

2002

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Recommended Citation

Summers, Carol. "Force and Colonial Development in Eastern Uganda." In *East Africa in Transition: Communities, Cultures, and Change*, edited by J.M. Bahemuka and J.L. Brockington, 181-207. Nairobi, Kenya: Acton Publishers, 2002.

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FORCE AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN UGANDA¹

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1. Introduction

In 1925, the Chief Justice of Uganda, Sir Charles Griffin, realized that women were being whipped in the Native Courts of Eastern Uganda. But "the beating of women is prohibited because they are women and for no other reason," he somewhat naively asserted, arguing that "A civilized Government will not tolerate the beating of women..."² Griffin assumed that the transformation of Eastern Uganda—from a complex and turbulent region of stateless societies to a province of the Protectorate of Uganda—would provide chivalrous protections for Eastern Ugandan women even as Eastern Ugandan men grew cotton and took advantages of new religious, governmental, and economic opportunities. He was wrong. Instead, as the region's government grew increasingly formal, its marketing system became effective, and its mission churches expanded from the turn of the century into the mid 1920s, official and public violence against women united Protectorate administrators, some missionaries, and many African men. Women, they insisted, were dissidents, resistant to the work of progress and development. Women's unruliness threatened the political, social and economic order of the region, and must be stopped.

This article explores why and how administrators and missionaries in Eastern Uganda came to associate progress and development with the need to whip, coerce, and imprison women, developing new institutions for the violent control of wives that went far beyond more common patterns of informal patriarchal control. New Native Courts took over from husbands in arranging for troublesome wives to be whipped. New mission associations of church, teachers' and evangelists' groups, and church men's groups worked to establish Christian patriarchal con-

control over wives who rejected husbands and Christ. Both officials and missionaries understood clearly that the government and missions needed to beat women if they were to have any hope of the political support or acquiescence of the local men essential to their visions of order and development. They abandoned such activities only reluctantly, under pressure, and went on to develop more covert ways to carry on with disciplinary practices they considered essential.³ In the mid 1920s, though, officials, missionaries, and their Eastern Province supporters argued explicitly and emphatically that the progressive development of Eastern Uganda required that dissident women be subject to corporal punishment.

Court-ordered whippings increased during the early 1920s in a context of an increasingly formal administration, and pressure for expanded and intensified cotton cultivation. By the 1920s, the violence of conquest, which had included slave raiding and deliberate destruction of property and resources, was giving way even in "backward" Eastern Uganda to a new administrative and economic structure. The Protectorate government appointed a layer of white administrators and displaced rule by Semei Kakungulu, a Ganda warlord who had conquered under both Ganda and British sponsors at the turn of the century. These new white District Officers administered the region through appointed chiefs whose subdivisions had been established in Kakungulu's time (1896-1904), modeled on the divisions of the kingdom of Buganda.⁴ This administration organized districts and chiefdoms in Eastern areas with no pre-conquest history of such central structures. Through these institutions of indirect rule, the Protectorate administration sought an inexpensive peace and a way of sponsoring economic transformation with a minimum of European staff.⁵ Cotton cultivation provided new monetary wealth and underwrote both economic and political transformation. New chiefs and other ambitious men increased acreage of the new cash crop with labor by their wives and children supplemented by men's labor coerced through taxes.⁶ Missions received land holdings and accepted tax labor to construct buildings, farms and enterprises, and took responsibility for what they saw as the civilizing social change connected to these political and economic developments, such as new forms of family life.⁷ Local British officials and key missionaries, the sponsors of these political, economic and social changes, understood the continued and formal use of violence against women as an essen-

tial tool in their efforts to shape the new economy and society.

