are used more for long-distance movement across country and between parts of Kampala than from the peri-urban fringe into the town.

The dormitory analogy applies but not too precisely in the number of workers who leave the villages to be employed daily in Kampala. Many men work right in the villages at diverse jobs, including making banana beer and warragi, an illicit alcoholic drink.

In the Western pattern, women stay in the dormitory villages and occupy themselves with housekeeping, rearing children, and social activities. The African mother in the dormitory area does all these, with possibly less social life, but in addition she raises all or a major portion of the family's yearly food supply. This means the sum of the wealth produced and earned is not concentrated nearly so heavily in the male member working in the metropolis but is distributed both in the dormitory village and in Kampala. Here is

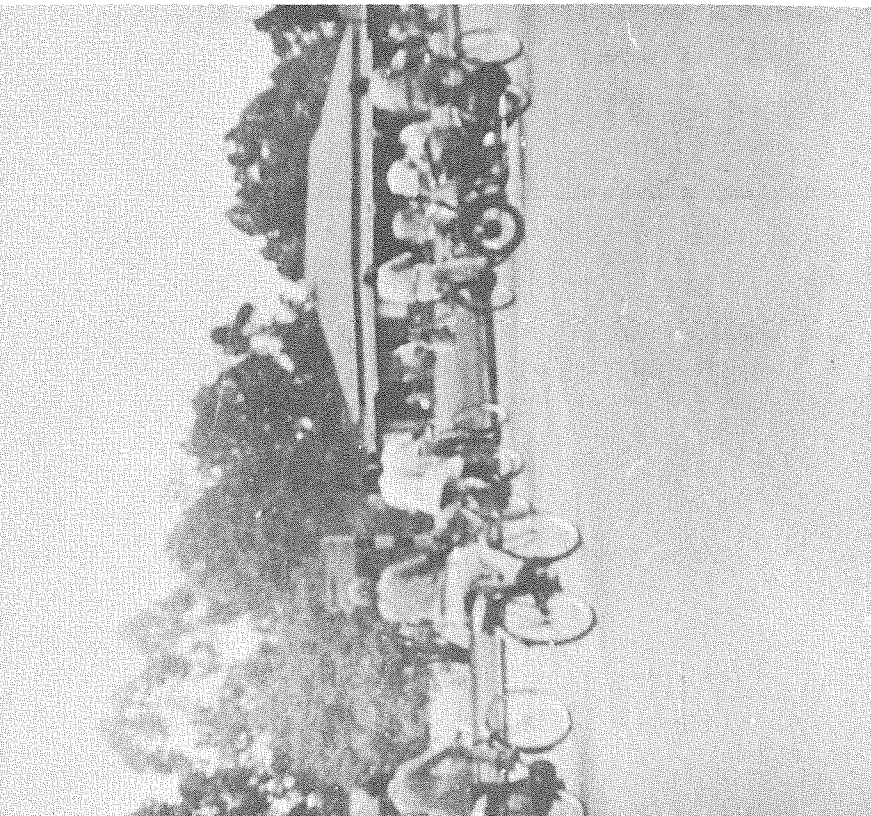


Fig. 23.--Bicyclists coming into Kam-pala on their way to work.

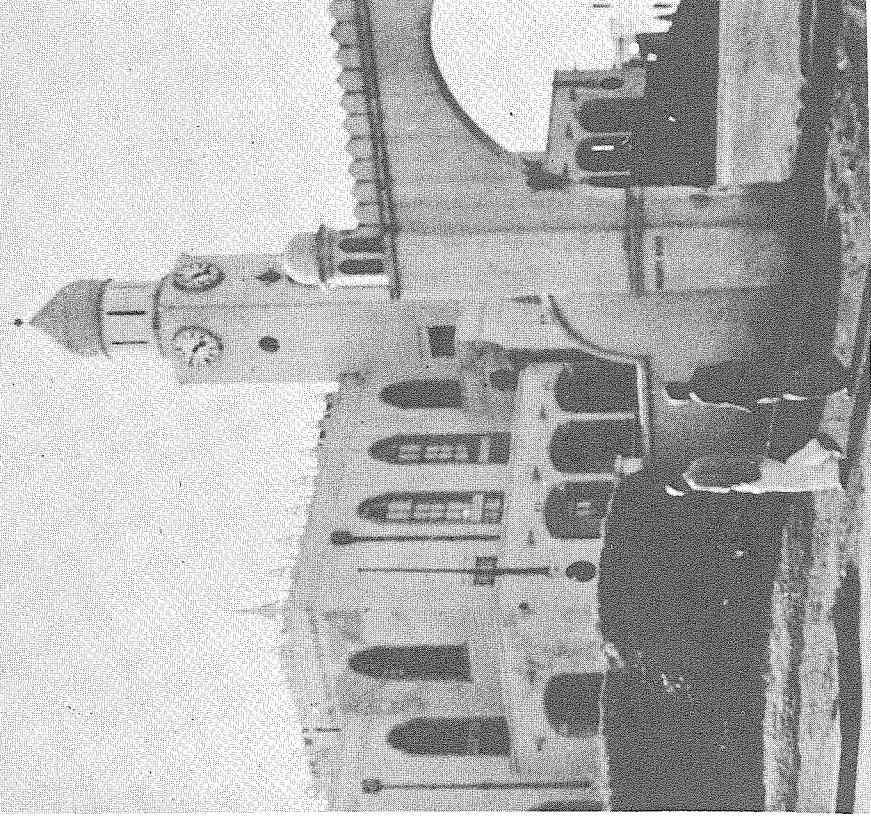


Fig. 24.--The Aga Khan headquarters, school, and reading room in Kampala.

a significant sociological implication for Kampala and other similar African centers being molded by Western influences. Most important is the stability the independent source of food generates. A desirable resiliency is set up that can absorb or at least soften the shock of widespread unemployment due to an economic depression, prolonged strike, etc.

This second base operates for each individual worker, creating an independent and often casual attitude toward urban employment. Employers know there is a line beyond which they cannot push their workers without the men simply staying on their shambas and losing interest in cash wages. In a tribe such as the Baganda, a man traditionally was expected to fight in battle. If there is no skirmishing at the moment, he can look forward to a pleasant life of ease at home with food and beer provided by his wife or wives. Such a man drawn into a job for wages is easily tempted to go back home if he isn't satisfied with conditions.

Under the circumstances just described, the dormitory area is part of the greater metropolis but it has more of a rural connotation than has the strictly Western definition of "suburb." Of course, the demographic picture is on a much smaller scale in terms of total numbers. Absolutely, Kampala itself might be an outlier or a large suburb of a great city; functionally Kampala is the city, and the collections of mud and wattle or concrete-block huts and homes are the dormitory areas just as the bicycles are the passenger cars.

## Social

Religious.--One of the most interesting cultural phenomena in defining the area served by Kampala is the local organization of the Roman Catholic Church. Two independent bishops of the church have their seats in Greater Kampala, and the town itself is divided between the Vicariates Apostolic of Uganda and of Kampala. (See Figure 38.) This division of Kampala is the result of known historical circumstances.

The opening of Uganda was accompanied, to put it briefly, by intense conflict between religious groups--particularly between the missionaries of





Fig. 25.--A wood shortage in Kampala means increasingly long hikes for carriers. This wood will be sold in Mengo for cooking fires.



Fig. 26.--A Lugbara woman leaving a market with yams and fish. One reason most non-Baganda in Kampala form tribal communities is they have different diet habits from the banana-loving Baganda.

the Church Missionary Society representing Protestantism and the White Fathers missionaries representing Catholicism. The C. M. S. clergy were English and the Protestant faith became known as the English faith. The Society of Missionaries of Africa is the official designation of the White Fathers, whose mother house is at Maison Carrée, Algiers, and consequently French. The designations "French" and "Catholic" rapidly became synonymous in the minds of the local people, and even today some Africans refer to Catholics as "the French."

Because the Imperial British East Africa Company<sup>1</sup> was administering Uganda, the White Fathers began to lose face in the eyes of the Africans because they appeared to lack the power of the people of the "English" church. To remedy this situation, the White Fathers requested that English missionaries be sent to Uganda to show the Catholic Church was international. The C. M. S. favored this as a decrease in French influence.

White Fathers were already established in Kampala on Rubaga Hill, but when the area where the new English fathers from Saint Joseph's Society of Mill Hill would work in was to be decided, it was thought wise to assign them the bulk of Kampala including Mengo and the Kabaka's palace. Headquarters of the Mill Hill fathers was established on Nsambya Hill; and although Rubaga Cathedral, by the height of its towers and the elevation of its hill, overlooks the town, it is the church at Nsambya, not visible from most of Kampala but almost as close, which is the parish church for all of the municipality and most of the town.

The Catholic Church of Christ the King in the municipality is served by a priest from Nsambya and is not separate from but a part of the parish of Nsambya. Although it is quite distinct in its communicants, it is purposely not set apart lest it create an official line between Catholics that might correspond to a color line. In practice the Church of Christ the King draws the

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<sup>1</sup>Uganda was administered by a chartered company before the British government took over.

English-speaking Catholics of Greater Kampala. Included in this category are Europeans, Goans (who make up the bulk of the congregation), non-Luganda-speaking Africans, and a few Baganda who may prefer to use English. There is also a special mass for the Nilotic Jaluo people from Kenya, who are found in Kampala principally as police or as houseboys.

Recreational.--The Kampala Club for Europeans has, like many clubs, different charges for "town" members and "country" members. The principal distinction drawn is between individuals who use the club facilities frequently and those who rarely participate in activities. A by no means equitable but certainly a workable difference is achieved if people normally resident within reasonable driving distance of the club are defined as "town" members and those farther away as "country" members. The line drawn is highly arbitrary, but some sort of compromise is needed. In the case of the Kampala Club, a circle is drawn with a radius of eight miles, which is probably as fair a line as any under local circumstances. It is cited here as a social example of the inherent reality of a Greater Kampala as opposed to the artificiality of the defined municipality.

Other aspects of the immediate social area of Kampala will be brought out later, particularly the area from which cinema-goers are attracted.

### Physiographic

The physical layout of Kampala was described in a previous section with a generalized function assigned to prominent hills but without definition of the physiographic boundaries. Of course, there isn't any rigid or predetermined natural boundary. At the present time the most firmly fixed border of Greater Kampala is the arm of Lake Victoria which reaches toward the center of the town to form Murchison Bay. This shallow extension of a shallow lake is of recent origin. Along the lake border opposite Kampala the swampy ground now constitutes a barrier, but it may either dry up from natural causes or be filled in if the land becomes valuable in the future.

The physiographic line in Figure 11 marks a series of swamps--the



present barrier that expansion of urban development must cross or eliminate. The swamps around Kampala appear to have divided the town's growth into fairly definite segments. A particular marshy strip acts as a limit to expansion until most of the land up to it is occupied, then the low place is jumped or drained or filled in and the next line of swamps takes its place. Exceptions to this are along the road arteries.

To summarize, the physical limits of Kampala are as subjective and largely as ephemeral as the human factors. Certainly they are less important than such complications as mailo land tenure.

### Land Use Survey

Greater Kampala has two distinct foci around which are clustered its commercial enterprises. Figure 27 B shows the general land use in the central part of Mengo. Figures 27 C and 27 D indicate the character of commercial land use along the main street of "European" Kampala.

The three together show in general what types of enterprises predominate in the heart of the main business districts and reflect in part the kinds of goods and services that Greater Kampala provides for larger areas.

Kampala sells European goods to all races in specialized stores. Mengo sells European and African goods to Africans in general stores.

A difference can easily be seen between the kind of occupancy in the Mengo business district and in the "European" Kampala business district by comparing the three maps. The distinction becomes considerably clearer on examination of the two districts further than it is possible to detail on the maps and by more precise definition of the exact nature of the businesses. Actual figures are not important because of the difference in the size of the districts compared; the shifts in relative numbers tell the story.

The duka, the African general store, carries stocks of widely varying lines of merchandise, usually food, hard goods, and soft goods. During the process of classification in the field an effort was made to fit stores into one of the more detailed classifications; hence the term "duka" has a definite

and not catchall meaning. Despite its smaller size, the Mengo business district has twelve dukas as against nine in the main Kampala district. But the latter has twelve specialized food stores compared to four in Mengo.

In the Kampala survey seventeen stores specialized in hard goods (twelve of them hardwares and four electrical) while there were no similar stores in Mengo.

Both districts had a great deal of business concerned with soft goods, yet the disparity is crystal clear in precise function. The Kampala survey shows nine stores selling clothes and seven shoe stores while Mengo has none of either. Selling cloth not made up was the principal business of twenty-eight Mengo establishments but of only thirteen in Kampala. This pronounced shift reflects broadly the difference in customers--almost exclusively African in Mengo and cosmopolitan but European-dominated in Kampala. For example, the number of Baganda women who wear European clothes is much smaller than the number retaining their traditional dress, for which they buy cloth off a bolt and not a finished product. This cannot be carried too far, however. Many Baganda men wear Western-style clothing yet there are no men's ready-made clothing stores in the Mengo survey and there are three in the Kampala district.

Another character difference is in specialty stores, and here the division covers the entire category. In the Kampala district are eight chemists to none in Mengo. Photographers are three to one, music stores one to none, jewelers two to none, novelty-antique-curio stores two to none. It might be said that there is one chemist in Mengo because a store does handle herbs and African medicines--but again a reflection of the difference between the two districts.

A great disparity in the number of offices of all kinds is to be expected, but perhaps not the thirty-seven to none ratio in favor of the Kampala district. Twelve of the offices deal with cotton buying and ginneries--i.e., the principal African crop and industry--and some might be expected to be in













Mengo. The next most numerous kinds of offices, six large importers and five insurance agencies, are understandably in the Kampala district.

From the above we see by the sharp difference in number of dukas, stores handling hard goods, types of cloth and clothing sold, specialty stores, and offices that the Mengo focus is not just a smaller center of trade but one of distinctly different character from the European Kampala district.

The term "European" Kampala is accurate only from the viewpoint of buyers. No figures are available, but in that district probably sixty per cent of the cash volume is European, and it is possibly ninety per cent for European style goods and services. Looked at from the selling angle, it should be classified as Asian or Eurasian inasmuch as Hindus, Moslems, and other non-European groups play a very large part in the trade--a dominating part in overall Kampala. Further weight toward a European-Asian selling combination is lent by the Goan merchants, who--particularly in the grocery and tailoring lines--handle a substantial cash volume. The Goans form a small but culturally distinct community.

# SCHEMATIC GROSS LAND USE IN COMMERCIAL CORES

## A. Land Use Classification & Summary

	Residential		Government		Vacant
	Duka	(A store carrying substantial stocks of widely varying lines of merchandise--often hard goods, soft goods, and food. Term is restricted in use.)			
	Food Stores	(7 general; 6 grocery; 2 meat; 2 bakery)			
	Hard Goods	(13 hardwares and ironmongers; 4 electrical and radio)			
	Soft Goods	a. Clothing and shoes (6 women's, 3 men's, 7 shoes); b. Cloth sales only (41); c. Tailor shops (15)			
	Hotels - Restaurants - Bars - Liquor Stores	(3 - 1 - 1 - 1)			
	Special Stores	(7 chemists; 4 photography; 1 music; 1 jeweler; 2 books-news; 2 novelty-antiques-curios; 2 pharmacy-herbs)			
	Service and Repair	(2 laundry-dry cleaning; 1 leather repair; 3 tin repair; 3 watch repair; 2 barbers; 2 bicycle repair; 6 garages; 1 gasoline; 6 carpenter-painter)			
	Offices	(6 large general importers; 2 lawyers; 5 insurance; 1 airways; 3 travel agencies; 12 cotton buyers-ginners; 2 accountants; 2 architect-surveyor)			
	Miscellaneous	(2 banks; 2 printers and publishers; 2 cinemas; 2 church or mosque; 1 department store)			

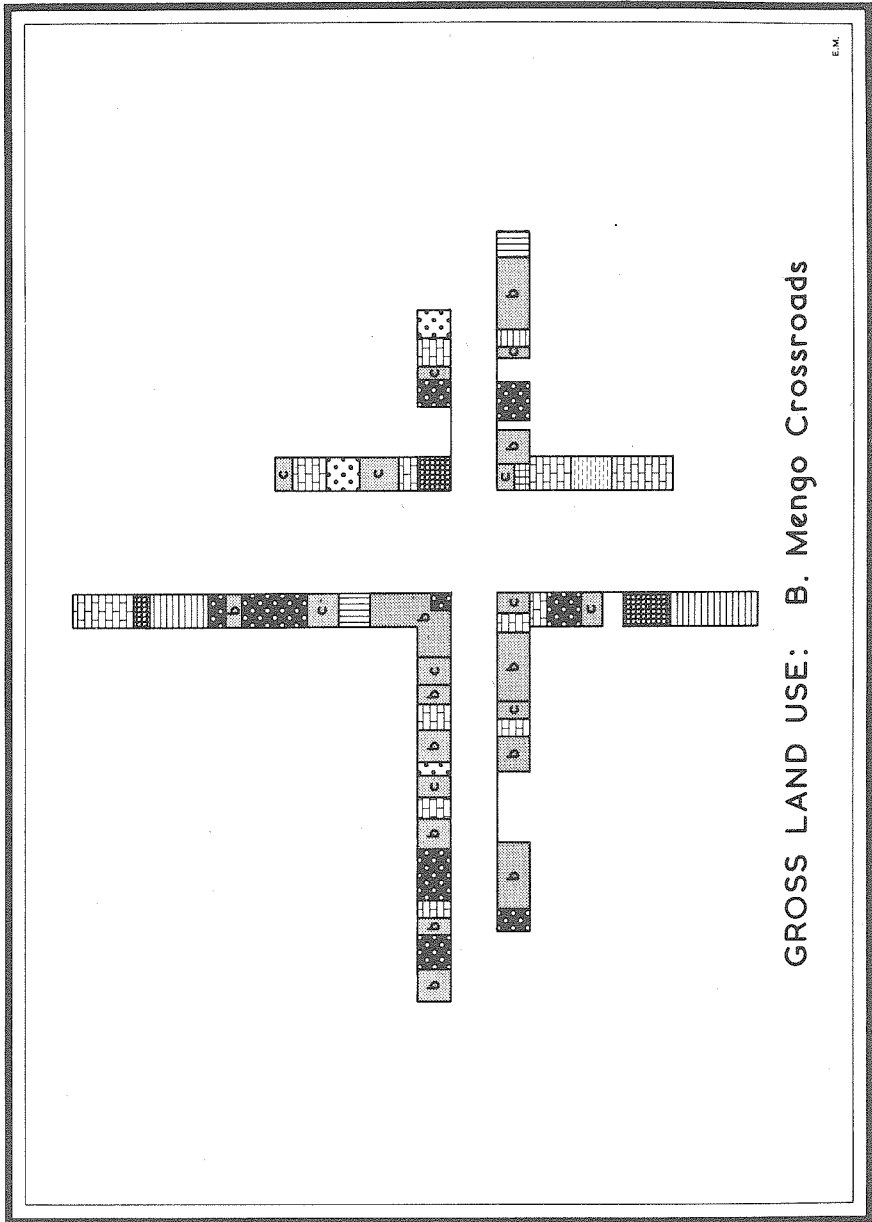


Fig. 27 B

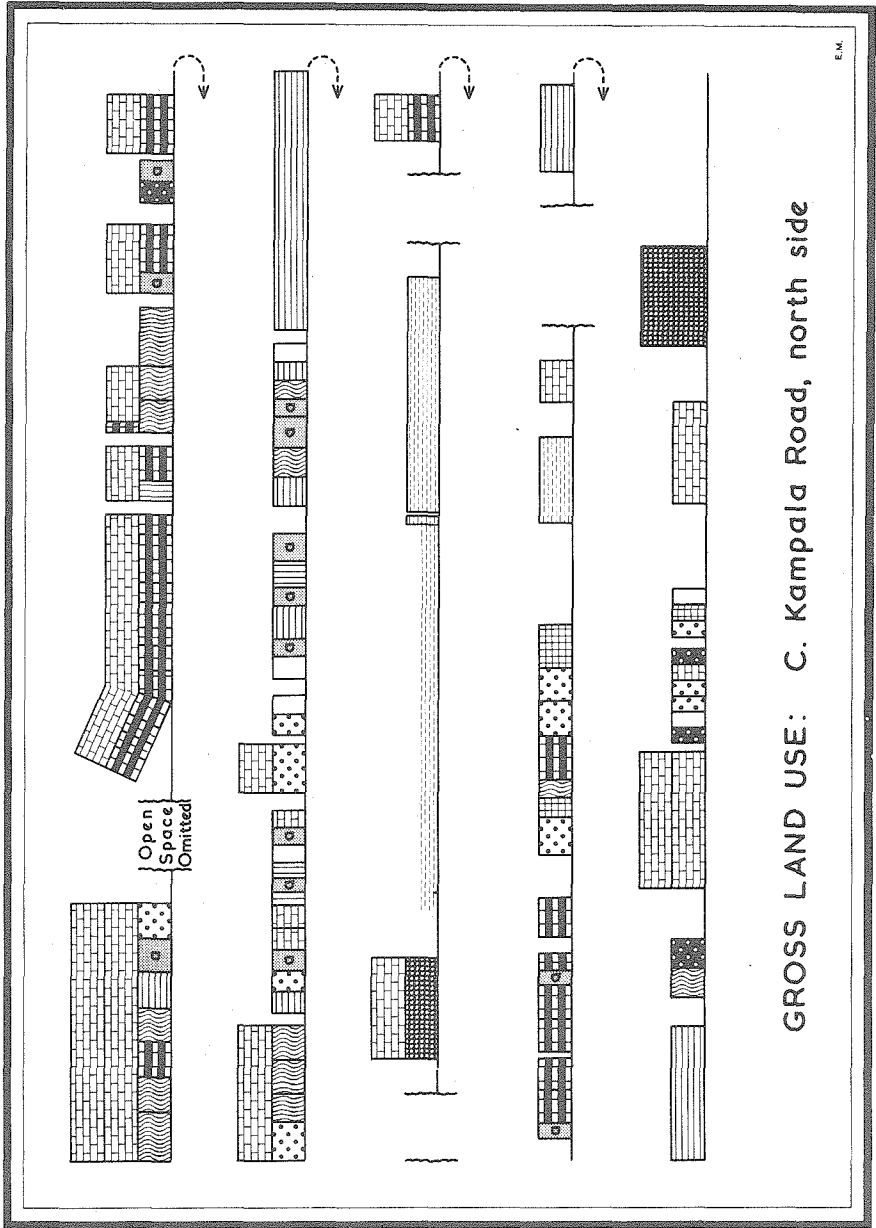


Fig. 27 C

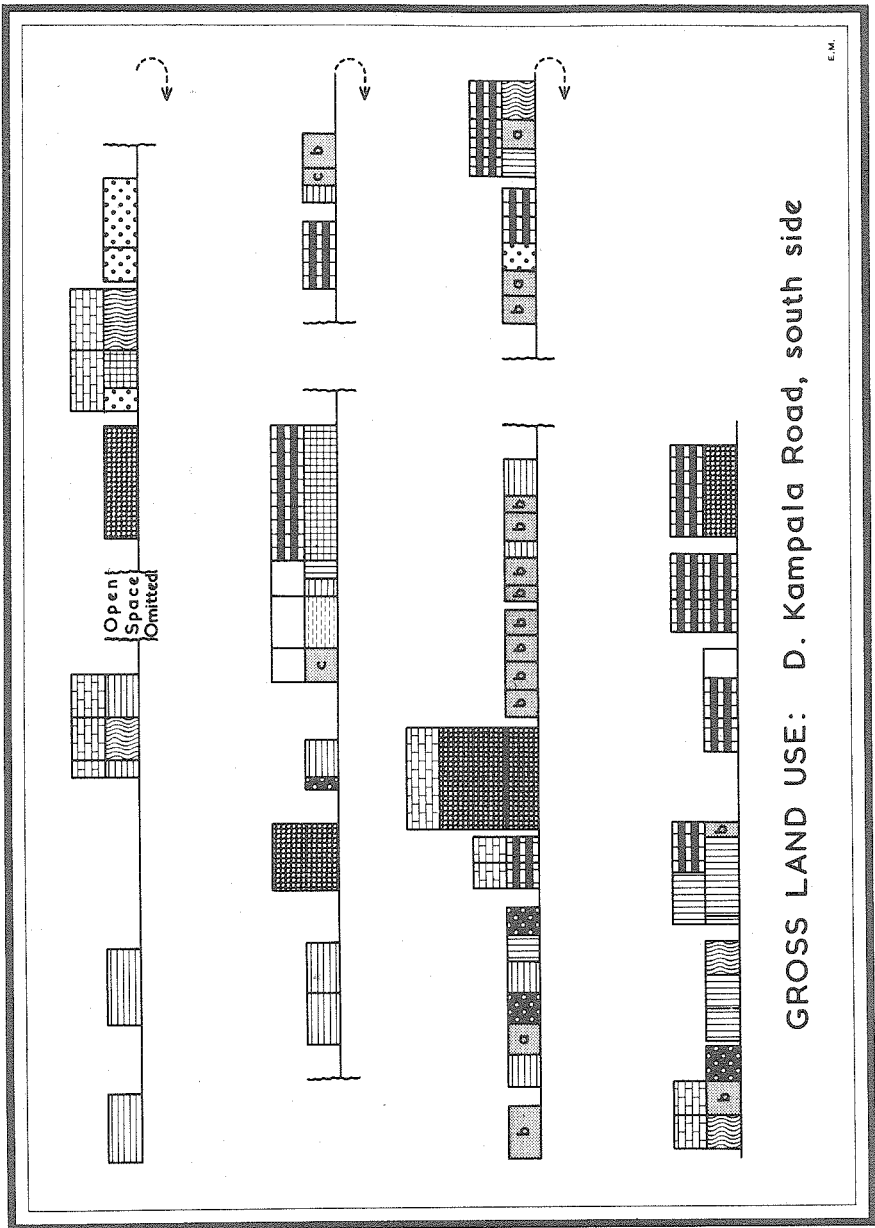
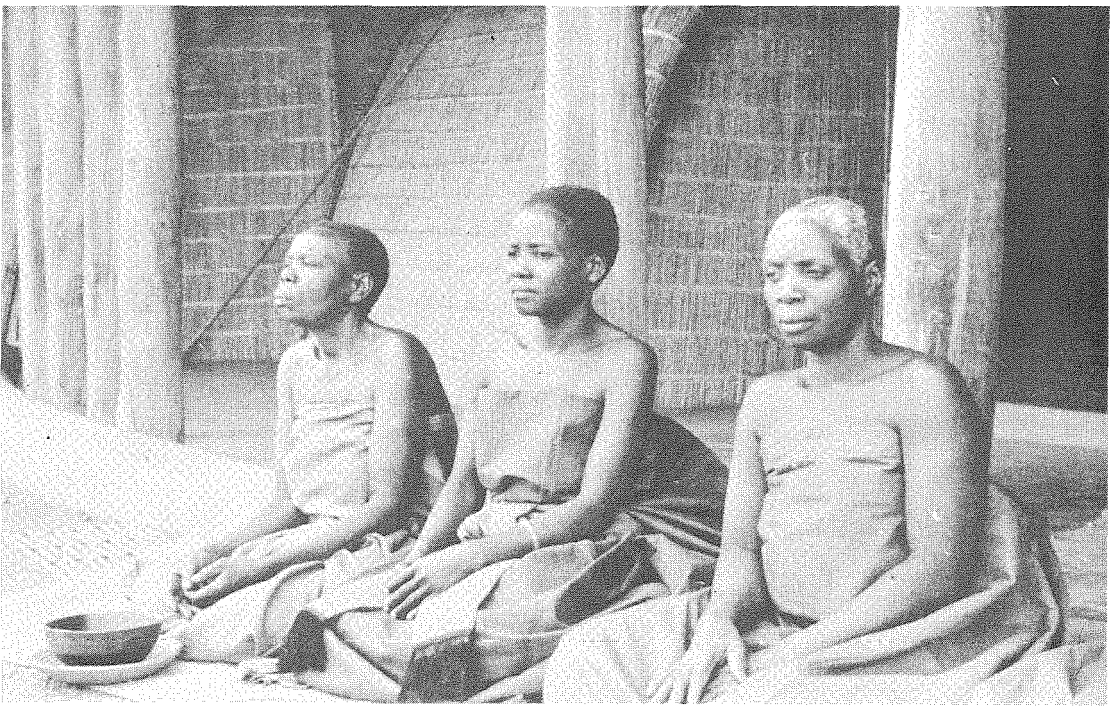


Fig. 27 D



Fig. 28.--A Muganda policeman. His shield and crossed spears insignia marks him as a member of the Buganda government police and not the Uganda Protectorate police.