This complex alliance of British officials, African chiefs, white missionaries and African mission teachers should, according to the local model of colonialism, have allowed development of 'civilized' institutions in an area that African elites and British observers had in pre-colonial times regarded as uncivilized and chaotic. Prior to cotton, Eastern Uganda's principal export crops had been such dangerous and socially dubious commodities as ivory and slaves. Its agriculture had been principally oriented toward subsistence rather than export, with surpluses sold occasionally as part of the provisioning trade for those lucky or unlucky enough to live near a caravan route. The introduction of widespread smallholder cultivation of cotton, therefore, represented something of an agricultural revolution, providing cash and wealth to both those men who could induce their wives to cultivate cotton, and to the state that collected taxes and fees from cotton marketing. Reviewing these changes in Teso, one later administrator observed that

... these people were in a state of naked barbarism, existing by a precarious and primitive system of shifting cultivation, ravaged by famine, disease and inter-tribal warfare. [But] Since the beginning of this century, Kakunguru's Sniders [breech loading rifles] have established peace and ordered government; the missionaries have brought the benefits of Christian teaching and education; and the introduction of cotton and the plough and the improvement of farming methods... have raised standards of living and resulted in rapid development of communications and trade, bringing wealth to the district... The Iteso themselves readily and quickly accepted and assimilated these new ideas and techniques... The resultant wealth has been wisely invested in further improvements by Teso's progressive local government.⁹

Government and missions alike saw cotton, and the access to money, commodities, and new state-based order that it bought, as basic to this process of change.

In the 1920s, however, these early progressive developments were threatened by a new imperial caution about intervention and forced change as British human rights activists and Labour politicians began to pay attention to the methods of colonial governance. Under Colonial Office oversight, Governor Gowers' administration restricted chiefs' use of men's forced labor.⁹ In this labor-hungry economy, where chiefs and big men's economic successes in cotton rested on their political

control over agricultural laborers, this threatened administrative power and prestige. Women, always a major source of agricultural labor, thus became even more essential to would-be cash crop farmers as other types of coerced labor became harder to conceal and use. In this context, women's non-compliance, both with state-sponsored cotton-growing initiatives and with missions' efforts to redefine marriage, was a serious problem, threatening the newly powerful chiefs and cotton farmers, Christian communities, and the colonial model of development.

The new progressive, systematic colonialism, administered by white district officials who reviewed chiefs and big men as they peacefully developed a monetized cotton economy and paid taxes to the colonial state, was threatened by those who had been left out of the formal system of control and rewards, but were nevertheless essential to its success: women, especially women as wives and agricultural workers. The new institutions therefore worked to keep women under control, using the mechanisms of judicial violence that they had available. Conservative estimates by officials in favor of whippings indicated that some courts beat four or five women a day, passing sentences that often reached as high as 20 strokes of the kiboko, a rhinoceros-hide whip.¹⁰ Erratic statistics, covering a variety of time periods, made any analysis of the number of corporal sentences on women problematic, but the Governor indicated that while in Bugwere district 299 women were whipped over a period of about thirteen months, numbers were higher in other intensive cotton growing districts such as Busoga and Teso, with Teso reporting that at least 926 women had been whipped by courts over the previous two years. Technically, this was illegal. Courts lacked statutory authority for corporal sentences on women.¹¹ Nevertheless, like missionary-sponsored corporal punishments by priests desperate to enforce Christian marriages on women, Native Courts' use of corporal punishment was a part of a strategic alliance between white authorities and elite local men. These allies worked together to produce—as inexpensively as possible—the economic and social changes they viewed as progress towards prosperity and civilization.

To date, little historical research has explored Ugandan women's experiences under colonialism. Elsewhere in British Africa, however, colonial attempts to control women through administrative alliances with senior African men have been well documented, pointing to likely issues in colonial gender politics.¹² Women have been the major agri-

cultural labor force throughout most of Uganda, from the precolonial period to the present, maintaining families' subsistence while men concentrated on politics, warfare, hunting and, in pastoral areas, cattle. Even in Eastern areas that grew annual crops such as millet, rather than the perennial women's crop of plantains and bananas, women have been critically important agricultural workers. Colonial manuals stated this bluntly, with notes such as "Weeding is the task of women.... Harvesting is the duty of women."¹³ And stable marriages, giving women access to the land men controlled and men access to women's labor, were key to not merely production, but also peaceful reproduction and alliances between men.¹⁴ Cotton exacerbated tensions between husbands and wives, as women were expected to grow it, as they did food, but men sold it, rather than allowing women to store it in women's granaries under women's authority for family consumption. Men ordered cotton grown, and profited from its sale, but did not provide women with cotton revenue.¹⁵ Women who neglected all cultivation in protest, or attempted to claim profits from the cotton they cultivated, could thus undermine the region's food security, its sole cash crop, and the source of men's status and tax money. Women who chose their own marriages, or changed their minds, destabilized economic relationships between men who paid and received bridewealth and relied on wives' labor to pay for children's school fees and adults' tax money. Dissident women thus threatened the region's productive and reproductive orders. As women lacked land and money of their own and had little to lose to fines or taxes, however, it was difficult for men to coerce them except through violence. The fact that men beat women therefore is not particularly surprising.

The governor and administrative officials' intense and sustained defense of Native Courts' power to whip women judicially, as a part of a formal court process, however, is unusual. And it pitted administrative officials against both Protectorate legal authorities and the Colonial Office in Britain. Within Uganda, the Administration rejected Griffin's argument, and that of the Colonial Office, that women should never be beaten. Nor was the administration alone in its acceptance of African chiefs' power to impose corporal punishments which went far beyond the law: Eastern Uganda's missionaries, frustrated by dissident women, also aligned themselves with the police and specific chiefs and imposed public, potentially life-threatening corporal penalties on

women who challenged their understandings of propriety.

A close examination of the controversies over Native Court whippings and the Mill Hill Mission's whippings, kidnappings, and forced labor strategies indicates that the forces of change in the region ended up identified not with abstract principles of civilization, but with the local needs of men seeking prosperity and order within the new economy. This was no accident. One official who advocated whippings argued that since neither the women nor the missions protested, illegality was irrelevant and the local ideal of indirect rule should prevail, allowing chiefs to whip as necessary.¹⁶ And a priest appointed to Teso to clean up the mission's practices in the wake of the scandal over its abuses described his new flock as the "rawest and worst" people before descending into Latin to detail their offences, noting "I can quite imagine that Father Kiggen had recourse to the stick occasionally and I have been sorely tempted to do the same..."¹⁷

Ironically, administrative reforms and mission policies that encouraged progressive chiefs of disciplined Christian communities, and discouraged tribute labor and polygyny, increased the importance of women's cultivation and obedience. Reforms thus made official beatings and corporal punishment of women more essential to the progressive administrations of government and mission in the 1920s even as men's forced labor was replaced by less coercive recruitment.

2. Administrative Perspectives on Marriage and Cotton

Chief Justice Griffin's investigation showed that women were being whipped for "matrimonial offences" and that one of their principal "matrimonial offences" was refusal to cultivate cotton for their husbands. Cotton was a new crop in Uganda, becoming prominent only in the early 20th century. But both European and African men insisted that a wife's duty to cultivate, historically part of a set of marital responsibilities, was not limited to providing her children with food; it included growing the cotton that her husband and the new administration demanded. Women caused problems in a variety of ways as, in a sample of 50 cases, one woman refused to live with her husband, another killed her husband's chicken, and one husband's two wives both left him, together, to "go a-whoring". But in 37 of 50 sample cases, women were whipped for refusing to cultivate or pick cotton, and in 40

of those 50 cases, sentences were 10 or more strokes of the kiboko.¹⁸

Circulars from the Colonial office and governor had, as part of efforts to reform colonial administrative practices, explicitly declared that no one was to be forced to grow cotton and that corporal punishment for failure to cultivate cotton was illegal. Not all administrative officers and chiefs took this prohibition seriously, however. Force had been a basic constituent of the colonial landscape during the period of conquest and the establishment of colonial authority. An early acting governor had declared that forced cultivation was justifiable because “the Government stands very largely *in loco parentis*, and just as primary education is obligatory in England, so I consider it is also our duty to educate the native in such agricultural pursuits... it is still necessary... for the chiefs to exercise their influence over their people in the way of getting them to cultivate cotton.”¹⁹ And Sir Philip Mitchell, one of Uganda’s most liberal governors, explained that the circulars which ordered District officers not to use compulsion against Africans but mandated that the Africans “must yield to persuasion” effectively told officers to use whatever means necessary to enforce labor recruitment and cash crop cultivation, but not get caught.²⁰ Even the early twentieth century taxes collected in the Eastern Province were based not just on British ideas of a hut tax or poll tax, but on Ganda labor taxes of *kasanvu* and *luwalo*, yielding not merely cash, but corvee labor.²¹ The Native Courts, in which chiefs appointed by the Protectorate government collected taxes and drafted or fined individuals into unpleasant, dangerous or difficult work, provided the Governor a degree of deniability when forced to answer questions in parliament about forced labor. But the needs these courts served, whether cotton, railway construction, or portering, were established by the Protectorate government.²²