Fig. 29.--Baganda women dressed in the traditional barkcloth in front of the tomb of former Kabakas. They are "wives," fulfilling kiganda custom of guarding the tomb.





## CHAPTER II

### RELATIONSHIPS WITH UGANDA

Among Kampala's varied series of complex hinterlands, some coincide with the political boundary of the Protectorate of Uganda while others extend over only a part of the Protectorate. Where they are political, they are defined below as "Intermediate Areas"; where economic or social in origin, they are discussed as "Non-Political Areas Within Uganda."

#### Intermediate Areas

There are two intermediate areas which have particular relationships with Kampala. Mengo District (distinct from Mengo village that is part of Greater Kampala) is one of the three major subdivisions of Buganda (see Figure 2). Although Buganda is technically a kingdom and not a province, functionally it is the equivalent of the Eastern, Northern, and Western Provinces.

#### Mengo District

While this is a precise political unit, it does not circumscribe an area of significant relationship with Kampala. The political influence of the town minimizes the local importance of the District as an entity. On the larger scale, the borders of the Protectorate overshadow those of the District. Ethnically, Mengo is not particularly distinct from the other two Districts of Buganda--Masaka and Mubende. Further, Bunyoro Province, which is similar in size to Mengo District, has a definite tribal unity among the Banyoro, but Mengo lacks such a cohesive force.

Economically, Mengo is not a well-knit area, again because statistically it is merely an extension of Greater Kampala to include a rural hinterland.

However, Mengo District does have certain relationships with Kam-

pala other than as a minor political unit. The Boy Scouts use Mengo as a division of the Kingdom of Buganda Local Association in their table of organization.

In recent years there have been special relationships in the attempts made to control distribution and prices of certain commodities in limited supply. The commodities vary from time to time, but a description of several of them will serve to indicate the role of Kampala. Distribution and price control are applied to Districts in most cases, thereby giving economic importance to the political boundaries of the Districts.

Maize-meal flour is controlled. At the time the maize is gathered, the Director of Supplies in Kampala formulates from weather records an estimate of the size of the total crop, estimates consumption for the total period until the next crop, estimates the immediate needs of the whole of Uganda, and allots in the case of Mengo a certain amount for early consumption. The remainder of the flour is then sent by rail and boat to Kisumu in Kenya for storage (adequate storage facilities are not available anywhere in Uganda). Subsequent distribution of the maize-meal flour for Mengo District is through Kampala, and it is to wholesalers in the town that the allotments are made. They in turn sell to retailers throughout Mengo for resale to individual customers. Maize is grown in Uganda but wheat is not. Wheat flour imported from Kenya goes through a similar distribution except that a higher proportion is allotted to bakeries in the District.

Rice is also distributed on a District basis with Kampala serving Mengo. Before World War II it was almost entirely purchased by Asians. Today a growing number of Africans prefer rice as a staple food. When the supply of rice is limited, two inequities creep into the distribution setup. Either the rice is restricted to Asians, in which case the African rice-eaters suffer, or the supplies are spread so thinly to the whole population--Asian, African, and European--that the amount reaching the Asian families is so far below their normal needs a hardship is created.

Butter is a similar racial case. Pre-war, the European population consumed nearly all the butter sold. Now many Asians and Africans want a share. All the fresh butter comes from Kenya, canned from Denmark and New Zealand, and is distributed through wholesalers and retailers on a District basis. Quotas to retailers are in accordance with the type of trade they serve and their sales in previous years; hence, the bulk of the supply goes to stores selling mostly to Europeans. Control is easy because all butter sold in Mengo District goes through a single wholesaler.

Price control is likewise organized by District. A base price is set for various commodities, increased throughout the District in rough relation to transport charges. Prices in Mengo are controlled from Kampala exactly as far as the District boundary. But within that area differing transport arrangements produce many different prices. For example, there is a uniform price for Kampala and the area within four miles of the post office. From four to forty miles an allowance is made of one cent (East African<sup>1</sup>) for each pound. Beyond forty miles, but still within the District, the allowed increase is two cents. Because of multiple basing-points, it is possible for a product to have two prices in nearby stores in Mengo District, one store buying through Masaka (where some goods are lower in price because of the cheaper haul across the lake from Kisumu).

Distribution of sugar is a special case, but here again dietary habits have changed and now complicate the picture. Shortly after the end of World War II some government departments began making a sugar allowance to their employees along with established foodstuffs (posho, for instance, which is maize meal) that it has long been customary to issue. A desire to buy sugar was increased in the African community, and soon there arose a problem of equitable distribution in the face of demand far exceeding supply. To help attain

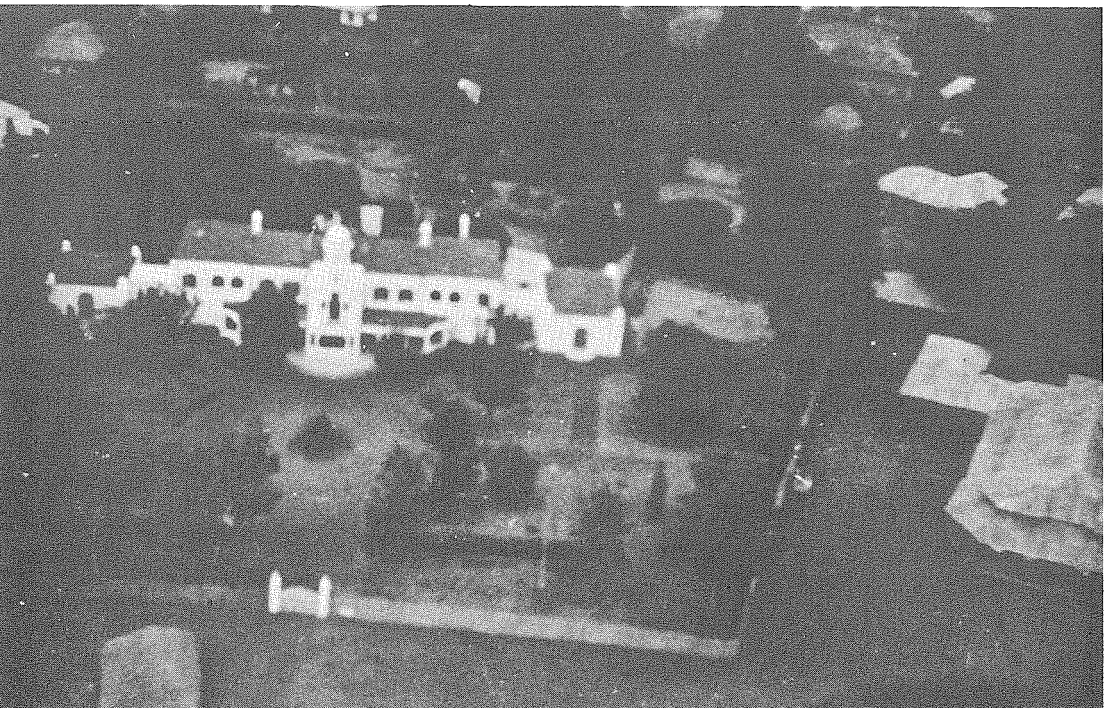
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<sup>1</sup>One cent is the smallest monetary unit in East Africa, which has a unified currency. One hundred cents equal one shilling. Prices are quoted in multiples of the shilling only, the expression "pound" being accurately a twenty-shilling note. Hence, the price of a car, for instance, is quoted as "shs. 14,000," etc.



Fig. 30.--Looking southeast from the Mengo business center toward the lubiri. This avenue is called "Kabaka Anjagala," or "The Kabaka Loves Me," because it is tree-lined for shade. The Kabaka's "palace" is the white spot in the center distance.

Fig. 31.--The Kabaka's "palace" from above. Thatch roofs cover Buganda government buildings.



just allotments, sugar distribution is carried below the District level to rest with gombolola chiefs. In Mengo District are three thousand sugar retailers. In the rural areas the advice of the gombolola chief is taken by the Supply Board as to what dukas should have a franchise to sell sugar. While there is no control over individuals buying sugar, it is presumed that an excess of favoritism (except perhaps to the chief!) will lead to complaints and a change in dealers. In Greater Kampala itself twenty-nine dukas are designated as distribution points just for Africans to ensure that they get a fair share.

The line of distribution for Mengo District is from Kampala wholesalers who stock the sugar and issue it to approved retailers, who transport it to their shops by truck.

The controls outlined above are not absolutely tight nor are they intended to be. An individual may legally receive a sugar quota from a number of shops, except for the twenty-nine restricted stores mentioned. An African may purchase sugar in a predominantly Asian- or European-patronized store if he can persuade the owner to sell to him. Likewise, an African not satisfied with the amount of sugar he is receiving from his local store, perhaps twenty-five miles from Kampala, can get on his bicycle and ride into Kampala, where he may be able to buy more sugar for himself or to resell at a profit back home. Despite these loopholes, the extension of distribution control to small areas but not to the consumer appears to work satisfactorily, although not without isolated complaints.

## Buganda

Greater Kampala is the historic and present-day political center of Buganda. When Speke arrived in Buganda in 1862, he found Kabaka Mutesa (great-grandfather of the present Kabaka Mutesa) at his capital on a small hill about three miles north and east of what is now Kampala.

Although the early racial origins have not been thoroughly unraveled, it appears that the forefathers of the Baganda arrived from the west, where Bunyoro was the great kingdom. These people of Bunyoro, as of nearby Ankole,

and Ruanda (see Figure 2), were divided between two racial strains: the common people, who were primitive agriculturists of a generalized pre-negroid type; and the rulers, who probably came from the northeast, racially Hamitic and cattle raisers. The emigrants from Bunyoro who settled in Buganda did not draw sharp distinctions between the two groups, and mixing with the agriculturists already in Buganda produced the present-day Baganda people. It might be pointed out, though, that the finely molded features of the present Kabaka are strongly reminiscent of his Hamitic ancestry.

The Baganda now have a definite unity in their appearance, language, and customs.<sup>1</sup> It is to the unified tribe, with all its clan loyalties, that the influence of Kampala reaches: legally through the Lukiko; as obeisance to the ruling Kabaka with his lubiri in Mengo town; and in a whole host of traditional associations wrapped up in the mores of a people.

The line of administration runs through the Kabaka and the Lukiko down to local village councils.<sup>2</sup> The Kabaka is also Sabataka, supreme among the bataka, or clan leaders--a form of control different from the political but in essence just as powerful. The clan system is still strong in Buganda. Any breach of its traditions is not a light matter--as was evident in agitation at the time of the marriage of the present ruler, which cut across clan traditions.

In general, this influence conforms to the political borders of Buganda, but two exceptions must be drawn. Influence also applies in no small measure to Baganda living outside Buganda, whether they be a short distance into the Eastern Province or (to a lesser degree) even when they are overseas in colleges. The traditional ties do not apply with equal force to non-Baganda living in Buganda--particularly among the Barundi and Banyaruanda immi-

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<sup>1</sup>The vernacular press strengthens tribal bonds. The official bulletin of the Buganda government, Akika Embuga, circulates in Buganda, as does Ebifa Mu Uganda, also in Luganda, published by the Church Missionary Society and sold for twenty-five cents (East African--or approximately \$.035).

<sup>2</sup>For a thorough account of the details of Uganda Native administration, see: Lord Hailey, Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I, East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950).

grants from the southwest. But, as will be discussed later in Chapter IV, these peoples are quickly absorbed by the Baganda.

At present the legislative powers of this entirely African hierarchy are limited to matters of Native laws and the fixing of penalties for disobedience of them. The police force of the Buganda government is directed from Greater Kampala and assists the general (Protectorate) police in maintaining law and order. It is organized along the lines of retainers attached to each chief and sub-chief. Expenses of the police and salaries of chiefs and other officials, plus partial costs of schooling and secondary roads, are borne by the African administration and paid for out of rebates on the poll tax (a local tax known as the luwalo) and court fines.

The Boy Scouts are organized into the Kingdom of Buganda Local Association, of which the Kabaka is president, and through which the District Scoutmasters in Mengo, Masaka, and Mubende are directed. Girl Guides are organized similarly.

#### Non-Political Areas Within Uganda

It is obvious that, except for precise legal meanings, many of the relationships of Kampala with Uganda as a whole do not extend exactly to the border, no more and no less. However, there are certain relationships between Kampala and Uganda that fairly well cover the Protectorate and are discussed at the end of this chapter. Here we are concerned with various areas of less-than-Protectorate size. These are the hardest types of areas to define on the ground, for they usually involve intangible factors and are difficult to pinpoint statistically because they follow no political lines. They involve recreation, transport, banking, and religion.

#### Recreation

Kampala is, for an example, a recreation center. As Figure 32 shows, people of all races attend motion pictures in Kampala from a wide hinterland--"wide" by consideration of the nature of the attraction. It con-





forms to no political division. Ease of transportation, population distribution by race, and location of competing cinemas are the major factors in locating the boundary.

African attendance at cinemas is fairly well limited to how far a man will ride home on his bicycle after the showing. This area is uniform in shape and limited in extent. It also represents a large part of the potential paying audience, since most of the standard range of films need some degree of literacy and understanding of English or Arabic or an Indian language to be enjoyed. Tickets cost one shilling and up--enough to make frequent attendance African middle and upper class prerogatives. "Westerns" and other action films are African favorites. They have an appeal because they do not rely very much on the spoken word to carry the story. Even some of the better-educated Africans have difficulty following "drawing room" films. (The same may be said of the British-speaking audience's following some rapid, colloquial American dialogue.

Europeans come by automobile from a similar zone, except that they appear to be drawn from greater distances to the east, and many more from Entebbe with its relatively large white population.

The map is based upon estimates of the theatre managers in Kampala but carefully corroborated, and in some cases considerably changed, by spot checks of the attendance at films (1) with strong African attraction, (2) with appeal to Europeans, and (3) at Asian motion pictures. Individuals were asked where they lived and answers from entire showings were plotted on maps.

The Asian "area" is by far the largest, so it might be inferred that Kampala is more of a recreation center for Asians than it is for other groups of the population. Partly, no doubt, this is due to the scattering of Asians into many small towns where they find little social intercourse and where no films or no Asian films are shown. It is the policy in Kampala to show Asian films on Sundays. This day of rest for most people in Uganda allows time for the long drive--say sixty miles from beyond Jinja, or from Masaka or Mubende.

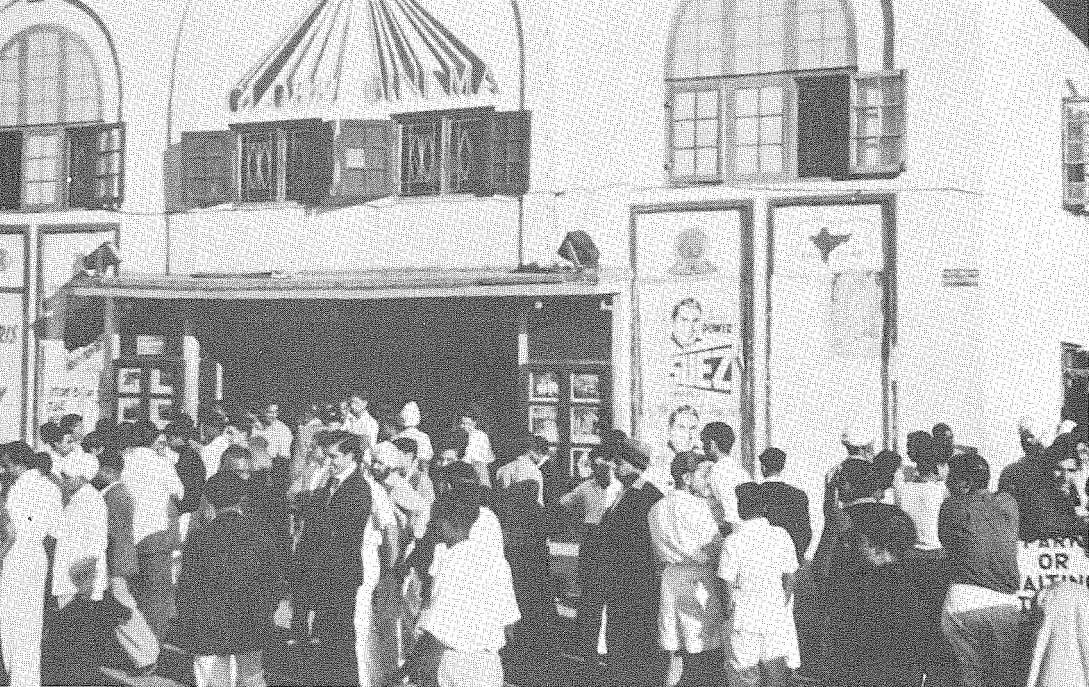
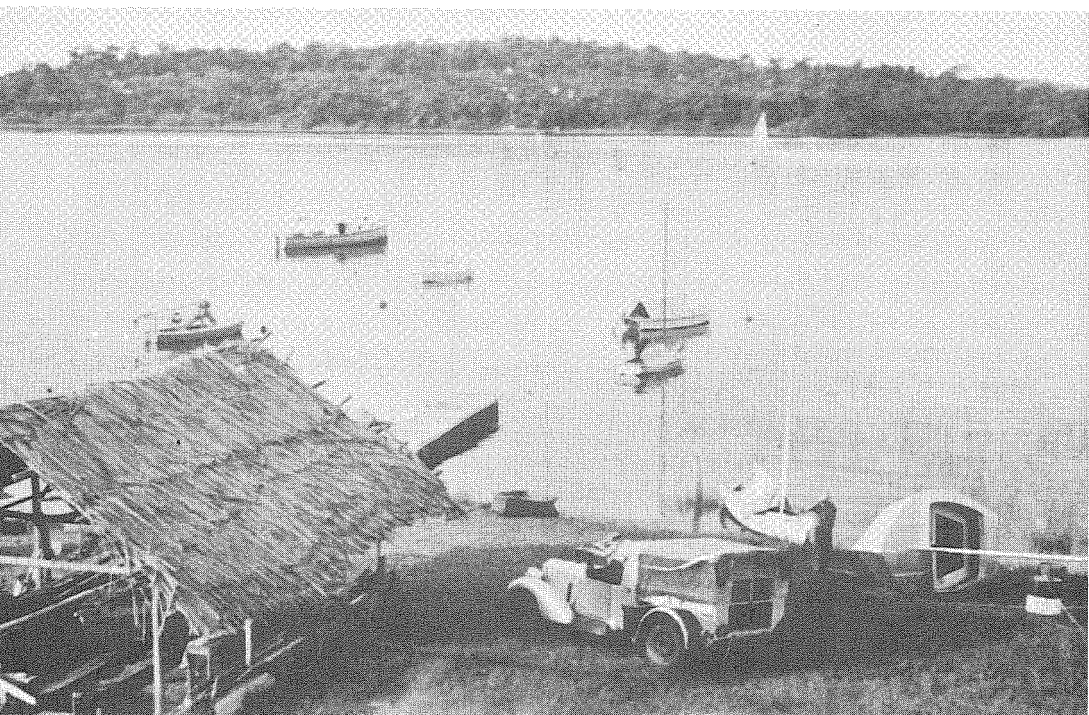


Fig. 33.--A predominantly Asian crowd leaving the cinema after a Sunday afternoon showing. Characteristic is the absence of women. The crowd breaks down into conversational groups and does not disperse rapidly as do European and African audiences.

Fig. 34.--The Victoria Nyanza Sailing Club has mostly small craft. Crocodiles and hippopotami restrict swimming.



The showing is over in the late afternoon, allowing time to return home.

Kampala clubs draw members from people concentrated closely around the town but also have scattered members in most parts of the Protectorate. In the case of the Europeans, some of these people have been transferred to a new post and retain nominal membership. In other instances, an active affiliation is the tie--sufficiently strong to bring members several hundred miles to play in a Sunday cricket match.

Europeans in Jinja, being numerous enough, have made for themselves an independent, well-rounded community; therefore, they do not fall within the Kampala circle. Not so with the Asians, who tend to look more toward Kampala and to drive to Kampala for meetings and events of the Nakersero Sports Club, the one used as an example on the map.

In many parts of the world it is typical of small, widely scattered minority groups to travel long distances to participate in friendly athletic encounters and social exchange. Here we are concerned only with a solid area of sustained interest.

The Victoria Nyanza Sailing Club is another such recreational activity that draws mostly Kampala people but also sailing enthusiasts from long distances.

## Transport

Although Kampala is the major center of all of the Protectorate, the layout of transport facilities and hence costs does exert a divisive force on the movement of goods.

The area serviced by Kampala for imports and exports can be defined roughly as from Kampala westward to the Belgian Congo and down into Ruanda-Urundi and north by the line of water communication from Namasagali through Masindi to Lake Albert (see Figure 2). This special transport region focused on Kampala backs up against the area north of the water route, which is best served for many purposes by the rail line from Mombasa through Kenya to Namasagali and then north and west in Uganda.



Fig. 35.--This cricket pitch is used for all-Uganda and inter-territorial matches.

Fig. 36.--The National Bank of India Kampala branch on the north side of Kampala Road.



Costs are a principal factor. Co-existence of the two orientations is not always readily apparent because often companies in Kampala will order goods for, say, Lira which will be delivered direct from the coast and not come through Kampala, where the transaction is made.

## Banking

Before discussion of the banking area served by Kampala, it may be worth while to consider banking areas in Uganda and how they operate. The three main centers are Kampala, Jinja, and Mbale. Kampala serves the greater part of Buganda, the entire Western Province, and to a lesser extent the Northern Province. Jinja serves part of the Eastern Province and a small part of Buganda on the west bank of the Nile. Mbale serves the more easterly part of the Eastern Province and the Northern Province. (See Figure 37.)