Cotton, and the economic demands and opportunities it brought, was a key backdrop to the controversy, but women’s punishments were not just governmental attempts to exact a taxable income. That could have been done by whipping men. Instead, court-ordered whippings of women arose from African men’s attempts to maintain a gendered division of labor that emphasized women’s agricultural responsibilities, and intensify wives’ work in a context where a men’s ability to acquire and hold status depended on their wives’ success with cotton. As J.M. Gray noted, “a husband who receives an official intimation that greater

energy is required from him in the matter of cotton cultivation and who finds his wife insubordinate in this matter, finds that the best means of safeguarding himself is to bring the woman before Lukiko [Native Court] for punishment."²³ Men's need and desire for money and status propelled their families into cotton growing. But women, receiving neither money or status from their increased work load, resisted husbands' demands. The colonial officials and native courts' willingness to enforce women's labor through court-ordered whippings allowed men to declare themselves progressive cotton farmers, regardless of actual yields, quite literally on their wives' backs. Furthermore, since the court took responsibility for the whippings, husbands did not have to defend their actions to angry fathers- and brothers-in-law whose willingness to defend their daughters and sisters might once have restrained husbands' ability to enforce labor through casual wife-beating.

No one in this controversy argued that court-ordered whippings were traditional. Instead, whippings were part of colonial reforms that key Africans and officials viewed as opportunities for progress and development. During the 1920s and 1930s in Eastern Uganda, cotton was at the center of nearly all government and private initiatives.²⁴ By the 1940s, the politics of cotton was equally closely tied to that of African political and economic activism and early nationalism. Many recent studies of cotton growing in Africa have emphasized its costs in the form of famine, shift to monocrop economies, ecological damage, and social changes which restricted individuals' freedom. Cotton "has long been one of the least rewarding cash crops for the peasant cultivator," Vincent argued in her study of Teso. Other historians, working on Uganda and elsewhere in the continent, have tended to agree.²⁵

Yet cotton did have its positive side, at least for some. Indeed, the protectorate's remarkable financial health during the late 1920s and throughout the Depression, was principally due to an expansion of cotton growing which allowed individuals to pay their poll tax, pay labourers to take their place at tribute labor, and fund an expanding system of education. By the mid 1930s, the Protectorate's cotton levy, and Ugandans' use of cotton to pay personal taxes, had produced such a large surplus in the Protectorate's reserve fund that the Governor was somewhat embarrassed and in search of ways to usefully spend the money.²⁶ Uganda lent money to the British Government during World

War II, and in the aftermath of that war, its accumulated cotton reserve fund paid for a startling degree of social investment and justified a level of development loans that the Colonial Development Board considered unparalleled anywhere else in the empire.²⁷ Cotton also provided both the economic base and the justification for the extension of the railway through the principal cotton-growing regions and the investment in transport, whether by lorry, omnibus, or motor car, which revolutionized not only Ugandans' access to urban and international markets for cotton, but the economic integration of the country as a whole. Many Ugandans, both in the early years of cotton and as its cultivation expanded, complained about the marketing arrangements associated with it, which were dominated by Indian traders and characterized by unjustifiably low producer prices. But even for those who were less than enthusiastic, cotton was the only way for the ambitious to pay for the education critical to their sons' success, and to provide consumer goods essential to prominent families.²⁸

Grown by government appointed chiefs, big men, and peasant farmers, with labor from migrant workers and women, cotton was the crop of development and profits in the new Uganda of the late 1920s through the 1940s.²⁹ Europeans' efforts to establish plantations, sometimes in alliance with elite Africans, failed by the late 1920s as prices fell.³⁰ Peasant production, extending throughout Buganda and the ecologically suitable regions of the Eastern Province, therefore provided the economic backbone of the entire administrative structure of the country, as well as funding individuals' livelihoods and wealth. Family heads minded small plots for tax money. Local chiefs grew cotton with tax labor. Teachers grew and sold cotton from school plots using student and parent labor. The money thus earned bought the necessities of the new, Europeanized way of life for the men with notable positions to maintain within the local community.

The cotton crop behind women's whippings was new, and so were the courts that ordered these punishments. This was not simply a case of irate husbands beating their wives in a context of ongoing domestic abuse.³¹ The Native Courts that ordered the punishments had been established by British officials and gradually taken over by chiefs, many trained in mission schools.³² Despite a continuing non-Christian majority in the general population, the would-be elite of areas such as Eastern Province, were not only heavily Christian, but mostly Protes-

tant. At the very least, a Native Court would have its proceedings recorded by a literate clerk, probably trained in a Protestant mission school. Though Administrative officers might emphasize traditional practice as a guide for Native Courts' judgements, the Native Courts were built on Ganda and British norms, not local ideas of lineage, and were part of a new type of administration that provided opportunities for ambitious men.

Courts' intervention in domestic relations was also new. Whatever the reality of women's status in pre-colonial Uganda, British officials were emphatic that in the past, elite women had wielded substantial power throughout Buganda and the areas it influenced. According to them, the need for women to be whipped in Eastern Province arose in the early 20th century not because of a traditionally low status for women, but because Eastern Province, particularly Teso, women had a dangerously high social status as members of their natal lineages, and could mobilize their own families against the their husbands' lineages in a case of dispute.³³ Early anthropological observers were startled by Eastern Ugandan women's willingness to fight back, even physically, against unsatisfactory husbands.³⁴ Native Court-sponsored judicial whippings, officials argued, were a reform measure, ameliorating conditions for women and their families by offering official beatings rather than private violence or inter-lineage warfare. This, they insisted, was a "progressive measure in the best interests of the people concerned".³⁵

Furthermore, in a context where British and Ganda power had overwhelmed local ways of doing things, the ideology of indirect rule demanded, according to officials, that they allow local authorities to exercise power. Custom no longer enforced wifely deference or familial cooperation. Christian women sought votes at mission synod meetings, female teachers pursued equal pay for equal work, and husbands pushed for a pass system for women to keep wives and daughters from leaving home.³⁶ New institutions were necessary to shape these changes, officials argued, or families would have to resort to a bloody rule by force.³⁷ Explicitly juxtaposing how Britons maintained family power with the changing practices of Uganda, Uganda's Attorney General argued "that in England many cases came before the Police Magistrate where a wife complains of having been beaten by her husband, and whenever the Magistrate is satisfied that the woman had been behaving badly and that the chastisement was not severe, he frequently refuses

to entertain the complaint.”³⁸ Without such norms, though, the Governor worried that husbands would angrily beat their wives more severely than the court would, and then be unjustly prosecuted for their attempts to do a husband’s duty.³⁹

Without whipping or customary sanctions, the Governor insisted to a sceptical Colonial Office, there was simply no way to control Eastern Province women. The Provincial Commissioner, though unable to provide much evidence, complained of “the growing license” which he observed in the women of Bugwere and Budama after the Chief Justice’s demand that courts stop whippings. Worse yet, the loss of the power to whip pitted the leading chiefs of each district, who wanted to control women through “a term of imprisonment of two weeks on wives who disobey the reasonable orders of their husbands” against local officials who objected that “this form of punishment would react on the husband, who would be deprived of his wife’s services, and her absence would interfere adversely with the home life”.⁴⁰ Unable to control wives, local men tried to salvage their situation in other ways. In Bugisu, as the Governor had predicted, reported beatings by husbands increased. In Lango, conversely, men responded economically, working to reduce bridewealth on the grounds that women who were not reliable in carrying out marital duties of cultivation could no longer be worth as much as they had once been.⁴¹ Reduced bridewealth, in turn, further destabilized marriage and undermined the position of the fathers who could have expected to benefit from their daughters’ marriages.