These centers must meet the needs of extensive areas--in some instances of small villages three hundred miles away--so it is evident that merchants at some distance cannot possibly feed their bank accounts by daily or even weekly deposits. A system of private banking has perforce been in operation for many years among the principal traders in the larger up-country towns.

The Europeans do not as a rule use much cash. Their salaries are paid by check and practically all of them maintain checking accounts at one of the three towns mentioned. Their needs for petty cash for daily use are, compared to American experience, extremely low in Kampala and even lower in up-country stations. Their goods and services are secured on credit, often by means of the ubiquitous chiti, which may be only a plain piece of paper with a penciled notation, "Give Festo a bag of flour," and the signature of a European who runs an account at the duka. Paying wages up-country can be handled through the same dukas, which will hand over cash in exchange for a check or a chiti signed by the trusted customer. The chitis, totaled and rendered in a statement periodically, are then settled by a check.

Checks received by the duka are either mailed directly to the shopkeeper's bank or passed on to another merchant in payment of goods. In either



case, the circulation of cash through European hands is minimized.

Africans, on the other hand, buy and sell almost exclusively for cash. Large sums of money must be paid for cotton when that crop is harvested and marketed. In 1949 over seven million pounds sterling was required to purchase raw cotton from African growers. Many of the African cotton farmers share the conservative views of their kind all over the world in distrusting paper money. Odd amounts must be paid out for small loads of cotton the smaller growers may bring in. Therefore, for two reasons a large percentage of the cotton crop is purchased in coin--one-shilling pieces (presently equal to about \$.14), fifty-cent (half a shilling), ten-cent, five-cent, and one-cent pieces. Payoff in coin may run as high as thirty to thirty-five per cent. All this means that approximately two and one-half million pounds sterling in coins is put into circulation between early January and late March.

For our purposes in this part of the study, merchants (ninety per cent Asian) can be divided into three categories: (1) the wholesale merchant with a checking account; (2) the retail merchant with a checking account; and (3) the retail merchant with no checking account. The third category would include nearly all of the African traders, very few of whom have checking accounts.

The cotton money is paid to the African grower, who spends it on clothes for his wife, for paying "brideprice" for a new wife, or possibly for a bicycle--all in a sense consumer items. Or he may make capital investments in building material for his house, new jembes (hoes) to turn the soil, or more land. He must also pay his poll tax, and this is a good time to do that. In the end, however, most of the cash finds its way to the Indian or Pakistani trader.

If he is a small trader, such as in the third category, he merely passes the money on to a bigger trader in the second category or to a wholesale merchant in exchange for more goods. The retailer with a checking account may also pass some of the cash on to the wholesaler for goods, but it is likely

that he imports a fair amount of stock himself, in which case he tends to accumulate cash from his sales. This cash may be turned over to the wholesaler in exchange for a check, which can be mailed to the bank for crediting to his account; or he may himself travel to the banking center to collect goods and will take the cash with him to avoid paying the commission the wholesaler normally charges for taking the money to the bank for him.

In the up-country districts the wholesaler will serve as a private banker. There are two ways he can get rid of the cash he takes over. He can exchange it with plantations or mines for a check to give them the needed cash for their payrolls. This system is largely confined to the Mbarara and Fort Portal areas, where Uganda's few mines and plantations are located.

Where large payrolls are being met the year round, there is always a fair amount of currency circulating in such districts, but this has very little to do with the amount that must find its way back to the banking center. Of course, it all doesn't have to return, nor does it. A surprisingly large amount is taken out of circulation and buried in the floors of huts, although this practice is becoming less important as more Africans become familiar with and have confidence in post office and bank savings accounts.

No exact figures can be given, but almost one hundred per cent of the Europeans have checking accounts, probably ninety per cent of the Asian merchants in the banking centers use the banks, and approximately seventy-five per cent of the up-country merchants. The private banker-merchant can be found in every center of any size that is over fifty miles away from Kampala, Mbale, or Jinja. In terms of banking then, Kampala has a particular relationship with a non-political area of irregular shape that covers less than the whole Protectorate.

## Religion

In the heyday of imperialism the flag and trade went hand in hand. More recently subject peoples have alleged an unholy alliance between the flag and religion. Figure 38 suggests supporting evidence of the latter com-



UGANDA  
PROTECTORATE

E. MUNGER, 1950

Fig. 38

bination. The division of trade regions into north and south of the Nile as it roughly bisects the country diagonally is repeated in the pattern of religious divisions of authority in Uganda.

Directly north of Kampala the water course has been adopted as a line of demarcation by H. H. Aga Khan Ismailia Supreme Council, the Uganda Vicariate of the Roman Catholic Church, the East African Muslim Welfare Society Provincial Council, and as the northern border of the area from which students are sent to the Nsambya Seminary. As the map shows, in the west there is a split in defining territories, with the Victoria Nile accepted as a boundary more often than the Kafu River.

A gross impression from the map is that there is a strong tendency to follow political boundaries. One can generalize that the more important and larger the religious group, the less its boundaries tend to coincide with political units and the more it tends to subdivide Uganda and make Kampala the headquarters for an intermediate area rather than for the entire Protectorate.

The religious groups more closely circumscribing Kampala indicate generally only feeble local organization. The Hindu, Sikh, and Jain sects have a diffuse feeling of association with their respective co-religionists in other parts of Uganda but no definite ties. The Arya Samaj is a well knit group in Kampala and operates a school.

The Dawoodi Bohra line is based on a consensus of feeling in that community of just which people are part of the Kampala group and which people a little farther away are outside of it. However, in some of these smaller groups, when the numbers involved are only two or three hundred souls, the lines of demarcation are subject to rapid fluctuation.

The designation "Local" is meant to include various African semi-religious associations and somewhat hazy groupings around such cores of influence as would be called "medicine man," "witch doctor," "juju," and the like in popular terminology. So far as was determined, only a relatively few Baganda were involved and organization was not well developed. In total



numbers, however, more people are drawn from Kampala into the countryside by such influences. It would be a mistake to exclude such relationships. Although the subject was not probed extensively, enough instances of uneducated people traveling to Kampala from a neighboring village in order to have the herbs or "incantations" of a particular "religious man" were uncovered to establish the importance of such relationships without measuring them quantitatively. The line for this drawn on the map is merely suggestive of their existence.

## Protectorate

### Political

It is not surprising that the largest city in Uganda is the focal point of most activities within the Protectorate. The relational pattern is not consistent and contains a number of anomalies, some of which have an historical explanation, but the origins of many are lost in the past.

In a narrow sense, Entebbe is the focus of the area expressed politically by the Protectorate boundary. But there has been a migration of functions from Entebbe to Kampala, and others that might logically be expected to develop in Entebbe are rooted in Kampala. The Secretariat, the Governor, and most governmental departments are in Entebbe, but the police and the posts-telephone-telegraphs administrations are in Kampala. Explanation for location of the latter two is that Kampala is the communications center of Uganda, illustrated by Figure 39, and it is more efficient to have senior officials in the center of the circuit. The Police Commissioner is in residence in Kampala. In 1947, 10,100 messages were handled by Uganda police stations. Kampala originated 3,191, while the next most important were: Soroti, 962; Masaka, 892; Moroto, 748; and Entebbe far down the list with only 206.<sup>1</sup>

When soldiers were streaming back from World War II and a Central Registration Bureau had to be set up to handle their problems, it was sited in

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<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Uganda Police for 1947, p. 5.

Kampala. The card index recording particulars on every Uganda soldier is kept in Kampala, where is also the District Bureau for Mengo.<sup>1</sup>

Even the idea of building more government offices in Entebbe drew opposition in the Uganda Legislative Council on the grounds that any office expansion should be in Kampala.<sup>2</sup>

In a more subtle sense, the political pulse of the Protectorate is in Kampala. The report on the 1945 riots in Buganda reads: "The Governor was on tour in Karamoja, a remote district on the Kenya border, when the disturbances began but returned immediately and established his office in Kampala, thus being able to keep in closer touch than would have been possible had he remained at his headquarters in Entebbe."<sup>3</sup> It was recommended that a private telegraph line or wireless communication be set up between Kampala and the government offices in Entebbe.<sup>4</sup> During the 1949 riots, the seat of government again tended to shift toward Kampala. When an emergency meeting had to be called bringing together the Kabaka, Governor, and other officials, it was held in the Resident's office in Kampala.<sup>5</sup> The Governor also maintains an office in Kampala.

## Social

Four important social relationships between Kampala and the Protectorate are: (1) flow of ideas, (2) recreation, (3) religion, and (4) education.

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<sup>1</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Civil Reabsorption Progress Report (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1947), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Sixth Meeting of the Twenty-Sixth Session, 24th July, 1947 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1947), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Report on the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances which occurred in Uganda during January, 1945 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1945), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Uganda during April, 1949 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1950), p. 50.

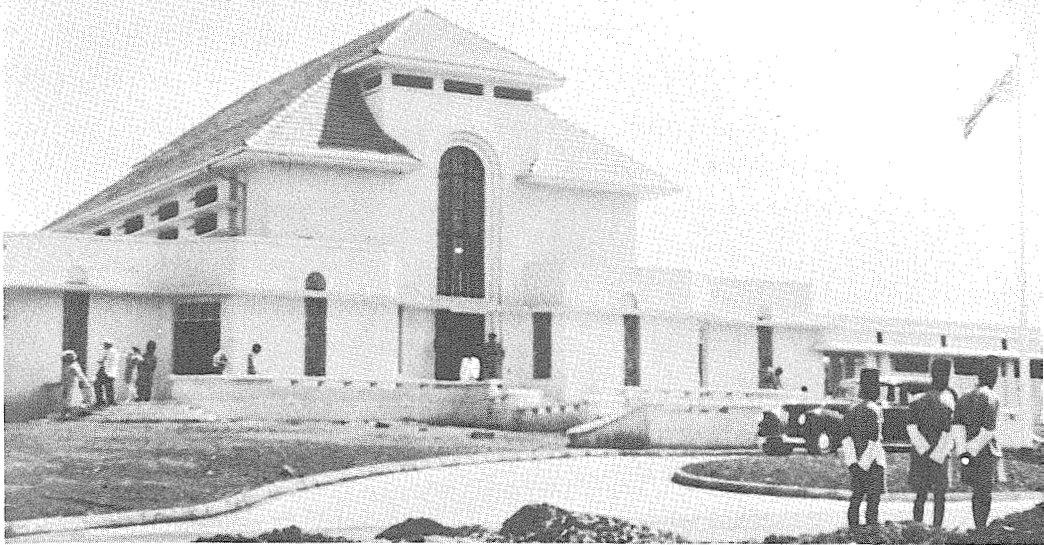
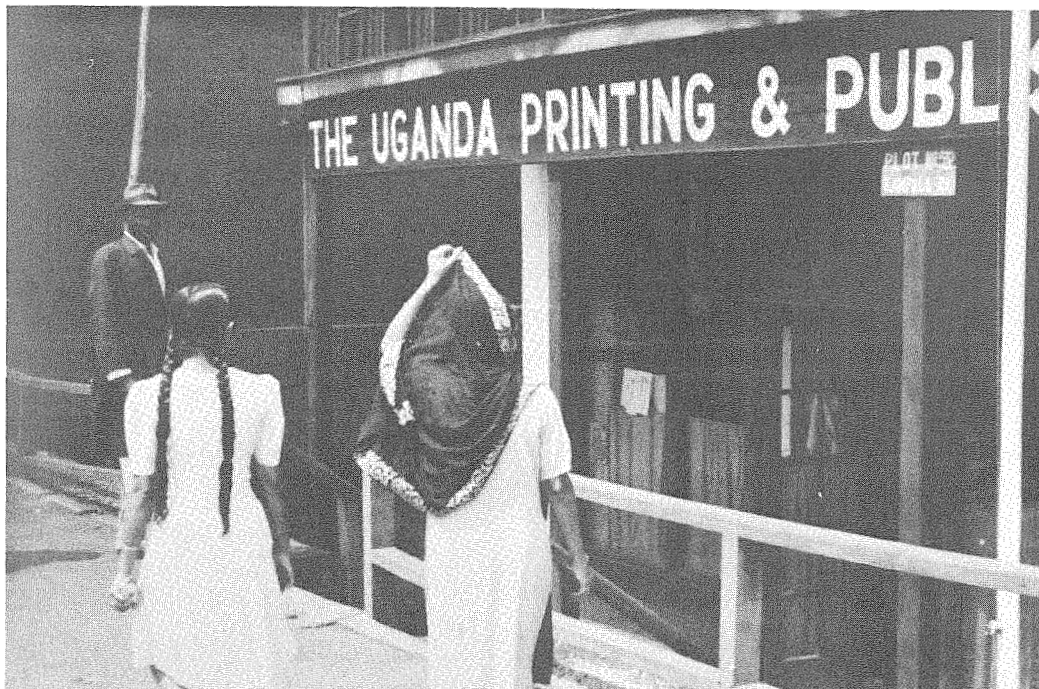


Fig. 40.--The town hall was presented to Kampala by a generous Asian merchant. The Uganda Legislative Council meets here.

Fig. 41.--Private British publisher of the Uganda Herald and vernacular papers.



Flow of ideas.--Greater Kampala is the intellectual center of Uganda, the point from which ideas, news, and gossip are disseminated. Such influence is largely confined to the Protectorate and does not extend significantly beyond the political boundary. Obviously, the generation of news and ideas is a major manifestation of the impact of the whole world upon Kampala and Uganda and the reverse flow is relatively trivial--even less important than it might be because of the isolation of Uganda from an ocean port, for which even the international airport at Entebbe is small compensation. Further, the comparatively large European population of Kenya and the intellectual activity in Nairobi acts as a muffler on the carrying power of Kampala's voice, as also Nairobi tends to sift incoming impressions. To the west a language and transport barrier loom.

Kampala bows to Entebbe as the source of official and semi-official decisions and information, of course, and as the social headquarters, presided over by the Governor and his wife.

So far as Asians and Africans are concerned, this exception to the importance of Kampala as a point of dissemination of ideas does not exist. Thought from Kampala appears to have a bigger impact on the smaller towns of Buganda and the Northern and Western Provinces than on Jinja and Mbale to the east, of fair size themselves, which have closer connections with Kenya.

Most important in many ways and most difficult to determine is the flow of primarily African news and thought.<sup>1</sup> The flow may be divided on a type basis into: (1) news and gossip of general interest, (2) basic information of a routine nature, (3) anti-government propaganda, and (4) literary and artistic expression.

News and gossip of general interest means "hot" political news--such as appointment of a new cabinet member or Governor; the outcome of a controversial court case; or, as happened in 1945, the news that the Katikiro

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<sup>1</sup>The writer wishes to acknowledge especially the helpful suggestions on this part of Mr. C. S. Kisisonkole, Director of the East African Literature Bureau's Kampala office.

("prime minister" of Buganda) had been declared unfit to continue in office on medical grounds. It may also include the outcome of a football (soccer) match, especially an important one like the final game for the Kabaka's Cup; the new price for cotton; or a change in the sugar ration. Such news is spread by word of mouth but appears to follow definite channels--bus routes and main roads. For example, it is a common sight at Kabale, when the bus from Kampala arrives, to see a dozen people crowd around and ask the African driver or passengers for news from Kampala. Some are there to meet friends; others merely because it is a dramatic moment. From the point where the bus stops, the news travels by constant repetition. Bicyclists carry it along the roads leading from Kampala and in tense times will be stopped and asked the news by people along the way.

Basic information may be very newsworthy but still not of a nature to excite the imagination of bus travelers and cyclists. It may be the news that the minimum wage for houseboys in Kampala has been raised and so start a drift toward the town. It may deal with the appointment of new saza chiefs, contain a new bus schedule, or tell of foreign happenings such as a general election in Great Britain, which is remote in many ways. This kind of information goes through the vernacular press concentrated in Kampala. This is not to say that word-of-mouth is not important, but word-of-mouth spreading generally starts from an outlying community where someone has read the paper distributed from Kampala. The greater speed and greater inaccuracy of the secondary, human, as opposed to primary, printed, sources is a cause of difficulty to the government in times of war or civil disorder. In the latter instance, statements of the opponents of the government or mere unintentional exaggeration is carried by the first described medium while the government attempts to "catch up" with the news through the vernacular press--an extremely difficult and frustrating process for those involved.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The spreading of false information was the subject of a strong condemnatory statement by the Katikiro in 1948. See: Uganda Protectorate, Annual Reports on the Kingdom of Buganda, Eastern Province, Western Prov-



Accusations against the established order generally contain an element of truth plus a particular "switch" in the meaning or an outright falsehood. It may be rumor of selling land to Europeans by the Buganda or Protectorate government, which is a tense topic in Buganda and easily misconstrued; or a new tax program; or any number of grievances and plans for action against them--both of which may be real or imaginary. This kind of information is generally spread through the handbill type of literature printed in the Greater Kampala area and carried by individuals. Again, there is a good deal of mouth-to-mouth spreading beyond the limits of printed dissemination.

As a source of African intellectual, artistic, or literary expression, Kampala does not have a monopoly. Wherever it originates, however, it percolates to Kampala (primarily to the area around the lubiri in Mengo) and, if of sufficient merit or interest, goes out from the town to the whole Protectorate. This may be a new song someone has made up (if in Luganda the spread is largely restricted to Buganda), an innovation in African governmental practice, a style of dress that gains favor in Mengo, or a whole range of stories from serious to little more than jokes.

Historically, this spread from Mengo-Kampala is associated with the Kabaka's headquarters. Because the Baganda have been the political and intellectual leaders of Uganda, the center of their ideas has influenced not only Buganda but the whole country. This "looking up to Mengo" received a rude shock in the 1945 riots and an even greater one in the 1948 disturbances. Influence still obtains, and the Baganda remain the most influential tribe, but the aura around them seems to be dissipating. Here we are on very tenuous ground because the changes in attitude are subtle and difficult to measure. A single Acholi tried to express what he thought to be the attitude of the northern Uganda Nilotic tribes. In his view, they continue to accept ideas and

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ince, Northern Province for the Year ended 31st December, 1948 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1950), p. 29.

interpretations of news that filter out from Mengo but no longer unquestioningly. When ideas in their eyes are not good, the outlying peoples are not slow to reject them in favor of alternatives. A District Commissioner concurring in this statement attributed it not so much to the riots in Greater Kampala as to a rising tribal nationalism among the formerly most backward tribes of the Protectorate.

Whatever the explanation, there does appear to be a trend: the influence of Buganda and its center, Greater Kampala, is declining as an all-important, all-pervading source of primarily African ideas and ways of doing things. This sort of statement cannot be made dogmatically, but the spread of news and ideas is so important in assessing the total relational structure of Greater Kampala that the undocumented intimations above are presented.

Recreation.--The map of cinema attendance and club membership distribution was discussed previously with respect to the immediate area within which Kampala is influential. A step beyond this is the entire Protectorate. When the Uganda Kobs cricket team plays Kenya in Nairobi or in Kampala, the Uganda players are drawn from all over the country. This is something more than a national team or all-star aggregation. It is a phenomenon of most areas where skilled sportsmen are distributed sparsely (quite apart from population density). Certain sporting activities must necessarily be organized on a country-wide basis just to achieve a certain minimum level of skill to allow a "proper" game to be played. When racial breakdowns are made--all hockey players must be Sikhs, or cricket players Europeans--the need is all the more obvious. At a competition between such up-country stations as, say, Gulu and Arua, traditionally held at certain times in the year, racial distinctions are ignored and all three races participate on both sides.

The cinema drawing area as mapped and described is, by the same token, not that of the legitimate theatre. It is not unusual for Europeans living great distances from Kampala either to drive into Kampala for amateur theatrical practices and performances; and on occasion wives of civil servants

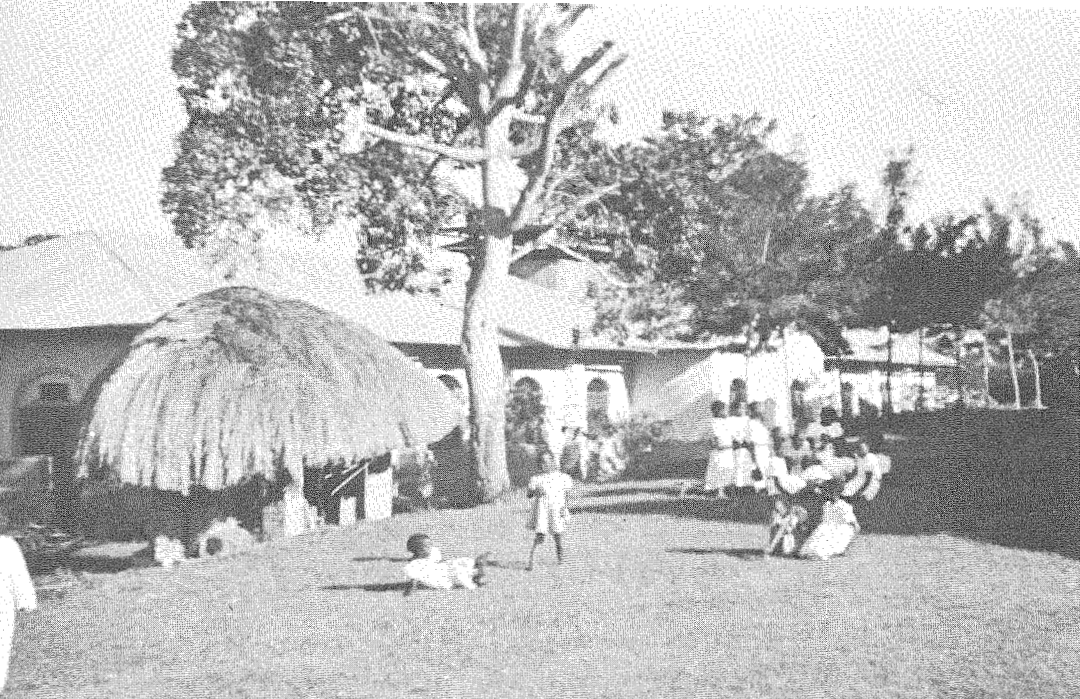
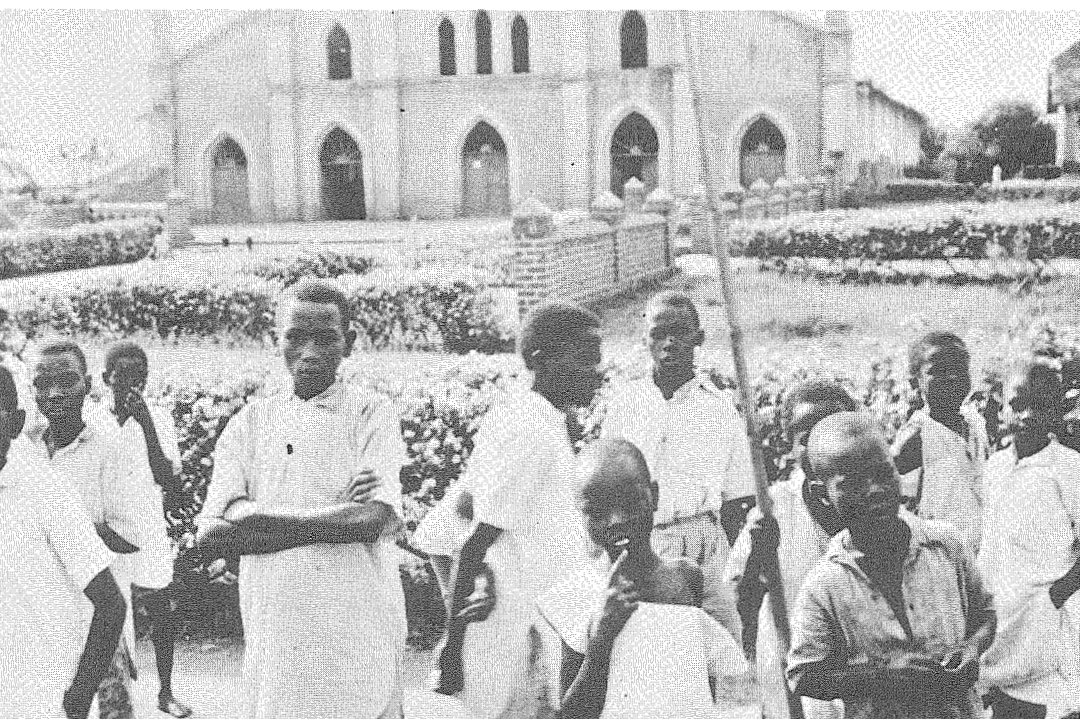


Fig. 42.--Church Missionary Society primary school children playing in front of class rooms.

Fig. 43.--Catholic school children in front of the church at Arua, near the Congo and Sudan borders in northwestern Uganda. Both groups pictured on this page come under the educational control of Kampala.



stationed up-country will come to Kampala to participate and stay in town with friends.

The Old Budonians' Club (former students of Kings College secondary school at Budo) is the leading African social center in Kampala with a hall in Mengo Village, which it lends for social events.

Religion.--The Bishop of Uganda of the Native Anglican Church has his seat at Namirembe Cathedral in Kampala and is responsible for the area in Uganda encompassed by the Western Province, Buganda, and the District of Busoga in the Eastern Province (compare Figures 2 and 38). The rest of Uganda is under the Bishop of the Upper Nile. The Bishop of Uganda (so far always a Britisher) has a dual role, for he is also Bishop of the Church Missionary Society. Inasmuch as the C.M.S. fathered the Native Anglican Church, the duality is a natural stage in the gradual separation of the two religious bodies. The C.M.S. today is primarily concerned with carrying on mission activities, not running an established church. All Europeans on its staff are supported by funds from Great Britain. The Native Anglican Church is an entirely self-supporting ecclesiastical body.

Education.--Educational relationships between Kampala and Uganda include control of mission education, a commercial college, Makerere College, concentration of leading secondary schools, non-African primary education, and meetings of special education groups.

Education is so closely bound up with the various religious groups, and at the same time so heavily supported and controlled by the state, that it might be an open question whether church or state organization from Kampala would operate. The Protestants will serve as our example in this case.

Protestant mission education in Uganda is, in fact, organized entirely differently from other mission work or ecclesiastical activities. Because a predominance of such schools is aided by government grants (578 in all for Protestant missions), the influence of the government is considerable. Not only in Uganda but in the other East African territories, where the bulk of

school funds is from the governments, control of education is organized by political divisions. As the next chapter will show, other religious functions do not operate along such strict lines.

The Educational Secretary-General of the Protestant Missions, paid by the Protectorate government but always drawn from a mission, supervises from Kampala all Protestant mission education in Uganda. Thus, he administers the two Native Anglican Church dioceses--of Uganda (delimited on the map in Figure 38) and of the Upper Nile (not on the map)--except that where they extend beyond Uganda (into Belgian territory in the first instance and into the Sudan in the second), his official control does not. His unofficial influence is, however, less restricted. The West Nile District of Uganda is under the African Inland Mission, and the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society works in Karamoja. Neither is controlled from Kampala (hence not shown on the map), but both areas fall under the Protestant Educational Secretary-General for educational purposes only. At the end of 1949, the 578 government-aided schools had an enrollment of 62,431 and a teaching staff of 2,169.<sup>1</sup>

A commercial college for Africans is to be built in Kampala. The original impetus was a donation of ten thousand pounds sterling from an Indian businessman. The Protectorate government later made a grant of one hundred thousand pounds to launch its endowment fund. The college is to give commercial training to Africans from all parts of Uganda.

With Makerere University College (to be discussed at length in Chapter III) and the commercial college, Kampala has a monopoly on higher education. The Kampala area also has a corner on the best secondary schools. The bare numbers of secondary schools (both junior and senior) is along misleading, for they vary enormously in quality. One of the most easily ascertained guides to the standing of a school is the number of European teachers assigned to it. Further, the best African teachers (some of whom are better trained

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<sup>1</sup>The figures and this discussion are drawn from the writer's conversation with the Protestant Secretary-General in 1950.

than many European teachers) appear to be assigned to secondary schools where there are the most European teachers.

In each instance where a mission has a secondary school near Kampala, that is the school of the mission which has the most European teachers. The White Fathers Mission has at its secondary schools four, one, two, one, none, none, one, one, one, one, one, one, four European teachers, respectively, but eleven at Kisubi outside Kampala. The Mill Hill Mission has four, three, one, four, one, one European teachers, respectively, in six secondary schools and nine in the seventh--Namilyango near Kampala. The Church Missionary Society spreads eighteen European teachers over nineteen secondary schools. But in their twentieth, and prize, school at Budo, near Kampala, they have ten European teachers.<sup>1</sup>

European primary education is confined to Kampala. The government acknowledges responsibility for European secondary education, but there is none in Uganda. The trend, however, is away from government bursaries to allow a selected few to be educated abroad and toward attendance at local institutions.<sup>2</sup>

The only provision for Goan children and small numbers of Seychellois, Chinese, and Indian Christians is in Kampala. Proposals have been made to build a hostel for such children coming to Kampala from rural areas.<sup>3</sup>

Kampala is likewise the site for all sorts of teachers' meetings. The Uganda Educational Association meets in Kampala annually. Also, refresher courses are held. For example, forty-one teachers from Indian public and Aga Khan schools attended courses lasting twelve weeks, from January

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<sup>1</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Education Department for 1948 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1950), pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup>A spirited speech by Mr. C. L. Holcom on European primary and secondary education in Uganda is recorded in: Uganda Protectorate, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Second, Third and Fourth Meetings of the Thirtieth Session, 9th-11th January, 1951 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1951), pp. 37-43.

<sup>3</sup>Annual Report of the Education Department for 1948, p. 6.

to April, 1948.<sup>1</sup>

General cultural organizations on the all-Protectorate level include: the Uganda Museum, which is to be located in Kampala permanently and is to have a regular curator;<sup>2</sup> the Uganda Society (to be discussed in Chapter IV); and, again, the Boy Scouts, with headquarters in Kampala and a full-time, paid organizer and nearby training camp.

### Economic

These relationships will be described on a general level and then in terms of three specific activities: the Supply Board, the operation of an actual company, and automobile sales distribution.

General. -- The present trade pattern in Uganda is a composite of two distinct situations: one where political boundaries are trade barriers and one where they are not. Kampala is the headquarters for the handling, distribution, and sale of a great many commercial items from the outside world. These items are expensive to buy, or require local processing, or carry brand-names with an established sales demand and steady profits for those with franchise rights. The goods move within an area rigidly conforming to the boundaries of Uganda. There seem to be more exceptions with respect to Ruanda-Urundi, which operates with a "hard" currency, than with respect to the Sudan or Tanganyika, with closer cultural and fiscal ties to Uganda.

Free trading without regard to boundaries is done mostly by Africans and Asians dealing with goods consumed by Africans such as non-controlled foodstuffs and traditional items of barter along the Kenya, Sudan, Congo, Ruanda, and Tanganyika borders. African exchange of Western-type goods is stimulated locally by varying prices in adjacent countries which, in view of the ease with which minor customs evasion can be practiced successfully by

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Uganda Protectorate, *Progress in Uganda 1948*, Being a portion of the Address by His Excellency the Governor to the Legislative Council at the Opening Meeting of the Twenty-eighth Session on the 28th December, 1948 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1949), p. 33.

Africans, tends to produce a slightly higher standard of living on both sides of the boundaries. This is particularly true along the Belgian line, where price differentials are greatest. In the Congo dried fish are frequently much cheaper than in Uganda, but bicycles are less expensive in Uganda.

Kampala is not of much importance in this local African trade. Its influence over purely African transactions declines rapidly away from the town.

Two different types of business where the alien, non-African influence is strongest, and where Kampala does dominate, are insurance (which is important) and hairdressing (which is trivial). Insurance generally is only one facet of the many-sided "agent" kind of business concern, which handles almost anything on a commission basis. A firm that deals primarily in cotton<sup>1</sup> frequently is also agent for a large insurance company. The two activities can be handled without appreciably increasing the agent's overhead. Usually the customers of the "sub-operation" such as insurance will be drawn almost solely from the customers of the "primary" operation. Thus one may find, as in the case of the New India Assurance Company, two distinct, separate agents in Kampala, each drawing his insurance customers from among his cotton customers. In some instances the agent reports to a district office in Nairobi or sometimes direct to a home office in London, Bombay, or Sydney, as the case may be.

Ladies' hairdressing is of highly specialized appeal to only a fraction of the inhabitants of Uganda, of course. It does illustrate the concentration of specialized functions in Kampala, from where all of Uganda is served, if served at all. Of the three hairdressers in Uganda, two are in Kampala and a third in Entebbe. European women from up-country look forward to having their hair dressed as one of the reasons for visiting Kampala. All the capital equipment comes from firms in Nairobi, who in turn have received it from Britain, and the operators are all Europeans.

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<sup>1</sup>Concentration of these offices was discussed in Chapter I.



Supply Board.--The price control-supply distribution board for all of Uganda has its headquarters in Kampala. In the breakdown of this control there are essentially three systems. The method of sugar distribution through gombolola chiefs and the handling of maize flour, wheat flour, butter, and rice through wholesalers at the District level have already been discussed. The third method is direct allocation and control from Kampala.

The most graphic illustration of this third kind of control is perhaps the case of Scotch whiskey. The five wholesalers in Uganda who handle it are all in Kampala. They are given permits by the Supply Board to distribute the whiskey to clubs, hotels, and retailers in Uganda only on an individual quota allotment basis. The purchasers pick up their supply in Kampala and arrange its transport themselves. Since demand is great for whiskey, retailers compete keenly to be among the few handling it. Food stores, for example, attract customers not by special sales but by offering the buyer the opportunity to buy Scotch at the controlled price. The Supply Board has what amounts virtually to a life and death control over certain businesses in that elimination of a retailer's quota, leaving him none to pass on to his customers, may result in all the customers taking their total trade to another retailer. This has been carried to the point of absurdity by some Europeans who tend to shift from club to club, depending on which has the best whiskey supply. The relation of Kampala to the rest of Uganda is highly centralized in this specific instance, as it is in a number not cited.

Distribution of iron and steel, cement, jute, and jute bags is also controlled for Uganda from Kampala except that some allotments of steel, iron, and cement may be made for Jinja only by an Assistant Director stationed there. Again, the part of Uganda nearest Kenya tends to have a split relationship. However, a request for authority to buy cement in Mbale (beyond Jinja) from Kampala is handled through the Kampala office. Jinja is handling increasing quantities itself as work proceeds on the Owen Falls Dam.

Company "X".--This long-established Kampala firm dealing prima-

rily with hard goods but with a diversified import business illustrates (1) the breakdown in importance between Kampala and outlying centers in Uganda; (2) the most common outside Uganda trading arrangement; and (3) the distributional handling of heavy products imported into various parts of the Protectorate.

The breakdown of sales indicated in Figure 44 appears to be characteristic of Kampala headquarters except that a spot check showed Jinja to be slightly more important with some other Kampala firms than the one detailed.

It should not be implied from the map that goods are utilized only in the centers indicated. Bicycles are one of the popular lines of Company "X" and are ridden in nearly all parts of the Protectorate. The concentration of sales in a relatively few spots appears to reflect resales by small retailers and also the fact that Africans have their postal box address and receive mail and goods in a town when they may live twenty or more miles away in the countryside.

The base period used for the map was the first three months of 1950, the final figures for which were roughly comparable with the figures for the four previous quarters.

The most important items Company "X" sells, accounting for 45.4% of its total, are bicycles, tires, and motor car spare parts. Machinery ran second with 17.8%; ploughs and spares 11%; khaki drill clothing amounted to 7.6%, only slightly more than nets and twine with 7%. Other minor items of sale included were liquor, hardware and tools, building material, and minor amounts of food, mostly candy.

Regional differences showed up in a detailed breakdown. Nets and twine were the most important items of sale in Fort Portal in the period studied. Over thirty-one thousand shillings' worth of such equipment was sold to fishermen or retailers selling to fishermen in the Fort Portal area as contrasted with a miniscule fifty shillings' worth in dry and lakeless Gulu. Entebbe, with its large number of Europeans and (one might add) high level of

entertaining, was second only to Kampala in the purchase of liquor. Next in importance in Entebbe were nets and twine, again associated with fishing activities. They are also in demand in Bukoba in Tanganyika.

At the three points of sale in Belgian-mandated Ruanda-Urundi--Usumbura, Kigali, and Goma (actually Goma is on the Belgian side of the border and its twin town, Kisenyi, is on the Ruanda side)--the great demand from Kampala was for machinery, hardware, and tools. Company "X" believes this is because British quality of such items is superior to Belgian. In general, though, business is restricted to within the borders of the country, accounted for in part by the system of granting franchises for the sale of various goods. The company with a franchise for Uganda sets up its sales organization and advertising to appeal only to the political unit.

Where there is a language barrier, the political line is reinforced, as in the case of Belgian territory generally. Physical isolation in the north acts as a bar there. Beyond Gulu it would be necessary to jump all the way to Nimule and probably to Juba in the Sudan to gain significant sales. Driving from Kampala to Juba one gets the feeling that while such an outlet is physically feasible, it probably isn't economically so. Such sales would still be peripheral and often not worth the difficulty of dealing in a new currency, with strange retailers doing business in different ways and under varying governmental regulations.

In the physical movement of heavy products the transport areal division discussed earlier in this chapter is the dominating factor.

Nearly all Company "X" imports come from Europe, largely from Britain. There has never been a strong U.S. market in Uganda except in a few lines such as motor cars, where American makes predominated before currency exchange restrictions. Approximately 98% of goods by weight and 90% by value arrive in Uganda by rail from Mombasa off ships from Europe. Some package goods are forwarded from Mombasa by truck, usually because rail movement has been subject to extended delays over the past few years. A

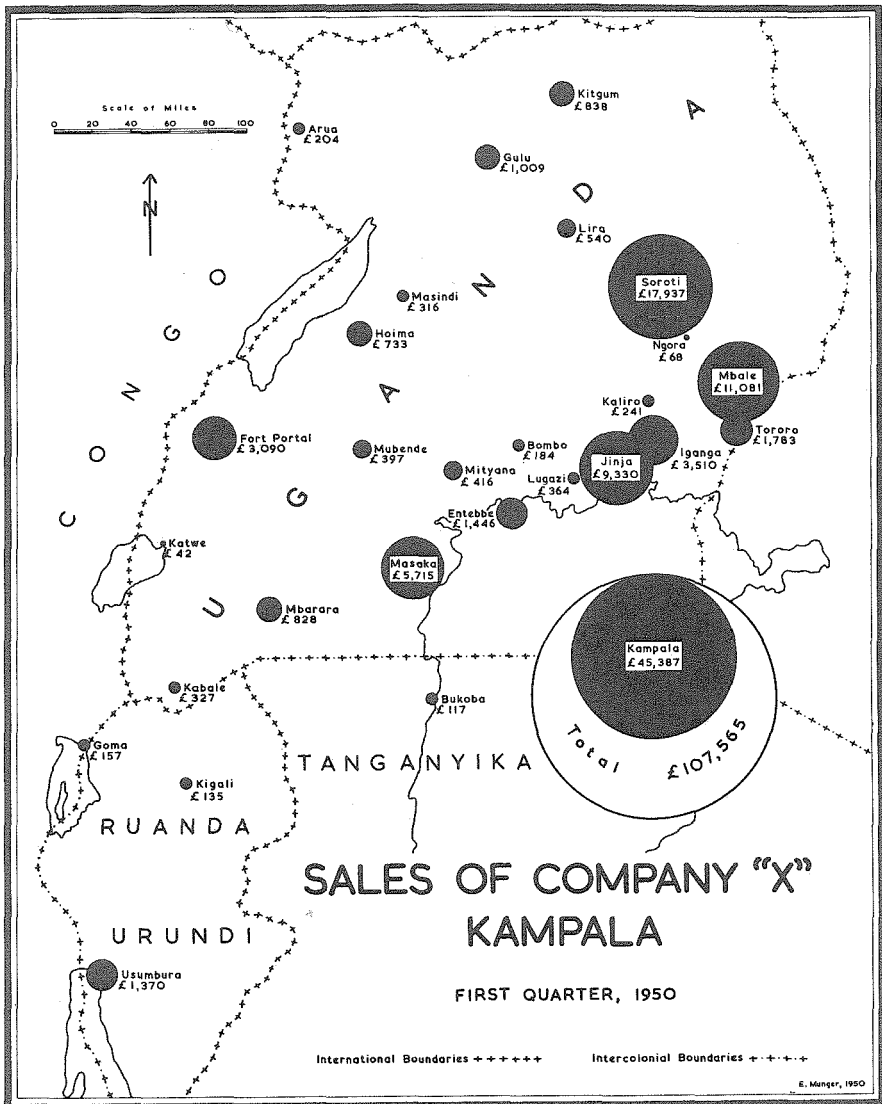


Fig. 44



customer who might be in Mombasa on some other business can save weeks on delivery time by driving his goods to Kampala himself. Some items are ordered sent out from Great Britain by air--mostly light replacement parts, the lack of which is keeping a valuable machine idle.

Goods arriving in Uganda by rail come to Kampala for storage or sale, except that individual pieces of great bulk and weight are often delivered directly to the buyer without ever reaching Kampala if such be the simplest route. This includes sales in eastern Uganda, goods for the north, and sometimes Masindi.

Automobile sales.--Automobiles are a common franchise commodity. Figure 45 shows the sales distribution of two Kampala distributors. Exceptions to sales being confined to within Uganda are accounted for by individuals who had ordered hard-to-get cars in Kampala and were subsequently transferred elsewhere before delivery was made.

A small but steady stream of cars from Uganda into the eastern Congo and Ruanda-Urundi is not shown on the map because sales are made in Kampala and the cars are registered there. Sometime later--often only a week, but up to a year or more--particular cars are imported into the Congo by individual owners. Here is represented not an extension of trade from Kampala across the border of Uganda but rather an attraction of buyers into Kampala. The trade is not aggressively cultivated by Kampala distributors.

Sales of two different distributors are shown to illustrate a point about branch offices. Twentsche Overseas Motors, which sells the Standard, serves all of Uganda from its head office in Kampala. Motors Limited, which handles Austin sales, has branches at Jinja and Mbale in addition to the head office in Kampala. The map figures are a comparison of sales for the years indicated between the two head offices only. It might be expected that while Standards would be sold all over Uganda from Kampala, Austins would be sold in Kampala and to the north and west only, leaving eastern sales to the two branches. As the figures show, this was not the case. It appears to make

little difference in the relative sales positions of the two head offices whether one has branches or not, despite the fact that both Mbale and Jinja are closer to Mombasa, where cars are unloaded.

## CHAPTER III

### RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN EAST AFRICA

#### General

In half a century Uganda and Kampala have gone from a stage in which almost nothing that happened in the outside world was of local concern to the present stage in which almost every major event in the world has a local reaction in Uganda. The change is cataclysmic.

Uganda's political horizon is extending to include East Africa. To understand this, we must briefly consider the other two partners in the triumvirate; where practical power lies; and how much unity exists at present.

Relations between Uganda and her partners are concentrated at comparatively few contact points. The vast bulk of the four and one-half million Africans in Uganda have no intercourse with or even much awareness of the five million Africans in Kenya or the dispersed and unorganized eight million Africans in Tanganyika.

Economic relations among the three East African countries are not strongly developed. All three territories are basically primary producers for British, Indian, and world markets. Export of the products of secondary industry accounts for a small part of the total trade of each country yet constitutes the major part of interterritorial trade. Intra-East Africa transport routes are oriented principally toward moving goods to and from world markets and, in most cases, only incidentally toward facilitating trade within East Africa.

Social relations, particularly on the African level, are in their infancy except in connection with Makerere College. Because of Makerere, Kampala has a close and important tie with East Africa and a larger area beyond.



Politically, the moves toward closer union in East Africa affect Kampala most vitally. Because of the overwhelming African population in East Africa, and especially because of the acknowledged paramountcy of African interests in Uganda, African attitudes toward federation are extremely important to present and future relationships. The point expressed in the Introduction that relationships in the realm of ideas and in the minds of individuals may be significant whether those people's thoughts are rooted in fact or conjured out of fiction applies here. African attitudes bear directly on the location of a future capital in East Africa. There are reasons to believe it may be Kampala.

The above general points will now be considered in detail.

## Kenya

In Kenya Colony and Protectorate the white settler community has long fought for home rule. Politically it overshadows all other racial groups. The Protectorate part is a nineteenth-century anachronism--a narrow coastal strip technically owned by the Sultan of Zanzibar, who leases it to the British government, but completely integrated with the Colony.

Along the coast the climate and agricultural products are tropical. Culturally, this area has a strong Arab tinge going back to the eighth century. This Arab influence is evidenced by the ruins of the fourteenth-century city of Gedi, by a population minority, by dhow traffic sailing into Mombasa from Arabia on the winds of the monsoon, and by the usage of Swahili, the language of a partly Arab tribe.

Inland is a semi-arid belt occupied by pastoral people. Farther from the coast the elevation increases to over four thousand feet, precipitation is higher, and the tribes--notably the Kikuyu and the Wakamba--live by subsistence agriculture. Beyond the great Rift Valley lie the "white highlands" of rich meadows, forests, and trout streams. Here at an altitude of around seven thousand feet is found most of the European farming.

Besides Africans, Arabs, and Europeans, there are various Asian

groups, who constitute a fourth racial element in Kenya (see Figure 6). An expanding population of Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, and Goans--some of them third- and fourth-generation-born in Africa--is concentrated in the urban centers, where they dominate the trade and service functions of the country.

### Tanganyika

This huge area was first consolidated as German East Africa, became a British mandate under the League of Nations, and is now a United Nations trust territory. Political control is centered in a British administering authority that states its intention of using it for the benefit of the African majority. A European settler community is restricted to a few areas in the north and south and is not so thoroughly British as in Kenya but much stronger in numbers and influence than the handful of whites in Uganda.

This territory is generally low-lying, hot, and dry. In overall progress it is behind its neighbors (roads are deplorable or non-existent). Although approximately eighty per cent of agricultural production is on a subsistence basis, £8,930,000 worth of sisal, £1,328,000 of raw cotton, £1,040,300 of diamonds, and £897,000 of coffee were exported in 1948.<sup>1</sup> Vast, potentially rich, but underdeveloped Tanganyika is Africa's sleeping giant.

### Concentration of power

Governments in West, Central, and East Africa have such pervading influence that some suggestion of it must be given. This pattern is widespread; to avoid using the subject of this study as an example, a brief description of goals and operations in the Gold Coast will be used to illustrate the situation.

The primary goal of British policy in the Gold Coast is the smooth transference within the next few years of the reins of government from Great Britain to the chiefs and democratically elected representatives of the people. "Government" means the central government, whose head is now the Governor and whose purse strings are held by a predominantly African legislature. The composition varies between colonies. It is composed of a well-trained team of civil servants whose duties permeate many

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<sup>1</sup>East Africa High Commission, *East African Economic and Statistical Bulletin No. 6* ([Nairobi:] East African Statistical Department, 1949), Table C. 14.

segments of Gold Coast life. It operates the railroad and ports, underwrites air services, builds housing estates, manages telephone and telegraph systems and radio broadcasting, finances the schools, encourages and supervises export crops, and shapes the whole economy through customs dues, import and export licenses and currency regulations. It is paternalistic and omnipotent.<sup>1</sup>

### Disunity

That part of Africa verbally defined by the phrase "British East Africa" does not have an intrinsic physical, biological, economic, or cultural unity. Its coastal plain is climatologically and to a certain extent culturally different from the hinterland. The thorn savannas of Tanganyika are duplicated in Kenya but neither is related to the green meadows of the European-settled highlands in both countries nor to the tropical lushness of Buganda. Much of Uganda is physically more akin to its western and northern neighbors than to East Africa. The humid coast, arid plains, Rift Valley, shallow lake basin, and snow-crested peaks--all underlain by the schist and gneiss basement complex with later sandstones, limestones, and shales and punctured by occasional volcanoes--produce no physiographic province or natural region.

There are biological similarities and an equal number of dissimilarities. The flora and fauna of Uganda have affinities with Central and West rather than with East Africa.<sup>2</sup>

### Economic

Slowly an economic unity is being created. The three countries do not form a self-sufficient economic bloc. Comparison of the map in Figure 46 of East African trade with the map in Figure 59 of Uganda's world exports shows that Uganda sends to Tanganyika less than ten per cent and to Kenya less than twenty per cent of her world total--despite the fact that Uganda is an interior country at a great distance from other potential markets. In return, Uganda receives an even smaller percentage of her cousins' world exports.

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<sup>1</sup>Edwin S. Munger, "An American on Africanisation: 1. Are the Standards Set Too High?" West Africa (March 17, 1951), p. 231.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas and Scott, op. cit., p. 44.