Notably, these adaptations to female insubordination threatened men’s alliances and made new tensions between Europeans and Africans, high and low level chiefs, and older and younger men. In a context where the success of his administration rested on men’s cooperation, the Governor and his officials sympathised entirely with the men, explaining with amazement that under the new rules a woman took her husband to court for “simple hurt to his wife by beating her with a stick”. Monetary fines, stocks, and ostracism, alternative punishments for women suggested by critics of whippings, did not work, the Governor argued. Fines were paid by husbands eager to get their wives back. Stocks were too brutal. And ostracism “is a dangerous remedy in communities in which women are prone to suicide on slight provocation”.⁴² Faced with the prospect of paying bridewealth, then having a wife who

was uncontrollable or prone to suicide, the governor complained that men opted out of marriage and settled for irregular arrangements. Home life, he feared, would be altogether lost.⁴³ The governor's fear for home life was not a worry about wives' or even children's quality of life. It was a concern about young men, their fathers, and the masculine connections secured through lineage and marriage contracts that wove society together into an orderly and economically functional unit.

3. Mission Coercion

When called to account for courts' extralegal whipping of women, officials noted that until the Chief Justice complained, no one else minded the courts' use of corporal punishments to maintain marital power and encourage economic development. Women lacked an audible voice. And the missions, who in another context might have acted as whistleblowers objecting to gross abuses were, instead, part of this corporally coercive system. In some cases they may even have exceeded the administration in their willingness to accept forced labor, administer corporal punishment, and coordinate the enforcement of marital duties—as the mission defined them—on dissident women. Though both Protestants and Catholics seem to have viewed forced labor and corporal punishments as routine and unremarkable, we gain a glimpse of both the rationale behind such practices, and their possible scope, in the scandals that emerged in Teso, Eastern Uganda, as two Catholic Mill Hill priests, Fathers Kiggen and Thyssen, resorted to extreme violence to enforce their vision of church law on people with very complicated lives.

Forced labor was a routine part of missions' economic support. Protestants, who had the allegiance of most of the region's chiefs and elite families, used forced labor to build churches, porter clergy's goods from place to place on itinerations, and cultivate mission and church school gardens.⁴⁴ Catholics' access to these forms of support was more limited, being drawn primarily from individuals and families settled on mission land who provided labor as rent, and from work by students and those converts kidnapped and forced to work for the mission as part of a disciplinary punishment.

In Eastern Uganda during the 1920s, the missions were making up their strategies as they went, in an atmosphere of austerity. Unlike

Buganda, where they had operated through alliance with leading Ganda state officials, in the Eastern Province they entered a region with a variety of state and non-state systems, which had been initially evangelized (and conquered) by Semei Kakungulu, his military deputies, and Ganda evangelists.⁴⁵ Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries were a part of this semi-military system as they cooperated with early officials' efforts to occupy land and collect taxes. In Acholi, for example, missionaries temporarily worked directly as tax collectors for the early administration, and one missionary shot a woman in front of witnesses in 1905.⁴⁶

In Teso, conditions were even more unstable as early Ganda evangelists not only entered regions without local requests, but called in Ganda military support when they felt their work or security was threatened.⁴⁷ CMS official rules and restraints on violence, erratically enforced even in the capital, were challenged by both African and British missionaries. These evangelists largely funded themselves through aggressive promotion of cotton, carving out their own territories to the point that Louise Pirouet has argued "cotton and Christianity became inextricably confused".⁴⁸ Despite problems controlling its own employees, the CMS found Eastern Uganda an attractive field for new evangelical growth not just because of the money cotton made available, but also because the lack of a local organized Ganda-style elite would allow the mission itself to define an educational, social, and political agenda, rather than relying on kingdom officials to do so.⁴⁹