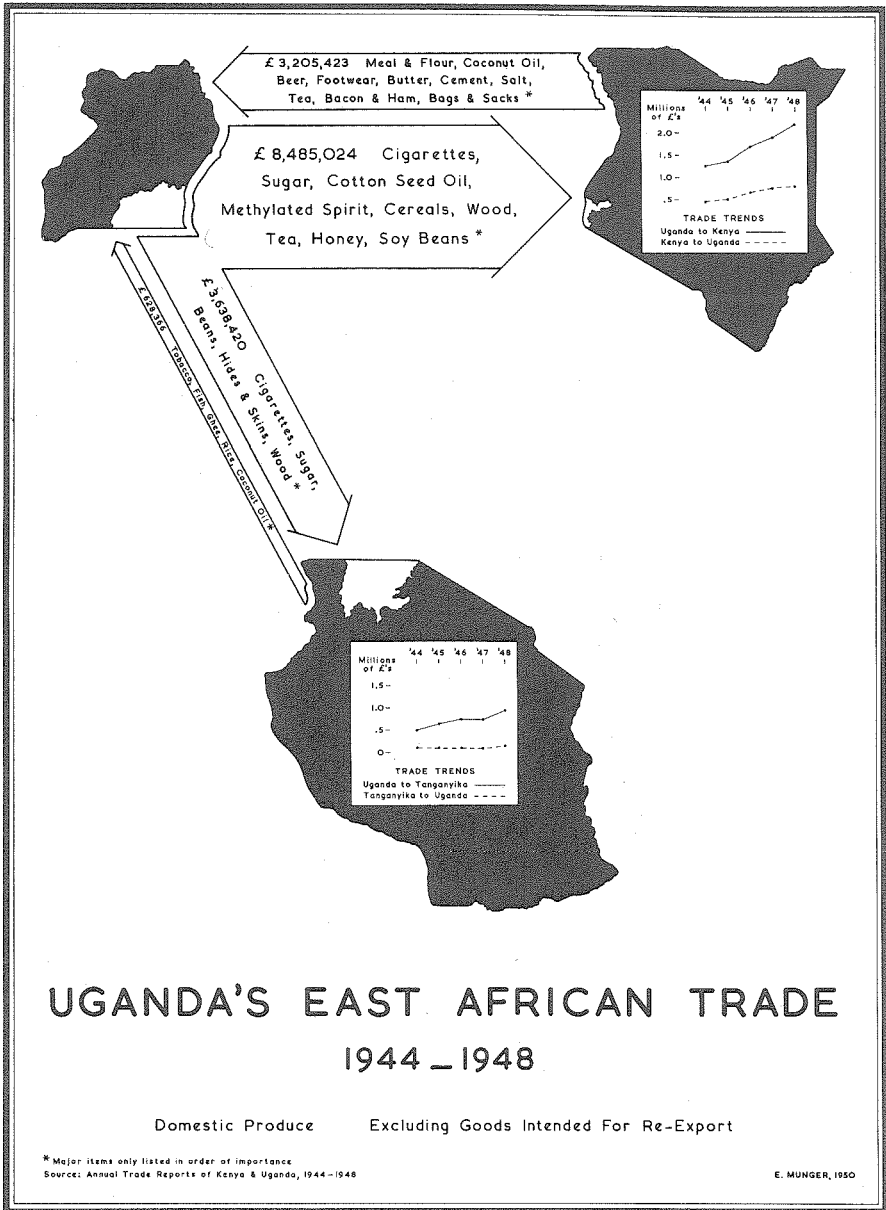


Fig. 46

All three countries are primary producers, competitive in coffee, tea, and sugar. The second most important item of export from Uganda into both Kenya and Tanganyika is sugar, nearly all of it grown on two large Indian-owned estates between Kampala and Jinja.

Three specific aspects of this general trade picture which involve Kampala are: secondary industry, transport to move goods within East Africa, and a special economic region tributary to Kampala.

### Secondary industry

Secondary industry, just beginning in East Africa, is most important in Kenya, where there is the largest market for European-type consumer goods. However, Uganda has a favorable balance of trade with both its East African neighbors. As Figure 46 shows, Uganda exports goods valued at nearly two and one-half times the value of what she imports from Kenya. (Uganda's world trade that merely passes through Kenya is excluded.) The leading position of cigarettes from Uganda to the two other countries is due to the location in Kampala and Jinja of the two major cigarette factories in East Africa. They produce at less than one-half the cost of cigarettes imported from abroad. The factories are owned by the British American and East African Tobacco Companies, which are really one company. The cheaper cigarettes for the African trade and export to the Congo are of dark fired tobacco.<sup>1</sup> Although Kenya has led in the establishment of secondary industry, Uganda is likely to make great strides in developing her own, much of which will probably be centered on Kampala. Opening the thirtieth session of the Uganda Legislative Council in December, 1950, the Governor dwelt at length on the government's desire to raise the standard of living through the cultivation of more land per African family but cautioned that such expansion coupled with the predicted population increase would create a problem of land shortage. The Governor

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<sup>1</sup>S. S. Murray, *Report on Tobacco, With Particular Reference to the Prospects of Increased Production in Central and East Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), p. 88.

said:

The answer, and there is only one answer, lies in industrialization, in encouraging and stimulating by all possible means the establishment of heavy and secondary industries in this country. Uganda fortunately has the raw materials, mineral and vegetable, needed to feed such industries and soon will have cheap electric power to fuel them; and the swelling millions of East Africa, largely concentrated around the shores of Lake Victoria, will provide an ever expanding and readily accessible market for the products of these industries.

Factories, foundries, workshops, mills and mines occupy very little space, yet they can provide not only a livelihood for many thousands of Africans but also a means whereby, given training and the will to succeed, Africans can in time mount the ladder to positions of higher executive and technical responsibility. . . . The successful implementation of this policy of industrialization is really vital to the future welfare of the Africans of Uganda, and African goodwill and understanding can contribute much to its accomplishment.<sup>1</sup>

When secondary industries begin opening up (undoubtedly concentrated at points--Kampala is one--where power is available from the Owen Falls), trade relations of Kampala and Uganda with East Africa will increase substantially. Although Jinja will be at the source of power, Kampala is to be the permanent headquarters of the Uganda Electricity Board.<sup>2</sup> However, the sale of cotton to overseas buyers is likely to retain its dominant position in Uganda's trade. Textile and blanket mills are planned. While this may reduce textile imports and raise the standard of living by lowering the price of clothing, the amount of cotton involved will be only a small part of the total ginned in Uganda.

Until recently, any secondary industry established in one of the East African countries could expect to have a monopoly throughout East Africa. This situation is changing. Secondary industries are gradually encountering competitive conditions. Beer imported from Kenya (see Figure 46) must now compete with a newly established brewery in Kampala, which may in time reverse the flow or create a flow of brand-name beer in both directions.

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<sup>1</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, First Meeting of the Thirtieth Session, 6th December, 1950 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1950), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Uganda Electricity Board, Second Annual Report and Accounts, for Year ended 31st December, 1949 ([Kampala, 1949]).

## Transportation

Airplanes, trains, trucks, and lake and river steamers combine to form the internal transport net of East Africa.

Airline routes fluctuate frequently as new and different types of equipment are introduced, but the general pattern is fairly constant with Nairobi the major airline center and Kampala<sup>1</sup> and Dar es Salaam minor foci. A detail of flight frequencies in Figure 47 would emphasize the predominance of Nairobi.

The basic air policy was laid down in an agreement among the governments of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar that the primary needs of the group are: (1) fast trunk service to the United Kingdom and South Africa, including communication with the Sudan and Egypt to the north and the Rhodesias to the south; (2) slow trunk service from Nairobi south; (3) service connecting with the Belgian Congo and West Africa; and (4) internal feeder routes.<sup>2</sup>

Rail, road, and steamer routes are also shown in Figure 47. Minor lake runs on the north end of Lake Victoria within the Sese Islands are too small to be shown in detail.

East African Railways and Harbours<sup>3</sup> is by far the most important agent in the interterritorial exchange of goods. It handles rail, road, lake, and river transport. Within Uganda, however, private lorries carry a much greater tonnage of goods than vehicles of the E.A.R.; in fact, internal movements are primarily vehicular, although no overall statistics of ton-mileages are known.

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<sup>1</sup> Actually, there is a split air center, with seaplanes landing at Port Bell, near Kampala, while the principal air field is near Entebbe.

<sup>2</sup> East African Governors' Conference, White Paper on East African Air Transport Policy (Entebbe: The Government Printer [1947]), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The railway from Mombasa inland through Nairobi begun in 1895--reaching Nairobi in 1899, Kisumu in 1901, and Kampala in 1931--was from the beginning known as the "Uganda Railway" because it moved toward Uganda. In 1926 it was more descriptively rechristened the "Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours," until in 1948 moves to coordinate and administer centrally services for all three territories (described in a later section) recreated it a part of the East African Railways and Harbours system.

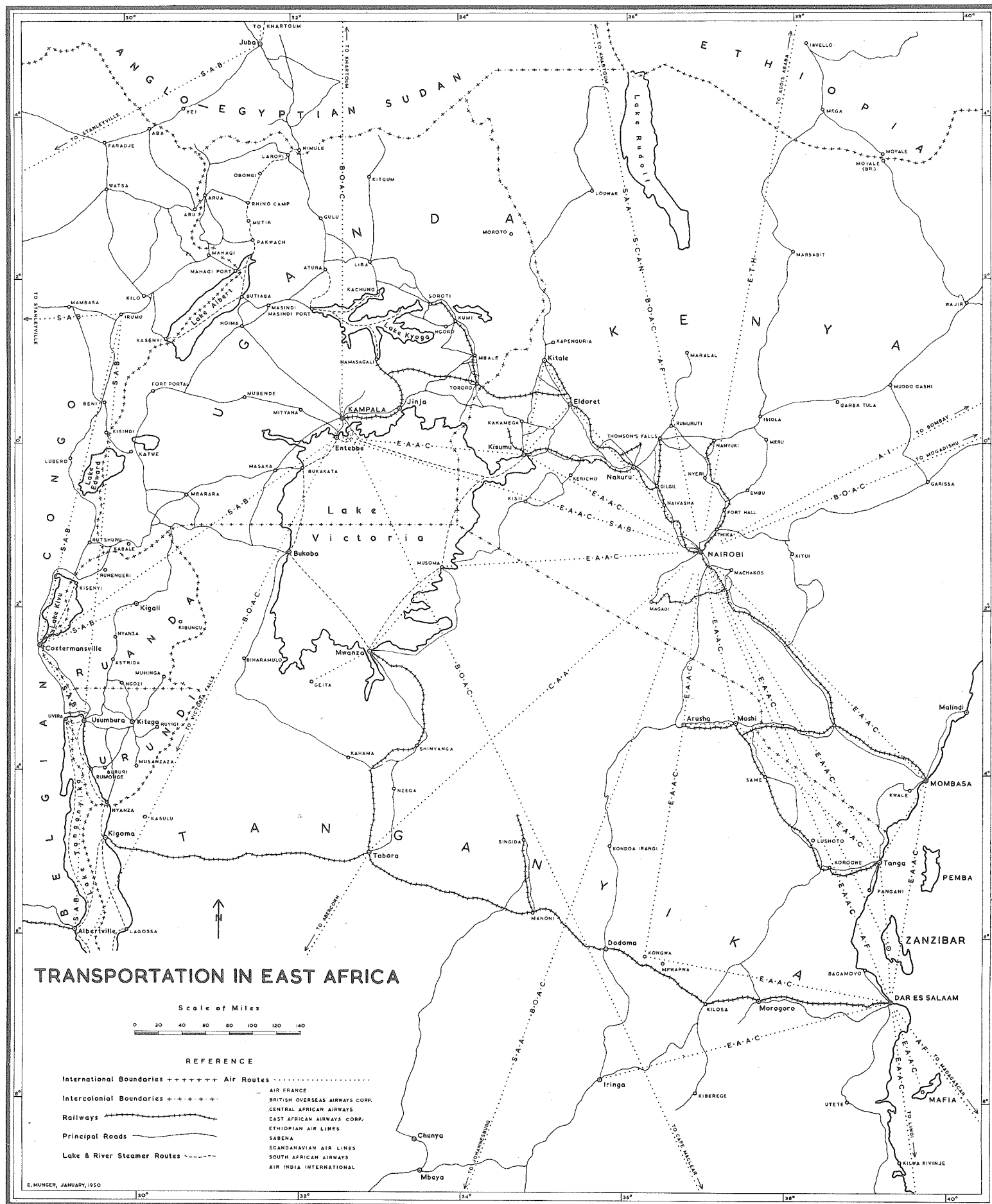


Fig. 47



The comparison of ton-miles between railway, steamer, and road services in Table 5 shows the tremendous importance of the railway as an interterritorial mover of goods. In contrast with the internal use of lorries, there appears to be little interterritorial exchange of goods by lorries. However, the figures are misleading to the extent that they combine ton-miles to and from Kenya with world trade which is funneled through Mombasa over the transport system.

The position of Kampala in Uganda railings is suggested by Table 6, where again, unfortunately, the figures do not discriminate among internal trade, which is minor; trade with Kenya, which is minor; and trade with the outside world, which is of major importance.

Through Port Bell, on an arm of Lake Victoria connected with Kampala by six miles of railway track, Kampala is a direct port of entry for goods coming across the lake from both Kenya and Tanganyika. This traffic was formerly more important and was carried on by dhows. When the railhead was Kisumu, the only easy way to enter Uganda was by dhow or steamer across Lake Victoria from Kisumu.<sup>1</sup> Trade is maintained today by two East African Railways and Harbours steamers which make weekly circuits of Lake Victoria sailing in opposite directions.

There has been severe criticism of the Kenya and Uganda Railway policy, which has generally been opposed to the development of good roads where they would compete with the railroad--particularly the Kampala to Mombasa route. During and after World War II there were costly delays between dockside Mombasa and delivery in Kampala due to the inability of the Kenya-Uganda Railway to move all tonnage on schedule despite Herculean efforts in the face of equipment shortages.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A thorough study of Lake Victoria's dhow traffic is contained in: V. C. R. Ford, "A Geographical Study of the Trade of Lake Victoria" (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of London, 1950).

<sup>2</sup>This point is also discussed in the following chapter in relation to the Belgian Congo. For an example of criticism leveled at the operation of the railway and non-use of road transport, see remarks of the Hon. C. Handley

TABLE 5

TON-MILE FIGURES OF THE KENYA-UGANDA RAILWAY<sup>a</sup>

Year	Railway	Steamer	Road Services	Total
1939	480,426,326	23,895,444	1,250,013	505,571,783
1945	665,814,122	26,729,211	2,008,616	694,551,949
1946	638,231,007	25,174,239	1,873,360	665,278,606
1947	668,130,854	26,171,008	1,827,704	696,129,566
1948	721,047,445	31,085,387	2,141,733	754,274,565

TABLE 6

RAIL SHIPMENTS OF SOME UGANDA TOWNS<sup>a</sup>

			Kampala	Jinja	Mbale	Soroti	Tororo
Outwards	Passengers	Journeys . . . . .	98,694	49,219	9,045	12,921	43,941
		Amount (£) . . .	40,966	11,503	3,111	3,075	9,850
	Parcels/Luggage (£)		3,459	946	539	412	277
	Livestock (£) . . . . .		20	8	14	4,972	41
	Gen. Goods	Quantity (tons) .	78,725	21,256	10,292	6,621	4,149
		Amount (£) . . .	141,076	54,817	18,820	14,837	4,314
	Total (£) . . . . .		185,521	67,274	22,484	23,296	14,482
Inwards	Gen. Goods	Quantity (tons) .	77,616	39,377	13,306	12,471	4,024
		Amount (£) . . .	492,387	172,754	70,213	28,604	10,798

<sup>a</sup>Source: Report of the East African Railways and Harbours for the Year ended 31st December, 1948.

In a Uganda Legislative Council Sessional Paper on railway amalgamation, the Ormsby Gore Commission, which studied the problem, is quoted as follows: "It is obvious that the common factor of British administration in all these territories ought to be utilized not only to avoid wasteful competition or the duplication of efforts in serving the joint hinterland, but to secure such advantageous results as may be achieved by a development of inter-territorial trading."<sup>1</sup> The paper goes on to point out how the Kenya-Uganda system and the Tanganyika system impinged at Moshi and also in tapping the Lake Victoria basin and that they had not always operated in the most expeditious manner in the movement of traffic. "It is not too much to say that the whole economic structure of these East African territories is built upon the transport services and any attempt at coordination of common services which failed to embrace the main transport systems of East Africa is bound to hamper the central organization as a whole and to raise serious difficulties in regard to the areas common to both systems."<sup>2</sup>

As to the form of transport, Dr. Worthington has stated:

In a country at Uganda's stage of development cheapness of transport is more important than speed, except for certain passenger routes. Therefore water is the best form, where available, rail the second best, and road the third. The country is well provided with navigable waters, and has a railway to Kampala and to Soroti with possibilities of extension to the west and north respectively. The object must clearly be to get produce from the roads to water or railway by the shortest routes.<sup>3</sup>

#### A tributary economic region

The economic-transport hinterland of Kampala that spreads over central, northern, and western Uganda appears to extend southward along the

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Bird in: Uganda Protectorate, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Fifth Meeting of the Twenty-ninth Session, 9th May, 1950 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1950), pp. 7-8.

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Council of Uganda, Amalgamation of the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours and the Tanganyika Railways and Port Services, Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1948 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1948), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Worthington, op. cit., p. 63.

west shore of Lake Victoria to include roughly the Bukoba District of Tanganyika.

A number of Kampala firms which otherwise have little trade outside Uganda buy and sell in this northwestern corner of Tanganyika. Kampala is about five hundred miles closer to Bukoba than is Dar es Salaam (See Figure 47), the only Tanganyika town of comparable size to Kampala.

There is also attraction toward Kampala in social matters. Both Africans and Europeans from the Bukoba area have a tendency to use the hospitals in Kampala. Government hospitals are free for Africans in both Uganda and Tanganyika, so the political boundary is of no significance to their choice. Some Europeans living around Bukoba receive their mail and packages through the Kampala post office two or more days faster than by the all-Tanganyika service. Various devices are used to circumvent postal regulations which prohibit such arrangements.

The distances involved in communication with the rest of Tanganyika are less important than the time factor. Bukoba, being a lake port, has regular connections with Kampala in addition to the road link, both of which are faster than traveling across Tanganyika to Dar es Salaam. Anyone proceeding from Bukoba to Britain by steamer from Mombasa can make pleasant connections to Kisumu by lake steamer, then go down to the coast by rail. Because of this lake contact, the Bukoba area is not only tributary to Kampala, but to a much lesser extent it is a distant outlier of Kisumu's hinterland as well.

One of the Bukoba area's principal exports in recent years have been African prostitutes, who are well known in East Africa, including Nairobi and as far away as Mombasa. Medical officers know generally that the movement is not through Tanganyika but via either Kampala or Kisumu by the most convenient and economical routes to the urban center of Kenya.

### Social

Kampala's social influence on East Africa is limited, but the town does perform particular religious and educational functions for East Africa.

Relationships are easiest to observe and describe when they can be pinpointed through a group name or physical buildings devoted to a purpose. Other influences, often ephemeral but sometimes outlasting the easily defined ones, are too amorphous to be evaluated objectively, but one very small thread in the total fabric may be cited as an example of such a tenuous, yet real, influence.

When questioning patients at Mulago Hospital to try to discover just why they happened to be in a Kampala hospital--especially those who had come from far away--the writer encountered an old Arab seeking treatment for his eyes. He was blind but had a deep faith that he could be cured. He explained through an interpreter that he came from Zanzibar town, where he had heard that there was a wonderful doctor in Kampala who made blind people see. The old man said he gathered what little money he could, sailed on a dhow to Mombasa, and walked most of the way to Kampala--past several excellent free hospitals--to try to find the miraculous doctor.

### Religious

The map in Figure 38 of Kampala as a religious center shows the two Catholic Vicariates, of Kampala and of Uganda, reaching to the political boundary of the Protectorate except in the north where the religious dividing line roughly coincides with the Victoria Nile and Kafu River. The White Fathers in the Vicariate of Uganda, which borders Tanganyika on the southwest, have a special relationship with the Bukoba District of Tanganyika--another link in the tieup between Kampala (the Vicariate headquarters) and Bukoba. The "major" (senior) seminary of the Uganda Vicariate is at Katigondo, near Masaka. This seminary also draws its candidates from Bukoba District across the political boundary. The White Fathers, being the order having jurisdiction on both sides of the Uganda-Tanganyika boundary (so far as Catholic hierarchical organization is concerned), have ignored it in organizing the training of priests.

Eastward there are Catholic educational links between Kampala and Kenya. The Vicariate of Kampala, with its headquarters in Kampala, was for-



Fig. 48.--Makerere students on the steps of one of the men's dormitories.

Fig. 49.--Looking southwest from Mulago Hospital at Makerere Hill. The low buildings in the center are part of the Kampala Technical School.



merly part of the larger Vicariate of the Upper Nile, which extended the length of the Kenya-Uganda border. Through a series of historical developments, the "major" and "minor" (senior and junior) seminaries of Nsambya in Kampala have drawn their candidates from the eastern part of Uganda and as well from the Kavirondo region around Kisumu in Kenya and towns as far away as Kitale, Eldoret, and Nakuru in Kenya. This is in process of change and a seminary is being built at Kisumu. Until it is opened, African candidates for the priesthood from western Kenya will continue to go to Kampala.

Franciscan Sisters of St. Mary's Mill Hill have had an unusual growth pattern just the reverse of the major trend toward fragmentation and coincidence with political boundaries. The work of the Sisters started in Kampala, spread over all of what was then the Vicariate of the Upper Nile north and east of Kampala, and then crossed the territorial boundary to operate several convents near Nairobi, as shown in Inset I in Figure 38. These convents remain under the administration of the Mother Superior residing in Kampala. The area in which the Sisters work is not outlined by definite boundaries on the map, but the centers from which their influence spreads in Kenya are indicated.

### Makerere College

Makerere College is the most important social link between Kampala and East Africa. It is a four-year university college affiliated with the University of London, which supervises the curriculum and sets standards of work. Makerere grants University of London external degrees. Like most of the British colonial university colleges, Makerere is only a few years old. It had a head start, though, because it was a long established secondary school with some post-secondary instruction.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In 1938 the Makerere College Ordinance was enacted by the Uganda Legislative Council, and Makerere, following the recommendations of a special commission which visited Uganda in 1937, severed its connection with the Education Department and became a "higher college" with an autonomous governing board and independent finances.

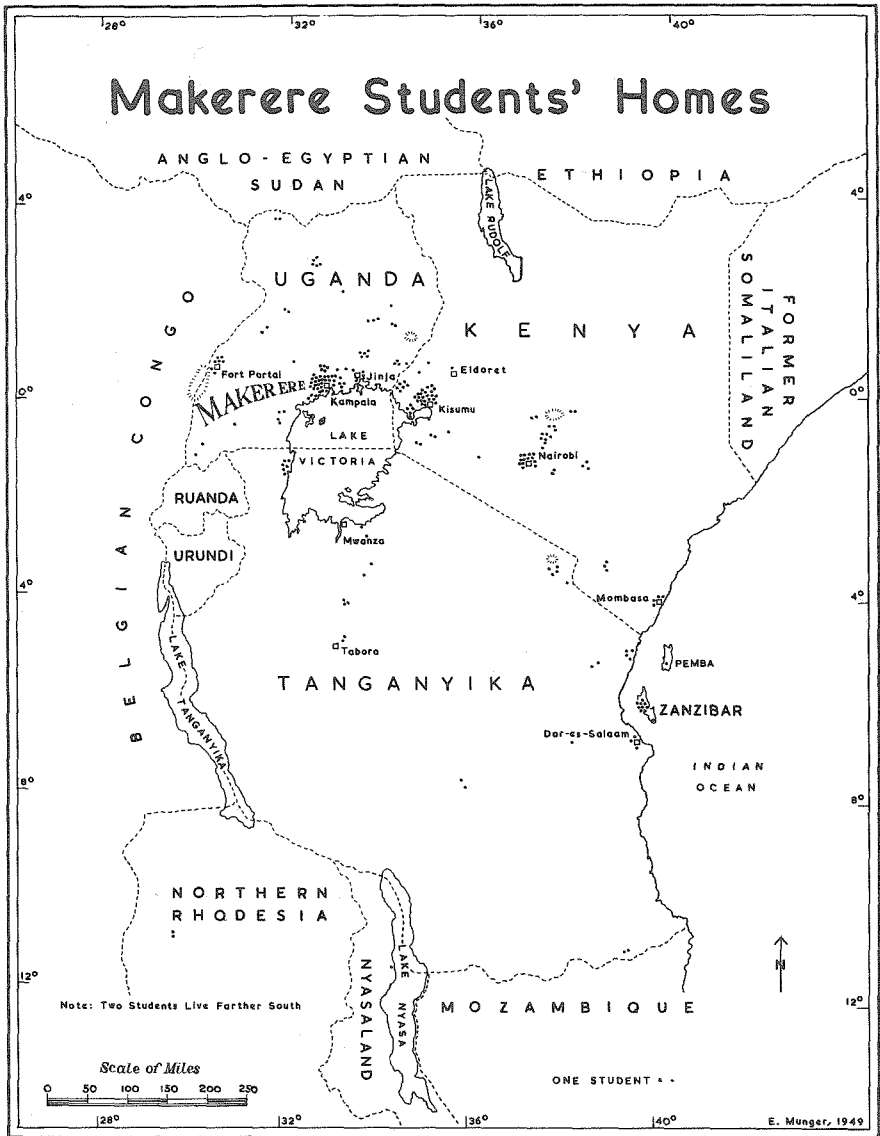


Fig. 50



All students at Makerere are African except for a few from Zanzibar and some Arabs from the coast. A handful of mixed bloods--one with a Scottish grandfather, perhaps, another with a Hindu father, etc.--are wholly members of individual tribes and do not form a separate group. Admission of Asians and Europeans will be discussed later.

With over forty vernaculars represented, English is the principal language among students, although Swahili is occasionally used, as is the vernacular between students from the same tribe. English is the only medium of instruction.

Student distribution.--Students are drawn from all of East Africa plus Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, in the past the southern Sudan, and in the future probably Ethiopia. The homes of Makerere students in 1949 are plotted on the map in Figure 50. While representing only one four-year group of students, the spotty distribution and the main areas of concentration have been fairly constant over the history of the college, going back to its secondary school days, except that the proportion of non-Uganda students has been increasing.