The Catholics' position in the region was more tenuous. Three Catholic missions operated in Uganda: the low-budget Verona Fathers in the North (including Acholi), the better-funded White Fathers from Rubaga westward, and the Mill Hill Fathers from Nsambya eastward. The Mill Hill mission, the Colonial Office noted, was the weakest of the major missions in Uganda.⁵⁰ Few Mill Hill fathers had university degrees or even teaching certificates. Recruited from England, Ireland and the Netherlands, they spoke English, but nevertheless found it difficult to socialize effectively with officials, who tended to be Protestants or secular.⁵¹ In this context, without the wealth and prestige of the Protestants, or the skills and education respected by government officials, some Mill Hill priests resorted to a violent discipline to retain control of their converts even though their Bishop, experienced in evangelism in Uganda, declared that "the Fathers are most kind and charitable in all

their dealings with the natives.⁵²

The Mill Hill mission's abuses in Eastern Uganda became clear during a bitter feud between the priests and a local administrator, Captain Philips. In July 1926, Philips indicted Father Kiggen for contempt of court. Kiggen had told a chief about to try a case of criminal breach of trust what punishment should be awarded. This intervention in directing judgment, however, had not been Kiggen's first adventure in administration. Previously, he had been summoned by District Officer Philips but had simply ignored the summons. According to his defenders, he could not socialize with Captain Philips, who he saw as a deeply immoral man.⁵³ Father Kiggen was upset about this prosecution and passed on his disgust with Captain Philips to others, both within the mission and in the African Christian community. Kiggen ignored the district administration regarding educational and developmental matters, though as the superior of his mission he was in charge of the schools, churches, and institutions of a substantial area. During his prosecution, Kiggen informed his bishop, Campling, of his complaints against Philips. He asserted that, as well as "leading an immoral life with native women," Philips abused witnesses and engaged in professional misconduct. Philips' superior, the Provincial Commissioner for the Eastern Province, was informed of the charges by anonymous letter, questioned Philips, and dismissed the accusations as malicious and groundless after Philips denied them "on his word of honour".⁵⁴

But despite superiors' efforts to paper over the animosity between the two men, the feud escalated. Kiggen, even when pushed by Bishop Campling, refused to apologize to Captain Philips. And Philips launched a police investigation into the mission's practices that exposed serious abuses. Instead of simply providing social services and cooperating with the colonial state, Father Kiggen was administering a mission-sponsored state within a state and cutting off appeals to secular authorities. The investigation "produced statements from some twenty-eight natives to the effect that, for the last three years at least, the European representatives and native followers of the Mill Hill Mission in Teso district had beaten and imprisoned natives and intimidated them into compliance with canonical directions".⁵⁵ Furthermore, even when individuals had sought to appeal beyond the mission to the High Court, the local British police officer, described as a fanatical Roman Catholic, had backed the mission by illegally refusing to forward petitions of appeal.⁵⁶

Sample complaints against Kiggen show a violent, gendered picture of mission coercion. Of the first nine cases reported, seven involved teachers seizing women, most of whom were beaten and imprisoned. And if the first set of allegations was not sufficient, a second collection of cases was even more graphic, gendered, and clearly illegal. These summaries reported Catholic women who were beaten 24 or 25 strokes and imprisoned with pigs. These beatings and punishments were part of the mission's effort to enforce Christian marriage and block divorce in a population with complex lives.

The police investigation portrayed a society in which women would have done their duty and obeyed non-Catholic husbands, but the mission had intervened to cause hardship for both wives and husbands. A Catholic Teso woman, for example, received 25 strokes for marrying a non-Christian, and was then imprisoned in a pigsty until she escaped. A Ganda woman was given 24 strokes in Kiggen's presence for living with a common law husband outside of Christian marriage. Beaten by teachers even before the punishment Kiggen directed, she lost an eye. And after these beatings, she was confined for two and a half months and forced to carry stones for mission road construction. A Teso woman married by local custom was caught at her husband's house by a teacher who forcibly took her to Toromo, where he kept her for two months until she escaped, running back to her husband. After she had been at home for a month, she was re-captured by the teacher, beaten about the legs which became "very bad" and, despite her pregnancy, put back on the road from Toroma to Ngora, where she escaped, after another beating, and after her clothes had been taken from her. One of the few men reported beaten was a Teso man who received ten strokes in Kiggen's presence for complaining that his "wife, whom he married in accordance with native custom... [was] taken from him and sent into Buganda against her will to learn religion. The complainant asked Father Kiggen for his wife on various occasions but was told she had been sent into Buganda".⁵⁷

These women's own perspectives are not reported in these summaries and thus it is hard to simply accept the police interpretation of the women's actions and their husbands' or lovers' involvement. Some of these women may have at least initially fled voluntarily to the mission, becoming Catholics to escape husbands or pursue education, following a pattern observed elsewhere in Africa. But this mission was nota-

bly unwilling to allow a woman to change her mind later. Instead, it not only defended her against her husband, by sending her elsewhere to school, but against herself and any inclination she might have to abandon the rigorous life of a mission station and return home to the compromises of a non-Christian marriage. And some of the beatings were apparently administered after a husband brought a difficult wife to the teacher and asked that she be whipped.