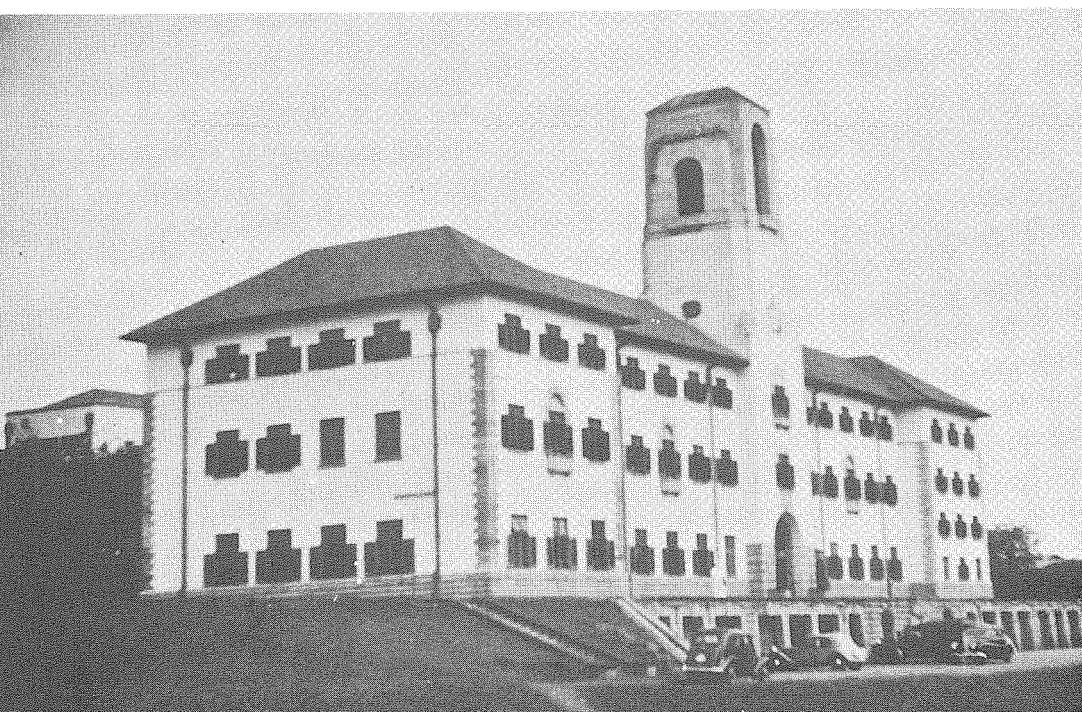
A comparison between student distribution and railroad lines makes evident a strong correlation, especially in Tanganyika. Density of population is another factor, but it appears that a greater one is the location of primary schools near rail lines and near areas of greater European penetration. There are great blank areas of moderate population from which no one is proceeding to higher education and where the vast majority of the people receive no education at all. The type of economy is another factor in the establishment of schools and hence development of prospective college students. Pastoral tribes have only scanty representation at Makerere. A few tribes are so steeped in or infiltrated by European customs that Western educational goals have been absorbed by them. A complete explanation for the distribution of college students cannot be attempted.

The Basukuma are an agricultural tribe who number over one million



Fig. 51.--Faculty vs. students tennis matches arouse great enthusiasm.

Fig. 52.--Makerere College Administration Building



and who live at the south end of Lake Victoria. Their educational opportunities have been limited. Less than a dozen students have reached Makerere entrance standards, and their first doctor is completing medical school as this is written. The extremely limited influence of Makerere, and any higher education for Africans, in Tanganyika Territory particularly is suggested by the difficult-to-achieve goal of the Tanganyika government, which hopes in ten years to have three out of every one hundred boys completing secondary school.

Makerere is growing and each year more students are coming to Kampala for college. The plan is to raise the student body from 220 in 1950 to six hundred within five years; a goal of fifteen hundred has been mentioned beyond that.

Women.--The flow of information and ideas from Kampala to Mengo District, Uganda, and East Africa has been largely through the hands of men. African women stay on the shambas, even when the men may work as clerks in Kampala. Both tribal tradition and European educational policies contribute to relegation of women to a minor position.

The wisdom of Aggrey's famous aphorism about educating a man and you educate an individual but educate a woman and you educate a family is only beginning to be appreciated in East Africa. The first women came to Makerere in 1945. They had to be selected mainly from adult teachers who had stopped their education because no secondary school graduates were available for admittance. Gradually the number has been increased but never to more than fifteen women--compared with over two hundred men. The principal obstacles to women's education are tribal mores. One girl has gone on from Makerere to Oxford and the University of London, but it puts her outside the understanding of nearly all the Baganda. Fathers are reluctant to allow young girls time from the fields to attend school. Consequently, Makerere men from many tribes find there is not even one "home town" girl with a secondary school education to look upon as a possible bride. Inter-tribal marriage is rare in East Africa, although Makerere graduates account for a few.

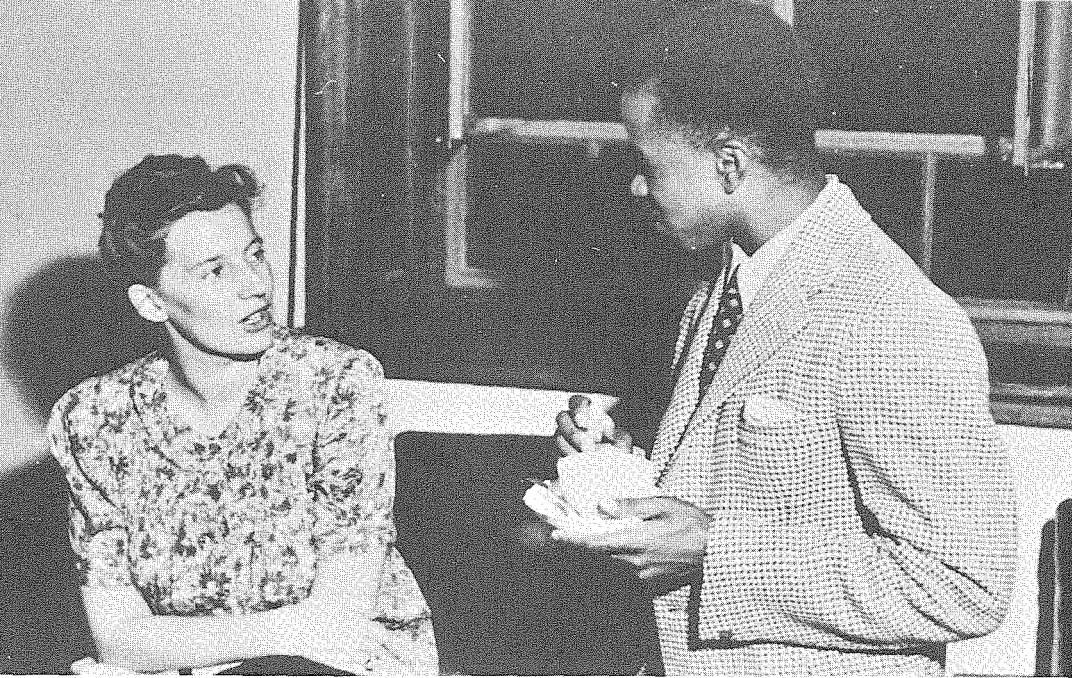


Fig. 53.--College English instructor talking with a Northern Rhodesian student.

Fig. 54.--College Principal at Tea with Baganda "Coeds"



Student influence.--African students graduated from Makerere carry home as a major part of their total life experience not only what they learned in classes at the college but a detailed knowledge of the culture and ideas of people living in Kampala.<sup>1</sup> The spread of this knowledge into the far corners of East Africa through the observations and experiences of the most educated African elements in numerous small communities has a great potential cultural impact--one that will grow as the student body multiplies. How great this is or may be cannot be estimated in this study, but, when talking with educated Africans in parts of East Africa hundreds of miles from Kampala, one is pragmatically aware that a force is operating.

An argument could be made that Uganda, and particularly local Kampala, students are deprived of a measure of education inasmuch as they may travel only a few miles to college while a student traveling between Zanzibar and Kampala receives a wide range of vivid experiences. This includes such elemental matters as knowing what it is like to ride on a boat or a train. It provides an insight into different kinds of people and an appreciation of different climatic, physiographic, and vegetation regions; the economics of transport; simpler types of land use; and even history. Kampala may become the best known East African town among educated non-Baganda Africans while its own leading lights are relatively uninformed.

Research center.--Makerere's role as the principal social relationship between Kampala and East Africa rests on African students and to a much lesser extent on a predominantly European faculty. In the formative years of the college the faculty stayed fairly close to Kampala; indeed, it did not enter widely even into the general life of the town. In the future it is likely that the college staff will contribute more to intellectual and scientific life throughout East Africa. In 1950 the East African Social Science Research Institute was

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<sup>1</sup>Contact between the college and its alumni is maintained by visits of the faculty to their former students and also through the Makerere College Magazine, published three times yearly by the students under the direction of the Dean.

launched to coordinate and stimulate, as its name implies, social science research in the three territories. The Institute is an autonomous body but closely associated with Makerere, sharing the same site on the edge of Kampala. It has sent anthropologists and sociologists into Kenya, Tanganyika, and other parts of Uganda.

Non-African students.--At present, Makerere's student influence is solely African, but it is important to consider in some detail the attitudes of mind and possibilities of the school being expanded to include all races. If that happens, Kampala will probably become the undisputed intellectual and scientific center of East Africa.

There is general agreement in East Africa that provision for higher education of Hindus, Pakistan Moslems, and Goans is poor and must be improved. Many young people pass secondary school with high marks and must stop because college abroad is beyond their means. This need coupled with an upsurging nationalism has stirred Asian interest in the possibility of an Asian college and also produced pressure to open the gates of Makerere. Occasional students will probably attend in the next few years, but whether Makerere will enroll Asians in substantial numbers has not been decided.

One of the responsible authorities in Britain feels it is desirable to have Asian students if certain difficulties can be met. In his view, Makerere must be kept a boarding school to have the best effect on the students, whose home conditions are very unlike those in Great Britain or America. Hence, he believes all admissions are contingent on dormitory space being available.<sup>1</sup>

Speaking for the European staff of Makerere, the principal believes Asian students should be accepted as fast as accommodation permits. He doubts whether Makerere can become a true university in the future without the benefits of a cosmopolitan student body.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Conversation in London June, 1950, with Mr. Walter Adams, Secretary of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies.

<sup>2</sup>Conversation in Kampala July, 1950, with Mr. Bernard de Bunsen, Principal of Makerere College.

Many educated and uneducated Africans take a different view and frankly oppose any Asian entrance into Makerere. The Katikiro of Buganda in 1950 was opposed to Asians entering the school.<sup>1</sup> Some admit they fear domination of quicker and cleverer--but, they hasten to add, not basically more intelligent--Asian students that will put Africans at a disadvantage. Some Europeans, and especially missionaries, are likewise fearful of what effects admission of Asians would have on African students. A member of the Uganda Legislative Council states his outlook as follows:

Whether the admission of Indians to Makerere will be for good or evil is hard to say. If further residential immigration from India were totally prohibited, then I think that in the course of years, as the Indian population became more and more East African, their admission would be for good. If, however, they were admitted now or within a short period of years their moral influence on the African will be disastrous.

For the past fifty years practically all education has been conducted by Christian Missions. The whole bias of Government has been in the direction of western Christian morality. This has been accepted readily by the African. The Indian is on the contrary entirely amoral and the East African Indian is largely agnostic. The African must have some spiritual restraint to replace the not entirely banished fetish and superstitious fears of his father. More especially is this true of those who are being trained as leaders of the coming generation.

Indian and African will not mix naturally. The Indian will be a constant irritant against discipline and a disturbing factor in the social life of the University.

On balance, I therefore oppose the admission of Indians to Makerere for a period of at least ten years.<sup>2</sup>

This is a view representative of many Europeans in East Africa. An opposite opinion is held by another member of the Uganda Legislative Council, who is also the Mayor of Kampala and a member of the East African Central Legislative Assembly. He is an Indian who was educated in law at the University of London and now runs a cotton-buying business in Kampala in addition to his many official duties. He feels:

It is in the best interests of all to integrate with Makerere. The issue of diet is always brought up to me. They already have three diets, and it wouldn't be impossible to add a fourth and a fifth. [At present there is matoke for banana-eating tribes, posho for grain-eaters, and rice for Arabs, but any student may eat whichever he wishes.] It is desirable for

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<sup>1</sup>Conversation in Kampala July, 1950, with the Hon. Kawalya-Kagwa, Katikiro of Buganda.

<sup>2</sup>Statement written for the writer by the Hon. C. Handley Bird, July, 1950.

Makerere to be a residential college but it is no more expensive to build dormitories there than at a new Asian college which is the alternative. In the meantime day students should be admitted. Student life would be enriched and broadened with an acquaintance with another culture. Educated and public spirited citizens who understand each other are essential in all components of our society.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulties encountered by Asians seeking higher education are shared by Europeans living in East Africa who wish to send their sons and daughters to college. The possibilities appear to be five.

(1) They can pay for the children to go to the United Kingdom. To send a son for one year now costs about two-thirds of a year's income for an average family. In all probability the parents have been paying steep fees all the way from first year primary through full secondary school for his education in Kenya schools, which has drastically reduced their ability to save ahead. South African universities offer some saving, but it is not appreciable, and a number of parents do not favor them for other reasons.

(2) There can be a local college for Europeans. Financially, this seems to be impossible. Costs of a Kenya European girls' high school caused a furor among European taxpayers, not to mention Asian and African, when they discovered what part of the education budget was going for European education. Besides, it is very debatable whether such a college, even if helped materially, say by Britain, could attain a satisfactory standard.

(3) Government bursaries which already help a number of students could be increased to cover all those qualified to go who lack the necessary funds. It might be financed by a large education tax on the European community. (An education tax was introduced in Uganda for Asians and Europeans in 1950. Some of these alternatives also apply to Asians.) In the long run, though, Europeans paying for expensive overseas education, either individually or collectively through special taxes, are faced with very heavy cost.

(4) Not going to college is the simple answer being given to the problem by more and more families. To compensate, there is a trend toward

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<sup>1</sup> Interview in Kampala July, 1950, with the Hon. A. N. Maini.



building up the male high schools in Kenya into finishing "prep" schools. The blazers, athletics, associations, and even the names--Prince of Wales and Duke of York--tend in this direction. A study of the education of children of college-educated parents in East Africa in comparison with such parents in the U.K. might be very revealing in this respect.

(5) Makerere does have a staff comparable with "red brick colleges" in the United Kingdom and could be very much cheaper in the long run. The very idea is anathema to many Europeans, most certainly to groups like the Afrikaners around Eldoret in Kenya. For others it may be a solution. From time to time a few European students have studied under the college staff by private arrangement. One Kenya girl came to Kampala and discreetly pursued special studies with the Makerere tutors, but with no association with the students.

European parents in East Africa, as opposed to Asian parents, have evinced virtually no interest in eventually sending their children to Makerere although they think a good deal about their educational problems. But the preceeding paragraph is not idle speculation. A former Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. A. Creech-Jones, was asked in the House of Commons whether it was the policy for the government to provide facilities for students of all racial origins, including Europeans, and whether he was satisfied that such was the case in all colonial countries. He said yes.<sup>1</sup> At present the idea of European students at Makerere is speculative. If it does come to pass, it will substantially alter Kampala's social relationships with East Africa.

### Political

The diversity of East Africa was stressed in the introduction to this chapter. The three countries lack unity. So does each country. Each country is similar to the other two insofar as each one is an artificial creation. Many proposals have been made to confer political unity upon this area of hetero-

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<sup>1</sup>Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, CDLXX (1948-49) (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), 2644.

geneity.<sup>1</sup>

East Africa has been under all-British administration since 1917, when Tanganyika was wrested from German hands. The potential coalescing of administration has been checked by the position of Tanganyika as a mandate under the League of Nations and now as a trust territory under the United Nations.

Even the very fact of all three territories being under British administration has legal implications of unity. The Uganda police could pursue criminals across the border into Tanganyika or Kenya under an imperial statute known as the Fugitive Offenders Act of 1891, but they first had to obtain a warrant of arrest from a Uganda magistrate backed by a warrant from the territory in which they proposed to make the arrest. This serious delay was eliminated for Uganda by the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance of 1947 and by agreements with Kenya and Tanganyika allowing the Uganda police to pursue criminals across common frontiers without warrants.<sup>2</sup>

On the East African political level, the High Commission, the Central Assembly, and the question of federation involve Kampala in various ways.

#### High Commission

The East Africa High Commission grew out of formal meetings of Governors of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika plus the High Commissioner of Zanzibar. They met during World War II to discuss and act on problems of mutual interest. At one stage Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were represented but later dropped out. The East Africa High Commission was set up as the result of practical needs common to all the territories for certain services

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<sup>1</sup>By many people in many ways for a long time; officially recently in two documents: Inter-Territorial Organisation in East Africa, Colonial No. 191 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, December, 1945), and Inter-Territorial Organisation in East Africa Revised Proposals, Colonial No. 210 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947).

<sup>2</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Sixth Meeting of the Twenty-sixth Session, 24th July, 1947 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1947), p. 49.

that it was not possible or in some cases financially feasible for each unit to provide for itself. The High Commission, headed by a Secretariat, came into being January 1, 1948, with the following East African Services: Anti-locust Directorate; Directorate of Civil Aviation; Directorate of Training; Income Tax Department; Industrial Council; Interterritorial Languages Committee; Refugee Administration; Research Services; Statistical Department; Tsetse Reclamation Department; Meteorological Department; the Lake Victoria Fisheries Board; services connected with the maintenance of contact between the territories and the Defense Services; services arising out of the functions of the High Commission as East African Air Transport Authority; and services of interterritorial import arising from the operation in the territories of the East African Currency Board.<sup>1</sup>

The East African Railways and Harbours Administration was soon added and is the financial heavyweight of the group. The East African Literature Bureau and East African Customs and Excise Bureau were also added. New services are to follow periodically, including information, radio communications, geology and topography, and research organizations. The East African Social Science Research Institute has been mentioned before. Provision for a wide variety of investigation is increasing. Between April, 1949, and March, 1950, research grants were made under the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund for a filariasis research unit in East Africa; establishment of the East African Scientific and Industrial Organisation; a headquarters in Tanganyika of the East African Insecticides Research Bureau; an East African Virus Research Institute at Entebbe; agricultural, forestry, and veterinary research; a bureau of research in medicine and hygiene; a tsetse and trypanosomiasis research and reclamation unit; and establishment of a marine fisheries research survey in Zanzibar; in addition to individual and small projects.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Great Britain, Colonial Office, Annual Report on the East African High Commission for its Inaugural Year 1948 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949).

<sup>2</sup>Great Britain, Colonial Office, Colonial Research 1949-50, Presented

These centralized services operate in three ways so far as Kampala is concerned. First, in most cases control of activities is fixed in Nairobi, with sometimes a consequent diminution of Kampala's influence within Uganda. A second mode of operation has been to establish branch offices. A branch of the East African Literature Bureau was opened in Kampala--a necessary move because an office in Nairobi directly controlling work in vernaculars from such a distance was ludicrous. Field work in gathering and disseminating material is carried on in Kampala while the planning organization and printing is handled in Nairobi. A third result of centralization may be establishment in Kampala of main centers, which is the case with the Social Science Research Institute with its permanent buildings in Kampala.

Closely allied to the High Commission services and departments in spirit but not legally is the East African Supreme Court, which meets in rotation in the three countries. Wherever it meets--in Kampala, Nairobi, or Dar es Salaam--it has jurisdiction over all of East Africa; and if plans under consideration are adopted, over the Seychelles, British Somaliland, and Aden as well.

#### Central Assembly

The East African Central Assembly is possibly the forerunner of a strong federal organization in the region. Delegates are chosen from among the members of the three countries' respective Legislative Councils. Kampala's function to date has been largely to send delegates, but provision is made for the Assembly to meet occasionally in Kampala.

#### Federation

The budding concept of closer union in East Africa is a hardy perennial. Today it seems closer to realization than ever before. The Central Assembly and High Commission are halfway steps toward complete unification.

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by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, Cmd. 8063 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950), p. 25.

They are only such because of the large powers reserved to the individual governments which are not likely to be abrogated before widespread debate. Unification is of vital importance in the future relationships of Kampala. This can best be discussed after a detailed consideration of some of the issues involved.

European attitudes toward unification have been freely aired in public debate, the columns of the East African Standard,<sup>1</sup> magazines,<sup>2</sup> and meetings of the Kenya Electors Union. Asian views are less well publicized. Sympathetic Europeans have put forward African interests where unification would affect them. Little has been written of what Africans themselves think.

African view.--The African voice is the most important one in Kampala. To attempt some appreciation of African attitudes, a series of surveys was made for the writer by educated Africans of opinion in the three mainland territories. In the survey of Uganda opinion, two hundred Africans were interviewed in Kampala; one-half of them were illiterates who knew nothing or almost nothing of what was meant by unification or federation--a significant point. Discussion of some tribal amalgamation would have been more appropriate to the ken of most Africans in Kampala. Intelligent, literate Africans in Uganda also displayed a lack of knowledge of the meaning of federation and, secondly, were suspicious of any change even when they realized what it concerned.

The most informed and expressive reactions were from twenty-four African teachers drawn from all three territories who discussed the status of federation from the general African viewpoint, which they closely identified with their own. A majority of the teachers thought Kampala should be the capital of a unified East Africa, but there was some hesitancy on this score from Kenya and Tanganyika teachers. Rather than a summary of the pros and

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<sup>1</sup>The principal newspaper in East Africa, published daily in Nairobi.

<sup>2</sup>Particularly Comment, published weekly in Nairobi, and East Africa and Rhodesia, published weekly in London.

cons they expressed, quotation at some length from the report will be presented.

A few remarks about the following statement will give it perspective. The individuals interviewed were all government teachers, many of them in mission schools which are government supported. They all had teaching experience and were in their late twenties and early thirties. The statement seems to contain some unfair innuendoes and in places display a lack of factual knowledge. But ill-formed views may have the same influence as more rational ones. The African expressing the teachers' opinions has never been outside East Africa, is solely a teacher and not a politician, and is considered a person of character by substantial Europeans in his territory. The statement must be quoted anonymously.

The views of the teachers are distributed as follows: two of them feel that federation at this stage is good; twelve would accept it only if certain conditions were fulfilled; and ten would under no circumstances accept it now. I shall treat each group separately, giving the views which led to their decisions. Here I may give a warning that there are many people in the three territories, otherwise educated, who are not fully aware of the present political developments, partly because most of it is above them, and partly due to indifference.

(1) A small minority would unconditionally accept federation because the income of the territories would be more usefully distributed. This would help in creating equal opportunities for progress. Maintenance of order is critical today, and a closer union for defense is essential. Later there will be more problems among the territories and from the outside world; the immigration of foreigners will need general attention. With the growth of an East African University in Uganda, it will be increasingly necessary to think of education in East African terms. There should be intermingling of African students in order to create better understanding, and also inter-change of teachers. Dissatisfaction with variations in teachers' terms of service would be reduced as a uniform policy. Africans feel that while they are all under British influence, not all have opportunities to develop. Federation would bring a general native policy pointing towards responsible government.

There is little cooperation among African leaders. Federation would mean distribution of good African leadership or, in some cases, European experts who are interested in African development. If East Africa is to stand on its own, the ordinary person must be helped. It will be necessary to circulate propaganda, promote mass education, attack agricultural problems, and improve African livestock which is poor, diseased, and greatly affects the life of most tribes. None of these can be effectively carried out without East African unity.

Some African rulers are too self-satisfied, and in many cases inactive. This weakness could be overcome by an efficient federal government made up of outstanding men of character, rather than hereditary rulers.

(2) A majority of teachers would accept federation if certain conditions were fulfilled. They genuinely admit that closer Union of East Africa

is essential in principal, but unless the conditions they present are satisfied the union would do a great harm.

Federation must not be political at first because Africans are not ready for it, and it will take time to create a sensible elective element throughout East Africa. Africans must be given time to develop locally before they can comprehend union on a wider scale. Perhaps not even one per cent of the Africans realize their dependence on other territories and the outside world. Political union is therefore bound to involve decisions beyond the Africans' experience.

Immediate political federation will mean the African majority is being dragged by the foreign minority to make ignorant commitments which will take years of struggle to put right. But this group would accept a form of federation with Europeans in the majority for control of education, civil services, transport and communications, trade and mining. The management of the East African Railways makes sense as does the Post and Telegraphs on an East African basis. Soil and forest conservation should be handled jointly. African health is so bad that disease must be attacked on a broad front.

Before political union African native law in the territories must be codified and standardized.

(3) The final group has the strongest views. They feel time has not come for any kind of federation, and under no circumstances will they approve what has taken place nor accept more changes. They feel the barrier of tribalism is still very great, and not until this barrier is broken can federation be considered. East African tribes have diverse backgrounds and are at varied stages of development. Some have very advanced forms of government while others are still leading a semi-savage life. The Baganda are one tribe who would be giving up too much to the detriment of their institutions.

The question of a lingua franca would arouse great controversy. In an African federation an African language would be more appropriate than English but it is almost impossible to even suggest what language might be used. Many African languages have such a limited vocabulary that shades of meaning cannot be expressed. In these it is hard to write down law that foreigners can understand.

The widest fears are aroused by the Kenya settlers. They have united themselves and make alliances with Europeans in the other territories. Africans have little faith in the settlers, since the settlers have shown positive hostility towards and dislike of Africans, and have done all in their power to retard African progress. A federal legislature would make laws directly helpful to the Europeans. Europeans are dominant in Kenya and would dominate a political union. Soon there would be a second South Africa.

If Europeans are willing to have representation by population, it could be considered, but it is now certain they would refuse it. In the 1920's the Indian claimed a common roll but was strongly refused and Africans were not considered. Colonial Paper 210 has gone into effect despite Indian and African opposition. A bill to fingerprint all people was passed in Kenya but the Europeans got out of it.

Fortunately the British government has not always shown the same views as the settlers. This support would tend to be lost in political union.

East African federation should be for the benefit of all but Europeans would get the most. In Kenya European children are very few compared to African children yet a disproportionate amount of money is used for buildings and salaries of European schools.

We Africans must avoid a federal constitution because we have very few experienced politicians, and no diplomats and lawyers. Europeans could steal things from us under the guise of a complicated legal constitution. Therefore we must wait until the time when Africans can negotiate confidently in high politics. Now we have serious tribal jealousies which make it difficult for tribes to compromise on major issues.

Union must be postponed because many of the Africans' old, good things are disappearing due to a sudden inrush of western culture. To have a really healthy federation, tribal individuality and character must be strong and clearly defined. If tribes mix now it would result in a confused loose community. Many tribes oppose union because they would like to preserve their old institutions. Good traditions, customs, and tribal character are essential elements in a progressive community. They must be allowed to crystalize.

Union must be delayed because missionaries have too much political power now and have influenced terms of service to the detriment of the African standard of living. Missionary spiritual efforts and general education have been willingly and generously given to the African and the African is greatly indebted to the missionaries; but the missionaries are failing to adapt their policy to changing circumstances. Missions appear to favor closer union but they do not protect African interests as we once thought they did.

Political union would mean union of European interests, not African interests. African lands would be alienated and Indian businessmen would spread more into Uganda and Tanganyika from Kenya. More income might be produced by closer union but the Indians and Europeans would get most of it. Africans cannot protect themselves now. The missionaries let the Africans sign away lands in Kenya and they are friendlier with the settlers now.

Before political union there must be more unity among Africans on religion. Religion has had very unfortunate reactions in dividing Africans into Roman Catholics, Protestants and Moslems. Where the Europeans stick together in spite of religion we fall apart. We must develop our own adapted religion and gain more real bonds of love between Africans.

Africans are also too divided socially for political union. Africans in the three territories are like foreigners to each other. Even among our group of twenty-four teachers we are ignorant of each other's countries. We must have extensive education and mixing to break down tribal superstitions. Some intermarriage may be helpful among educationally advanced individuals. Pride of tribe must be broken: the Kikuyu and Luo dislike each other too much, and the Baganda regard all other tribes as foreigners. Some customs make tribal mixing impossible now. Some tribes circumcise their men, others do not. Those who are circumcised despise those who are not. Some tribes circumcise their girls, some do not. Some men will marry only a circumcised girl and others will never marry such a one. Tribal bride prices vary widely. In one tribe bride prices have gone as high as three thousand shillings while in others it is only a few shillings. These differences must be eliminated or taken for granted in peoples' minds before Africans from different tribes can cooperate.

In conclusion it must be remembered that most people in East Africa are still illiterate. It is quite unfair to carry out major change while most of the people in the country do not know what is happening. This occurred to the Black Fellows of Australia, and it is real cheating and it sounds more or less like a sin.

Importance.--The African attitude is of tremendous importance in any federation in British Africa. Africans appear to fear the political influence of white settlers in East Africa, and particularly those who live in Kenya Colony, where the numbers are largest. Whether this is a rational or a groundless fear is not a material point at the moment. Its existence strongly conditions African attitudes toward federation. So far, most consideration of feder-



ation has assumed Nairobi to be the capital. That it is also the main center of European population in East Africa may be only a coincidence, but one that does affect African thinking.

Southern example.--Federation in both East and Central Africa must have the approval of the British government, which has repeatedly stated that it will acquiesce only when it believes that to do so is not only in the interests of Africans but when Africans are so persuaded themselves. Unification of Central Africa is moving rapidly after years of little progress. As expressed in an editorial in East Africa and Rhodesia,<sup>1</sup> the feeling is growing in Central Africa that if Southern Rhodesia does not move into some form of federation with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland soon, the semi-independent colony will fall within the orbit of South Africa not only through political and economic pressure but through the emigration of Afrikaans-speaking people into Southern Rhodesia. These remarks are pertinent because, as a consequence, Southern Rhodesia appears willing to make great concessions on control of Native policy in the proposed federation: i.e., administration of Native policy on a state basis; appointment of African representatives who will in the future be Africans; and a special board to consider all legislation passed by the united parliament with the interests of the Africans in mind. If there is any objection, it would proceed to His Majesty's Government for approval. Further, the head of what amounts to a committee to protect African rights can be removed only by the Governor-General, not the legislature, and so has more permanent tenure than even the proposed prime minister. Such proposals would never have come from Southern Rhodesia a few years ago.

Kampala as capital.--Some such drastic revision of the basis for interterritorial organization may come in East Africa in order to cut the Gordian knot that now exists. Africans and Asians refuse to accept minority representation. Europeans demand that some account be taken of their greater

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<sup>1</sup>"Matters of the Moment," East Africa and Rhodesia, June 21, 1951, pp. 1155-1159.

individual education, skills, and economic contribution to East Africa--especially since some of them are third- and fourth-generation-born in East Africa.

It is possible that a compromise may be reached if Kampala were to be chosen as capital of East Africa. While it is not the capital of either the largest country or of the country with the greatest population, neither is Nairobi, although Kenya does have the most Asians and Europeans, as Figure 6 and Table 1 show. There has seldom been any question in African minds but that their interests were paramount and legally safeguarded from exploitation in Kampala and Uganda. A move to make Kampala the capital of East Africa might provide the emotional confidence required to overcome African fears of white settler domination. When the writer asked leading Africans in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika about this, they said, first, the thought hadn't occurred to them and, secondly, that while they didn't think it would be acceptable to the Europeans, it had real merit from the African viewpoint.

## CHAPTER IV

### RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE EAST AFRICA

#### General

For centuries Uganda was a quiet, isolated backwater in the world. It remained essentially so for the first forty years of British rule. But during World War II and in the years following Uganda has been entering increasingly into the stream of world thought and trade, with Kampala the focal point for import and export of ideas and goods.

Uganda's first steps toward participation in global affairs have been through cooperation with the other two countries of British East Africa, as described in the previous chapter. Before taking up Uganda's political, social, and economic relationships with the world at large, we will consider other nearby countries: the Belgian Congo, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Ethiopia, and Northern Rhodesia.

#### Belgian Congo

Among Uganda's neighbors, ties have been cultivated least with the Congo and Belgian-mandated Ruanda-Urundi, perhaps partly because the European powers, Belgium and Britain, are dissimilar in culture and colonial philosophy. Both Uganda and the adjoining Kivu region of the Congo have been respective transport ends-of-the-line--the former from the east, the latter from the west. The transport watershed of central Africa is oriented north and south and lies off-center nearer the Indian Ocean side of the continent. The Congo-Uganda border is approximately the eastern edge of a transitional zone which extends into the Congo. Some Belgian Congo imports and exports do pass through Uganda to and from the outside world; virtually none of Uganda's go through the Congo. This transport watershed is a definite barrier to ex-

change, material and intangible, between the two countries. Although the snow-capped Ruwenzori Range, with sixteen-thousand-foot peaks, and Lakes Albert, Edward, and George, which are drowned portions of the Western Rift, combine to form an impressive physical barrier roughly coinciding with the trade divide, their importance can easily be overemphasized; for there are low, flat, land connections at sufficient intervals to allow easy and economical trade and transport, if the human factors favored them.

The transport divide is where it is primarily because of petty chauvinism over the most economical and efficient way to develop transportation in this central part of Africa. This is especially unfortunate because:

Transportation is the key to this rich interior region. The Belgians frequently ship tea, coffee, pyrethrum, and minerals out through British territory to Mombasa rather than by the more direct route west to the Atlantic and Europe because the many trans-shipments necessary to cross the wide Congo Basin make that route more expensive. Shortsighted administration in East Africa has so far denied this region the railroad extension from Kampala that was planned twenty years ago [although it may be completed under E.C.A. stimulus and financial help]. At present even the trickle of 400 tons a month hauled by a new trucking company from the Kivu to the Kampala railhead is too much for the overloaded narrow gauge line to clear comfortably in addition to its Uganda railings. A good hard road to the coast is needed, but it would parallel the railway from Kampala to Mombasa, so the government has deliberately kept what road there is in poor condition.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps Uganda is becoming more conscious of the vital importance of transportation, because it is hard-surfacing the road from Kampala to the Kenya border on the route to Mombasa.

Among the minor ties with the Congo, the Kampala branch of the East African Literature Bureau has made contact with Belgian authorities and is looking toward coordination of Swahili dialects, which extend over two hundred miles into the Congo.<sup>2</sup> Also, the Directors of Education of the East African territories have recommended that Belgian and British authorities should plan mass education schemes together.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Edwin Munger, "Letter from Africa," The University of Chicago Magazine, April, 1951, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report on the East African High Commission for 1948, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Annual Report of the Education Department for 1948, p. 12.

A principal item of trade with the Congo is in dried fish. The most important African company engaged in this trade is owned and operated by Kampala businessmen. In 1946 steamers carried 253 tons across Lake Albert to the Congo, and by road 1,049 tons were exported.<sup>1</sup>

#### Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

Uganda's and specifically Kampala's relations with the condominium to the north have been slight even though political ties do exist. Physical facts are fundamental in the lack of relations between Kampala and the Sudan. Kampala is near the southern end of Uganda, while the center of Sudanese activity at Khartoum is over one thousand air miles north. Visiting in Juba, the terminal for steamers coming up the Nile from the northern Sudan (see Figure 47), one hundred miles north of the Sudan-Uganda border, one senses that he is at a distant outpost, where political, economic, and cultural life from the Islamic north has only a diffused, slow-motion effect. L. F. Nalder, looking at this relationship from the north, wrote:

From Khartoum to Kampala or Stanleyville is an immense distance in space and even greater in imagination. From the North it is difficult, unless one has actually seen it, to realize the existence of another Sudan whose problems have far more in common with those of Uganda or the Belgian Congo than those of the Gezira or Kordofan.<sup>2</sup>

Looking southward from Juba, Kampala is closer, but only relatively. They are separated by an indifferent dirt road that under ordinary circumstances requires three days to cover. At one time it was thought that there would be more communication from Uganda through the southern Sudan. Thirty years ago the able historian Sir Charles Lucas wrote in his classic The Partition of Africa:

Uganda is a purely inland province, having its main outlet to the sea by the Uganda Railway, which runs entirely not through Uganda, but through East Africa, to its ocean terminus at Mombasa; but the Protectorate has a

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<sup>1</sup> Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Game Department, Part II, Fisheries, for the Year ended 31st December, 1946, including the Years 1940-45 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1948), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. De C. Hamilton (ed.), The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan From Within (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1935), p. 94.

backdoor by the Upper Nile and the Sudan, which may be of far greater value and importance in future years than at present.<sup>1</sup>

During World War II the Kenya highlands blossomed as a cool vacation area for Europeans on leave from the southern Sudan unable to get to Europe. The resort business is down now from its wartime peak, but Kampala continues to have occasional European tourists from the Sudan.

Boys from the Christian (or pagan) southern Sudan who used to attend Makerere College are now sent to Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum.

Although the southern Sudan is much closer ethnically and in physical conditions to northern Uganda than to the Moslem people of the irrigated north and Egypt,<sup>2</sup> the political trend may be toward unification of the whole Nile valley, which an Egyptian social scientist has recently stated to be "the object of Egypt's foremost national aspiration."<sup>3</sup> He cites a British argument against unification of Egypt and the Sudan because it "could lead to claims by Egypt on Ethiopia, Uganda, and the Belgian Congo, where the headwaters are located."<sup>4</sup>

At the present time it appears that a large area of northern Uganda and the southern Sudan--together forming a region fairly uniform in landscape, economy, and people--is now divided between two spheres of influence, Kampala and Khartoum (backed up from Cairo), in a way that approximates the ability of the opposing centers to exert influence.

## Ethiopia

Only a hundred-odd miles of Kenya and the Sudan separate the Karimoja region of northeastern Uganda from the Gamu-Gofa and Sidamo-Borana regions of southwestern Ethiopia (see Figure 47). As between the Sudan and

<sup>1</sup>Sir Charles Lucas, The Partition of Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 168.

<sup>2</sup>For tribal overlap between the southern Sudan and Uganda, see: L. F. Nalder (ed.), A Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province (London: Oxford University Press, 1937).

<sup>3</sup>A. M. Galatoli, Egypt in Midpassage (Cairo: Urwand and Sons Press, 1950), p. 122.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

Uganda, merely a short distance is meaningless. These particular regions of Ethiopia and Uganda are the most remote from Addis Ababa and Kampala, respectively, and in both instances authority is tenuous along the border.

The most direct road connection between Kampala and Addis Ababa curves far to the northwest of a direct line between the capitals, while the air connection curves far to the southeast. To drive between Kampala and Addis Ababa at the present writing requires protection--an armed party with preferably two or more vehicles, or close cooperation of the military forces of the countries crossed. Bandits on the Ethiopian side of the border place the casual traveler's life in jeopardy. To drive the road from Uganda through the Sudan and into Ethiopia is a major battle in itself.

One can fly several times weekly between Kampala and the Ethiopian capital via Nairobi, the southern terminus of Ethiopian Airlines (see Figure 47.)

In general, though, there is little contact between the two governments in spite of their mutual concern in some matters of common interest. Control of locusts is one field of cooperation. Ethiopia is one of the principal breeding grounds, which if not controlled may loose swarms of the dangerous pests through British East Africa with great resultant damage to crops.

Kampala's closest relations with Ethiopia may be created from a permanent arrangement under which Ethiopian students attend Makerere medical school. An inspection trip by Ethiopian officials was successful, and a limited number of students are expected each year. The Ethiopian government has been attracted by low costs for travel, tuition, and subsistence; and also because of the advantage their students will have of concentrating not so heavily on diseases of the Western world but learning more about health problems in primitive environments. Although much of Ethiopia is high plateau and Addis Ababa is a modern capital, the country has vast expanses of desert where primitive conditions prevail.

Any consideration of relations between Kampala and Addis Ababa as nodes of political, economic, and cultural polarity or of pan-Eastern-Africanism

must take into account two major facts. The first is a feeling of isolation that is only slightly lessened by the airplane. David Buxton describes how "the Ethiopian highlands rise up from the wastes of equatorial Africa like an island from the sea. There they stand in lonely isolation, for the surrounding wilderness has cut them off from the outer world more effectually than the sea itself."<sup>1</sup> Buxton may be guilty of purpling his prose but not of hyperbole.

The isolation was temporarily broken in a special sense during World War II when East African armed forces contributed heavily to defeating and clearing Ethiopia of occupying Italians. Wartime cooperation of the three East African countries was then extended to include Ethiopia when it went under British military rule. Administration of western Ethiopia was initially based on Khartoum, where His Highness Haile Selassie lived for a time. Activities were also directed from Nairobi in a devious line of communication through Mogadishu. With Djibouti denied to the British by the Vichy French, other of Ethiopia's neighbors were even more in demand. Greater Kampala was involved in a number of ways. Sir Phillip Mitchell, then Governor of Uganda, was commissioned a major-general and placed in charge of civil affairs, and a number of officials below the Governor were pressed into service. The Rockefeller Yellow Fever Research Institute at Entebbe was called upon for advice and help; the Director of Public Health from Kampala drew up a plan for reorganization of public health services under the civil administration of the liberated area. Kampala was the site of several general policy meetings on the Ethiopian campaign; and Uganda took care of roughly one thousand able-bodied male Italians.<sup>2</sup>

#### Northern Rhodesia

Northern Rhodesia is not a near neighbor of Kampala, but it has in

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<sup>1</sup>David Buxton, Travels in Ethiopia (London: Lindsay Drummond Ltd., 1949), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Most of the remarks on the Ethiopian campaign and civil administration are drawn from: Lord Rennell, British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948).



common with Uganda the fact that both are British territories in East-Central Africa where African interests are paramount. Makerere College draws several students from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland every year. In their normal traveling, it takes them two weeks to or from home. They stay at the college between ordinary school terms.<sup>1</sup>

Why students at Makerere from Northern Rhodesia? First, Northern Rhodesia has not yet developed a college. A Southern Rhodesian university is still in the planning stage. South African colleges are the next nearest English-speaking institutions. Only a few Northern Rhodesian students go south. One reason why Makerere can attract them (or rather their government, which pays all expenses) is rooted in legal and social differences which vary in subtle as well as obvious ways from country to country. In terms of the way Africans are treated legally and socially, a strong line of demarcation setting off different practices separates Northern Rhodesia plus Nyasaland, which lean toward British East Africa, from Southern Rhodesia. This dichotomy exists despite strong movements toward a Central African federation of Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias. Further, it does not imply that Southern Rhodesian "Native policy" is identical with that of South Africa, which it definitely isn't.

#### Political

Kampala's intra-African relations at the political level are slight. Minor housekeeping arrangements with the Belgians control smuggling and regulate migrant labor. High-level contact similar to that between the Governor of the Gold Coast and the Governor of French Togoland over the Ewe tribe is rare. Nor are there African political parties in Kampala which have similar intercolonial ties such as spring up between nationalist movements in dif-

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<sup>1</sup>Just how far apart Lusaka and Kampala are in the minds of students at Makerere was revealed to the writer when he gave a geography test to second-year students. One question assumed familiarity with Lusaka's location. One-third of them afterward protested that it was an unfair question because they had never heard of the capital of Northern Rhodesia, and it was so far away they couldn't be expected to know about it.

ferent West African countries. When the leader of government business in the Gold Coast Assembly speaks of pan-West-Africa embracing not only British territories, it is a type of statement without parallel in Uganda.

Uganda supports the multi-national Committee on Technical Cooperation South of the Sahara and sent delegates to the African Regional Scientific Conference in Johannesburg in 1949. In time, similar meetings may take place in Kampala as the leading center of a participating country.

Commonwealth political contact is slight largely because conduct of Uganda's foreign affairs is assumed by the United Kingdom government. Civil service officers are recruited from other Commonwealth countries besides Great Britain, but few Uganda Africans ever even visit the dominions.

The Cotton Research Station of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation is at Namulonge, a short drive from Kampala. Here cotton research for the entire Commonwealth has been concentrated on both theoretical and practical work.

The United Nations are remote from Kampala, yet the town is the center of an underdeveloped country which attracts more attention in the present era than many developed nations. In December, 1950, Kampala was the headquarters for a meeting of the World Health Organization, an agency of the United Nations, with delegates from thirty-two countries. Speaking in French and English, they presented in Kampala the latest information and techniques known on malaria. One of the experts was a doctor from Mulago Hospital in Kampala.

The police have occasionally admitted visitors to some of their training courses. In 1946 an Asian sub-inspector came from Zanzibar, and in 1948 an African sub-inspector returned to the Sudan after a year's training.<sup>1</sup>

Proposals have been made to reorganize the East African Court of Appeals to include Aden, British Somaliland, Mauritius, and the Seychelles.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Uganda Police for 1947, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> For comments on this proposal, see the speech of Uganda's Attorney

It is to meet four times a year in Kampala. In 1947 His Majesty's Court of Appeals for Eastern Africa held only one session in Kampala.<sup>1</sup>

Another index of the relationships of Uganda with its neighbors is in the numbers of Africans from surrounding areas who come into the country and are convicted and imprisoned for crimes committed in Uganda. In 1947 the figures broke down as follows: Native of Congo (including Ruanda-Urundi), 213; Native of Kenya, 177; Native of Tanganyika, 90; Native of Sudan, 28.<sup>2</sup>

An unusual definition of Uganda's area of interest within Africa arises under the immigration regulations. Africans are exempt from the provisions of the Immigration (Control) Ordinance, 1947; and "Africans" are defined as Africans coming from East Africa, the Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, Equatorial Province of the Sudan, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa. Curiously, the reason given for including the last country under a 1948 amendment was that Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) is contiguous with Tanganyika, which allows Africans to come in freely. Consequently, "it would be impossible for us to prevent their movement from Tanganyika into the Protectorate."<sup>3</sup>

### Social

A general discussion of social relationships of Kampala outside East Africa, including the Uganda Society, will be followed by consideration of some special relationships involving religion and social services.

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General in: Uganda Protectorate, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Sixth Meeting of the Twenty-ninth Session, 25th July, 1950 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1950), p. 14.

<sup>1</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Judicial Department for the Year ended 31st December, 1947 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1948), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report on the Treatment of Offenders for the Year ended 31st December, 1947 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1949), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>The Acting Attorney General speaking: Uganda Protectorate, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Sixth Meeting of the Twenty-seventh Session, 30th June, 1948 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1948), p. 26.

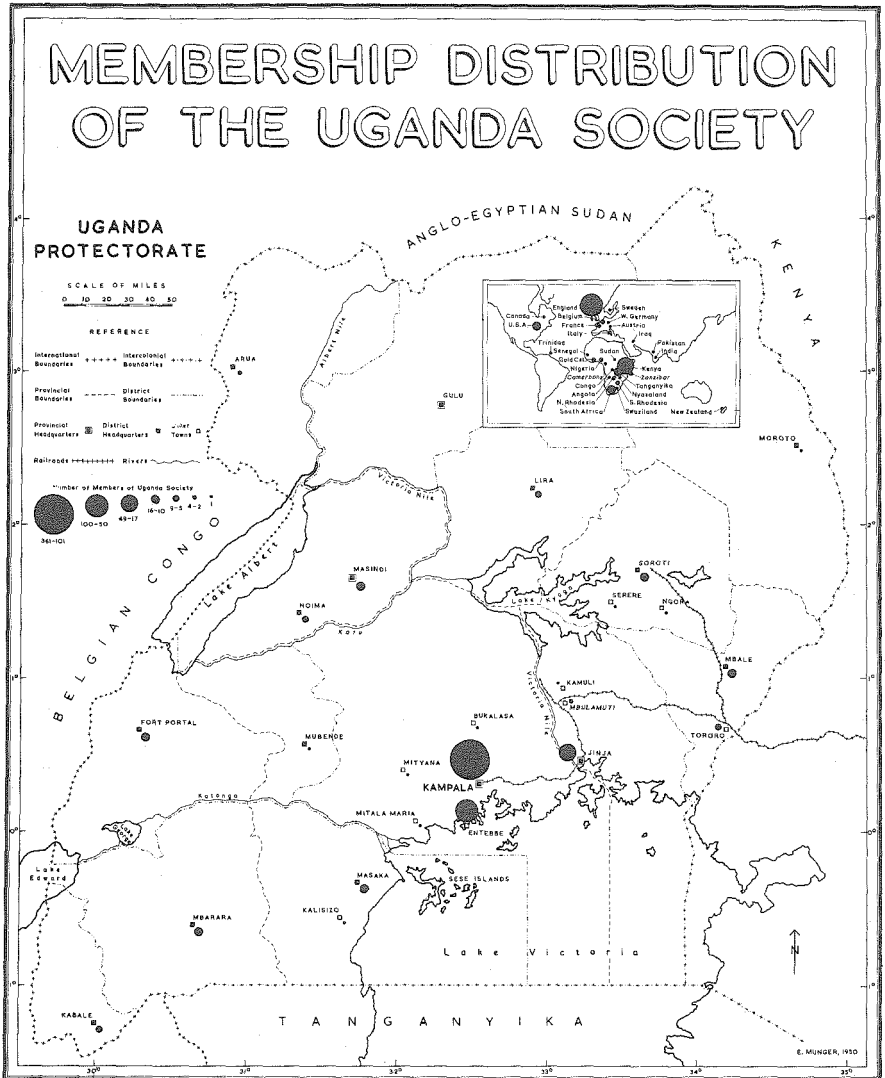


Fig. 55

## General

Uganda is continuously being molded culturally by world forces. It exerts little influence in return. The tangible and intangible cultural impact of Great Britain on Uganda is enormous and immeasurable. Uganda is better known in Britain than in the rest of the outside world, and certainly than in many parts of Africa, but the average Briton is still likely to ask whether "Uganda" is a Derby entry.

India and Pakistan have sent to Uganda thousands of their people, who have indelibly stamped their way of life on the Protectorate; but Kampala's resultant influence on those two countries is slight indeed.

Perhaps Uganda is so little-known in India (or so students of India report) because Indians in South Africa have monopolized the headlines in Bombay and New Delhi, and also because Indian immigrants to Uganda come usually from a small number of rural villages. The Indian government and Indian universities offer scholarships to worthy Africans from Uganda, and a significant relationship may some day develop as a consequence. More likely, the returning scholars will introduce much more into Uganda's cultural life than they leave behind in India.

Uganda Society.--The activity in Greater Kampala that has the most direct world-wide contacts is the Uganda Society, which has its library and meeting place in the heart of the European residential area. The Society draws its members from all the racial groups. As the map in Figure 55 shows, most of the members live in Kampala with larger percentages in Entebbe and Jinja.

Overseas ties are strongest to Great Britain, where many Society members who have lived and worked in Uganda are now employed or retired. The great majority of United Kingdom members live in England, but those in Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland have been included with the dominant group rather than shown separately.

Although Kenya is second in membership, the much larger European population in that country than in Uganda might be expected to produce as

many members. It does not perhaps because the character of the European population is not so heavily weighted in favor of civil servants and people engaged in scholarly pursuits as in Uganda. South Africa and the United States have over a dozen memberships each, but in the latter case most are libraries that want to receive copies of the Uganda Journal. The odd remainder spread over Europe, the rest of Africa, the Middle East, Canada, and New Zealand.

Although the Kampala Boy Scouts headquarters does not have any administrative jurisdiction beyond the borders of Kampala, it does have an influence over a much wider area of Africa. In 1947 a Jamboree held on the outskirts of Greater Kampala attracted scouts from Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the island of Pemba, from Costermansville and around the rest of Lake Kivu in the Belgian Congo, from Northern Rhodesia, and from Nyasaland. On another occasion a training course for scoutmasters drew participants from the area around Juba. (The scouts from there expressed a definite feeling of affinity with their Acholi cousins as opposed to Mohammedan Sudanese scouts from the north of their country.) On this occasion thirty adult scoutmasters attended from the Costermansville area. Many scouts and African scoutmasters attending these two encampments had never before traveled so far from home. It was a tremendous emotional and educational experience. They could not all converse together in either an African or European tongue, but individuals from widely different areas were mixed up in an effort to promote understanding.<sup>1</sup>

### Religious

In addition to the religious ties of Kampala and East Africa detailed in the last chapter, there is an historic tie with an area known as Mbuga, within the Belgian Congo, north of the Ruwenzori Range and west of Toro (see Figure 38), which is an integral part of the Bishopric of Uganda. The Mbuga deanery differs from the Mengo deanery, for example, principally in govern-

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<sup>1</sup>F. J. Noyes, "Scouting in Uganda," Jamboree, Journal of World Scouting, IV (May, 1949), 153-156.

ment direction of education. Its origin dates back to the early days of occupation when the region fell within the border of Uganda. Subsequent boundary adjustments with Belgium left it in the Congo; but since there were schools and churches erected and a people believing in the Anglican faith, they were not disturbed. No attempt has ever been made by the Bishopric of Uganda to expand farther into the Congo. In 1948 the Mbuga enclave had three clergymen and 119 working laymen for 3,124 communicants, who contributed shs. 5,747 to their eighty-seven small churches.<sup>1</sup>

Ruanda-Urundi is also under the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of Uganda although there are separate financial arrangements. Until there is a separate bishop, the Bishop of Uganda can serve the area better than any other Anglican bishop.

The East African Muslim Welfare Society has its headquarters in Kampala and does the majority of its work in Uganda. Among its stated aims are:

To adopt all possible means necessary for the advancement and the welfare of the Muslims of East Africa and particularly in Uganda and especially for the propagation of Islam amongst the indigenous population of East Africa with ultimate object extending its activities to the Central, Southern, and Western Africa.<sup>2</sup>

It further proposes:

To award adequate number of scholarships or overseas bursaries to the deserving number of Arab, Somali, Swahili and African Muslim students to prosecute their studies at Makerere and Egypt, India, Europe, America and/or other overseas countries.<sup>3</sup>

Kampala has an occasional, tenuous, but official role as the center of Muslim religious activities in East, Central, and South Africa. At intervals of eighteen months the Ismaili Supreme Council for Africa meets in Kampala, according to the official by-laws (see Inset II in Figure 38).

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<sup>1</sup>Figures furnished the writer by the Church Missionary Society Bishop of Uganda.

<sup>2</sup>Constitution and Rules and Regulations of the East African Muslim Welfare Society, Kampala, Registered May 5, 1949, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

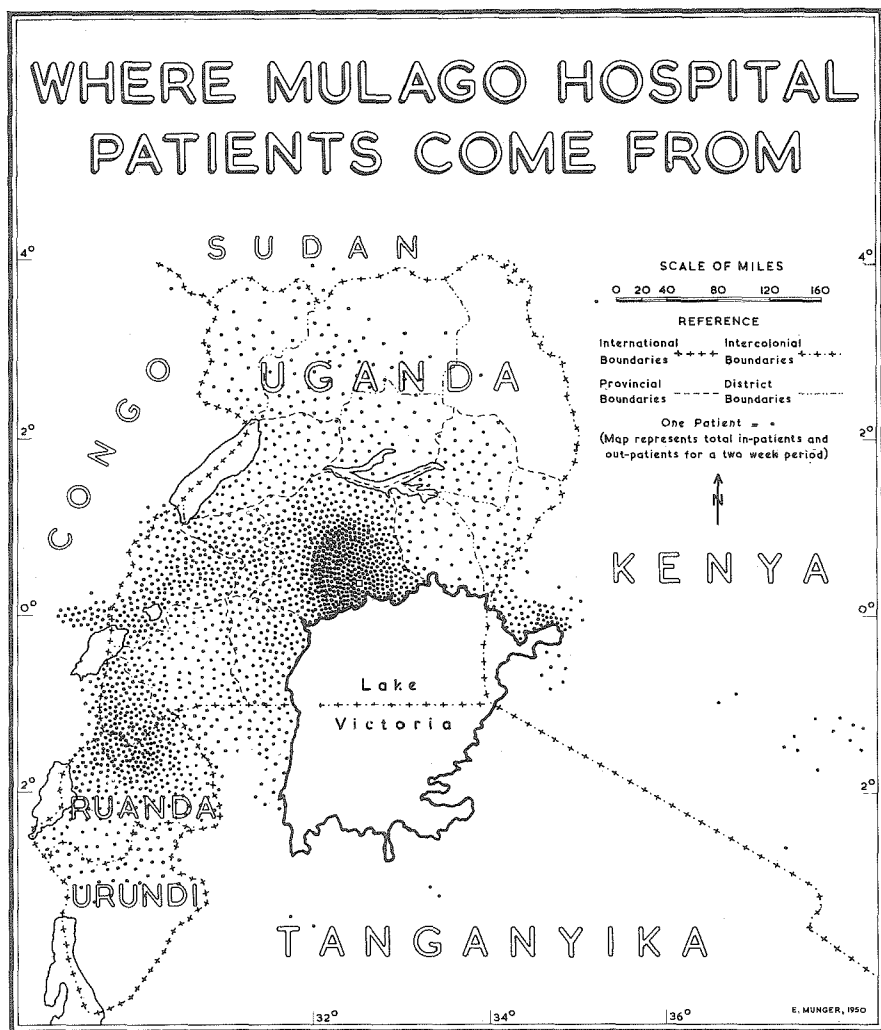


Fig. 56



## Social services

Basic social services supplied to Africans are rudimentary, but of minimal cost to the individual, over most of Africa. Africans are sometimes attracted across colonial boundaries by differing social services as well as by increased economic opportunity.

Within Uganda a strong magnetic pull is exerted by the existence of good and inexpensive (if not free) social services in Kampala. To some extent the attraction is stimulated by the government in order to concentrate those people needing a particular service and to handle them economically.

Mulago Government Hospital was built as a venereal disease hospital as part of a campaign to rid Uganda of such diseases. Soon the facts which are assumed today were recognized: Most of their patients suffered from a variety of diseases, which must all be energetically attacked for appreciable results; curing only one is a futile process. Largely because of this fact, Mulago finally became a general hospital.

Mulago, which is also a teaching hospital for the Makerere medical school, draws its patients from an area of over three hundred thousand square miles. Comparison of the map of origins of Mulago Hospital's patients in Figure 56 and the map of labor routes in Figure 60 reveals a striking correlation. Perhaps here is partial confirmation of the physical hardships of the route from Ruanda-Urundi to Mengo District. Whole wards of Barundi and Banyaruanda are hospitalized with tuberculosis and general malnutrition.

## Economic

Uganda's economic relationships outside East Africa will be considered from the standpoints of exports to world markets and Mengo District's attraction of labor from outside Uganda.

## Trade

Uganda is an agricultural country. It is an African country. It is eight hundred miles from cheap water transport. Yet it does not have a sub-



Fig. 57.--Uganda Robusta coffee about to be hoisted onto a freight car for shipment to Mombasa and then overseas.

Fig. 58.--Wharfside at Rhino Camp on the Albert Nile. Bags of cotton are overflowing the warehouses in the background.



sistence economy. Uganda ordinarily exports products of greater value per head of population than Tanganyika, with its many European farmers.<sup>1</sup> The country has a significant place in world trade and, by consideration of its circumstances, a unique one. India is by far Uganda's greatest market, buying the bulk of her main crop--cotton.<sup>2</sup> The United Kingdom takes less than one-half as much but along with a greater variety of products. South Africa, buying 6.6 per cent of Uganda's exports, is the most important market on the continent. The map in Figure 59 includes Kenya and Tanganyika with "Other Countries" to point up its world (as against "home region") orientation.

Uganda is now moving into a new and better-balanced export period with strenuous efforts to increase mineral production--which is unlikely to equal in value the crops of the Uganda farmer for many years but will be a welcome source of revenue for the Protectorate.

In view of the long and expensive route to world markets, Dr. E. B. Worthington has suggested that perhaps East Africa might look forward to a steady and large expansion of internal trade as well as of population and productive enterprise in all that part of Africa which is far from sea communication. These remarks emerged from a discussion of the Zande scheme on the Sudan-Congo border, where experiments are going on toward developing a nearly self-sufficient community.<sup>3</sup>

#### Movement of voluntary labor

In total numbers, present economic effects, and permanent sociological changes, the most significant relationship of Kampala with areas out-

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<sup>1</sup>For details and an interesting account of the relation of African and European farmers to the value of export crops, see: Charlotte Leubuscher, Tanganyika Territory, A Study of Economic Policy Under a Mandate (London: Oxford University Press, 1944).

<sup>2</sup>An informative account of the operation of the cotton industry within Uganda is contained in: Uganda Protectorate, Report of the Uganda Cotton Industry Commission, 1948 (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1948).

<sup>3</sup>Speaking at a meeting of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies, as noted in Comment (Published every Thursday, Nairobi, Kenya), No. 41 (June 22, 1950), p. 7.

side Uganda and East Africa is concerned with labor migration.

It has been said that the orientation of this study is toward out-going influences of Kampala, not forces which impinge from the outside. So it may seem inconsistent to describe movement of labor from the outside into Mengo District and Kampala, as also the movements of Makerere students discussed earlier in two different sections. The attractive force of both these movements, however, is in Kampala and Mengo District. A description of the most important voluntary labor movement, from Ruanda-Urundi, will best illustrate Greater Kampala's position in this respect.

Africa continues to suffer from an acute lack of skilled workers and an insufficient total labor supply that will become shorter as African development is accelerated, until perennial recruitment headaches of the Rand kind may become common.<sup>1</sup>

People moving from land of want to land where they are wanted is an old story in East Africa. For thirty years the principal labor migration route has been that traveled by the Banyaruanda and Barundi from the Belgian mandates into Buganda. Historically, Ruanda-Urundi's high, steep-sided hills have produced more people than food to feed them. In many years the issue was blunt: go or starve. Buganda is flatter and a lower population density is supported by rich agriculture. Since the introduction of cotton, the Baganda have raised their income so that fifty thousand of them employ labor some time during the year. Scant evidence and legend suggest that the Baganda are not a prolific tribe. Once they secured manpower through war but now must seek peaceful means.

Both Belgian and British authorities recognize the mutual benefits of this seasonal migration. Uganda maintains rest camps and medical centers for the immigrants along main travel routes. When these people, usually hungry and seldom in good health, set off to walk two hundred and fifty miles

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<sup>1</sup>For a thorough general study of the broader topic in East Africa, see: Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, Labour Conditions in East Africa, Colonial No. 193 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946).

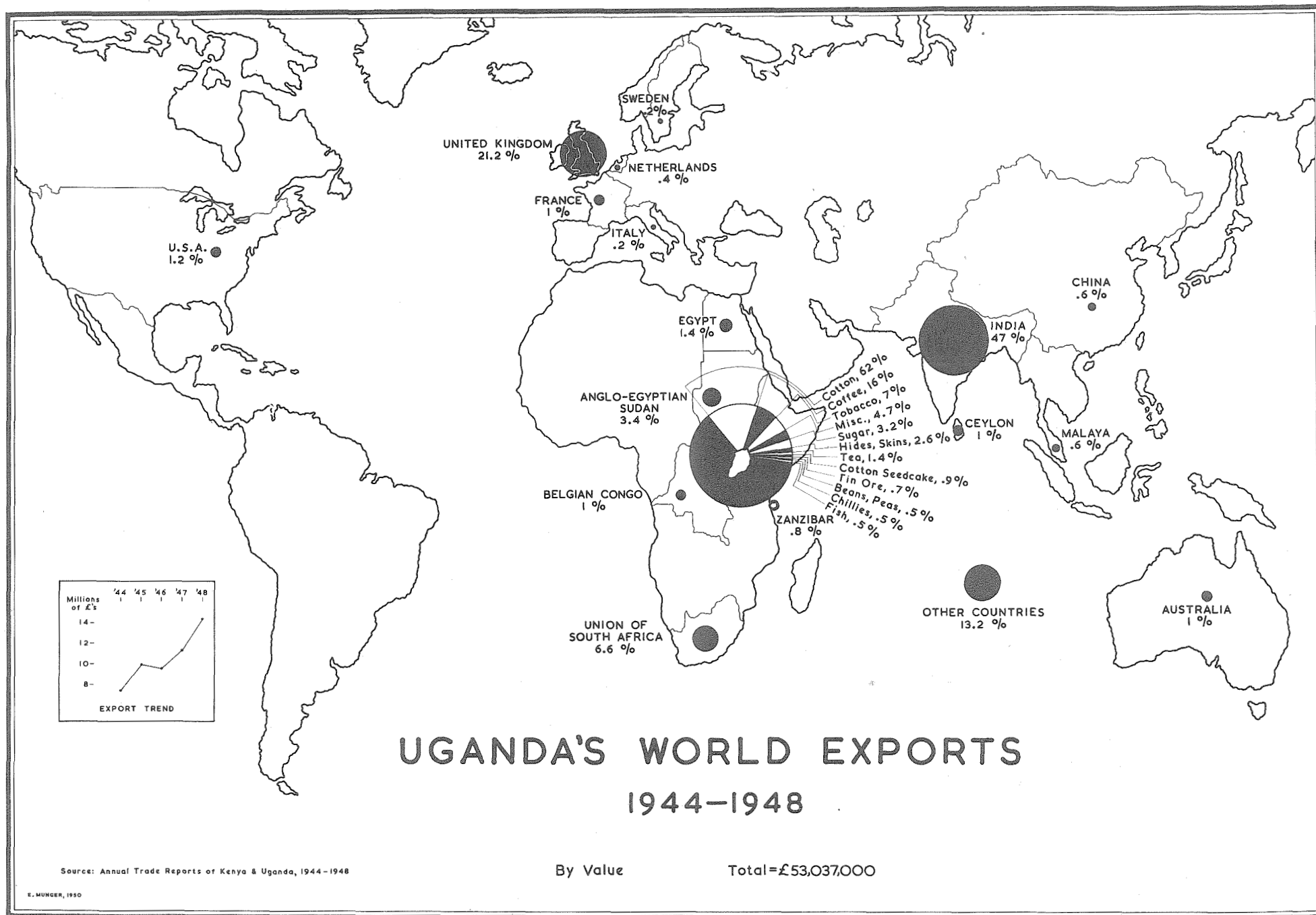


Fig. 59

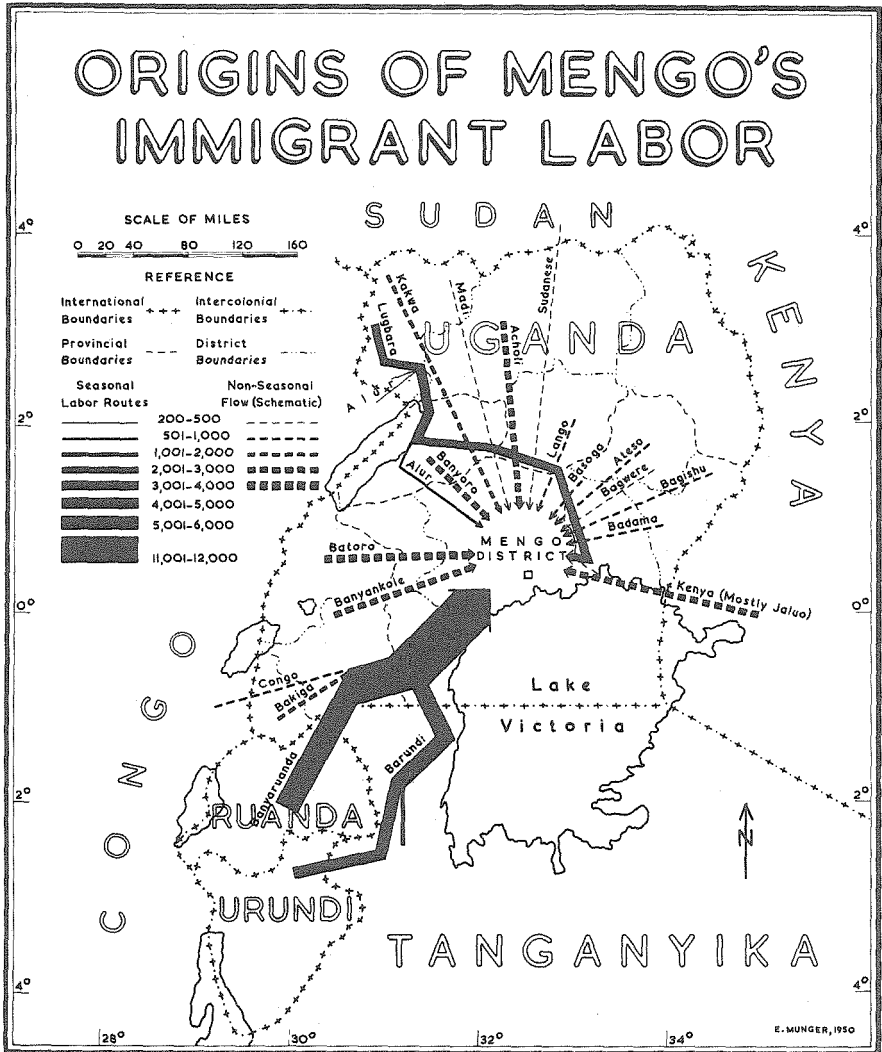


Fig. 60

line has been used. The Lugbara and Alur from the northwest find employment in the sugar fields. Lugbara take a different route (that follows water courses) because of contractual arrangements. Many Banyankole hire out as herders; the Batoro and Jalu as houseboys and cooks in Kampala; and the Acholi make fine policemen; but this tribal-occupational correlation can be exaggerated.

The Tanganyika-Uganda boundary roughly follows the natural barrier of the Kagera River--channelizing labor flow so that counts can be made at supervised crossings, although an undetermined number of people cross at unsupervised points in the sparse bush country along the river. The Tanganyika government vaccinates at Kyaka Ferry, from where the human stream flows to Masaka and on toward Mengo District. The Barundi come from both Tanganyika and Urundi, but emigrants from the latter country prefer to go through Tanganyika to avoid passing through Ruanda, where they are not on good terms with the local people. From year to year actual routes vary slightly due chiefly to availability of food, dangers of attack, attitudes of officials, and any money the people have for bus fares. Most are penniless, but some now manage to save enough to take cheap African and Asian buses from Kabale or the shorter run from Masaka to save days of walking.

This labor source is vital to Buganda. A number of Baganda now take jobs with government or private business for, say, shs. 100 (\$15) to shs. 175 (\$25) a month and hire these immigrant porters to till their land for as little as shs. 15 (\$2) a month plus easily grown bananas for their food. It is with good reason that both the African and British governments are concerned for the future. There is a feeling that the immigration is slowing down. Preliminary 1950 figures indicate such a tendency, but no one really knows.

Favoring the influx of workers are the Uganda government's efforts to provide places for them to sleep and cook meals along the way, health measures, and regulations as to their pay and conditions of employment. Wages are higher than ever before, and more consumer goods can be bought than



Fig. 61.--A Banyaruanda immigrant approaching the Ruanda-Uganda border. Only thirteen more days' walk to Kampala.

Fig. 62.--Steaming south on the Albert Nile. Lugbara and Alur seasonal workers on board are bound for the sugar fields of Mengo District. Papyrus sudd is in the background.





were available in the first years after the war. A carry-over from the old days of hardship is the attitude in Ruanda-Urundi that one mark of manhood is a trip to Uganda. The traditions of battling with lions and elephants, of fighting bandits, living off the country, and surviving where many died still give the emigrant prestige on his return home. Practically, it does mean he has traveled abroad and returned with some money.

On the other hand, the conditions of famine that were a powerful impetus in the early days have been largely alleviated. Extensive terracing and other erosion controls, coupled with large-scale developments by the Belgians, have made the mandates richer and more self-sufficient. The population surplus may be needed for future projects in the two countries and in the nearby Congo. Belgian officials have been enigmatic about their desires for this labor, although in the past they have definitely interceded on occasion to restrict the flow in some places. If money remains an attraction to the seasonal worker, he does know that devaluation has reduced the worth of what he will take home from Uganda to exchange for Congo francs.

Counteracting the possible effects of a drying up of the southwest route is the steady increase in the number of Banyaruanda and Barundi settling in Buganda, whether temporarily for a three- or four-year-period or permanently. The Kabaka considers these people his subjects and his chiefs begin collecting taxes from them after two years.<sup>1</sup> More women appear to be coming as the men stay longer. There has been little intermarriage between the Banyaruanda and Barundi men and Baganda women. The brideprice is low, but the Baganda hold the immigrants in such utter contempt that mixing is rare in Mengo District. In contradiction, however, if they are accepted into a group, the Banyaruanda appear to be assimilated easily and to lose most of their identity in one generation. They must be affecting the culture of the Baganda at least in small ways, but nothing is actually known of this, and the Baganda are most unhappy at the thought.

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<sup>1</sup>Conversation with Kabaka Edward Mutesa, February, 1950.



Fig. 63.--Barundi Immigrants on the Outskirts of Kampala

Fig. 64.--Typical steep, terraced hillsides in Urundi--often a land of want.



## SUMMARY

This study has been concerned with the relationships of Kampala, Uganda, with a series of hinterlands of varying size, type and complexity.

The urban area of Greater Kampala has a population of approximately 36,500, predominantly African. The area breaks down spatially into European and Asian sections surrounding a heterogeneous core and an African section surrounding an African core.

Functionally, the racial groups and the two foci are intricately intertwined. However, many relationships of Kampala are along almost exclusively racial lines.

The area delimited by municipal Kampala has only a narrow legalistic meaning and includes only a small part of the urban area. The town cannot be totally defined by any single criterion; it has many different and dynamic boundaries.

The town has a pronounced and extended effect on the adjacent surrounding rural countryside: in the size of land units and agricultural land use, for example.

Kampala is the administrative center of Mengo District, the capital of the Kingdom of Buganda, the largest and most important town in the Uganda Protectorate, particularly in the cultural and economic spheres, and is occasionally the effective capital of the whole country. The town is Uganda's most important link with East Africa and the world.

Kampala has varying relational ties with both political and non-political hinterlands. Political boundaries are frequently reflected in social and economic phenomena, such as education, religion, and trade in certain commodities. The less important a formal social organization is, the more likely it is to be confined by already established political boundaries. Often,

notably in the case of seasonal labor supply, the political boundaries are only slight barriers. In rarer instances, a political boundary is an incentive to trade where it separates regions in which commodities are unequal in price.

Changes in political boundaries are slowly, where at all, reflected in social realignments, as exemplified by the religious Mbuga enclave in the Belgian Congo that was formerly British territory, and by educational overlap into Kenya for the training of priests.

A major trend is for hinterlands having direct relationship with Kampala to be fragmented with consequent diminution of influence or substitution of an indirect relationship.

Kampala is increasingly a rediffusion center for Western ideas that enter Uganda. Sometimes Nairobi is a way-station in the flow of ideas from the world to Kampala and then to the countryside.

Because of African attitudes--rational or irrational--involving distrust of European domination within an East African federation, Kampala may become the capital of such a federated East Africa.

Kampala's East African and world relationships tend to be along racial lines--primarily Asian and European, and only occasionally African. Students at Makerere College are the most important factor in the last instance. Outside East Africa, British political and cultural bonds have influenced economic orientation, unfortunately so in regard to a rail outlet to the sea from the Kivu region of the eastern Belgian Congo.

Kampala is not an average urban center in the world; it is not a typical African town. Atypical in form and in its precise interrelated functions, it is nonetheless an example of relational patterns with varying parallels in other towns in Africa and in the world as a whole.

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<sup>1</sup>This bibliography includes materials referred to in the study, general items on Uganda and East Africa bearing on the study, and general literature on Uganda. The last is the most extensive although in many instances the least pertinent to the study. Selection has been made with emphasis on the following criteria: geographical materials; materials primarily on Uganda; recent work (except that a number of historical materials bearing on the early days of exploration and development are noted). Most accounts of pure travel and adventure have been eliminated. Likewise, many government documents of restricted interest, some of which are quoted in the text, have been excluded. Preference has been given to materials written in English and French.

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