An unrepentant Father Kiggen, declared *persona non grata* in the Eastern Province by government officials, was called home after the evidence of mission beatings, judicial interventions, and kidnappings became clear to his superiors. But his recall was not a full rejection of his methods. His bishop pleaded with the order's Father Superior to remove him because, with the police shadowing his every move, Kiggen would be caught even if he just behaved as usual, and in a future case would be unlikely to be able to escape criminal assault convictions.⁵⁸ His home order, however, kept proposing his return, and the Father General in London visited the Colonial Office directly, complained about the deterioration in relations between officials and the mission, and "endeavoured... to suggest that the flogging incidents must not be taken too seriously having regard to local conditions."⁵⁹ In a similar case in Cameroon in the early 1930s, mission historians chose to emphasize not the violence or illegality of mission punishments, but the charge that Africans behaved in child-like ways and needed direction.⁶⁰

An even more dramatic case led to the expulsion of Kiggen's deputy, Father Thyssen, and the critical investigation and revision of ongoing mission practices. Around 1920, a non-Christian man and woman were married according to local custom. By about 1924, the husband had started to visit a Mill Hill mission administered by a Ganda evangelist, becoming a reader and accepting baptism. Once he was a Christian, he made his wife go to the mission with him, though she later asserted that this was entirely against her will. While attending the mission, she fell ill and, unable to object, was baptised by the teacher.

Meanwhile, however, the marriage was troubled. On at least two occasions, the husband accused his wife of adultery and brought her to the teacher to be beaten. This was apparently unremarkable, and created no protest. On the second occasion, Father Thyssen was present. Finally, toward the end of August, 1927, fed up with her husband's cruelty and, she alleged, his adultery, she left him, running home to her

mother's compound. After dark on 23 October, 1927, Father Thyssen led a group of ten teachers and readers armed with sticks and carrying torches to seize the wife from her mother's home. They dragged her, resisting, from the house. Her mother, who rushed out to protect her daughter, was apparently punched by Father Thyssen personally, in both the face and gut. The fracas ended only when, alerted by the tumult, the local chief arrived in force, making "the gang" leave the house and taking the wife's mother to a dispensary, where the local dresser testified to serious damage.⁶¹

Father Thyssen and his teachers were charged with criminal trespass, voluntarily causing hurt, and riot. Brought before the court, Thyssen paid the teachers' fines and avoided criminal prosecution by paying 25 pounds to the wife's mother, who had been hospitalized by his assault. Neither he nor his teachers were imprisoned or whipped. His superiors simply considered it regrettable that where Kiggen had paid 15 pounds, Thyssen had to pay more. Fortunately, however, from the mission's point of view, Thyssen was able to pay compensation money and thus avoid a criminal conviction.⁶² His superior noted, "It is not, so far as I know, suggested that he was acting otherwise than from a mistaken sense of duty".⁶³ Bluntly informed both in London and locally by officials that floggings and mission-sponsored kidnappings must end, the order defended its men. But it also issued a circular to priests stating that priests must follow new rules, or the mission would be unable to defend itself from criminal charges: "the Fathers must see that there must be no more beating of natives either by themselves or by Catechists, or by any others over whom they have any control. The Fathers should communicate this regulation to the Catechists and others from a written document, duly dated, which they will preserve". Further, "they must carefully avoid doing or saying anything which might be interpreted as being interference with court cases" and must not collect evidence, must not talk with outsiders, and should be constantly on their guard with officials.⁶⁴

The new rules, however, were more a response to a threat of prosecution and a difficult legal situation than any rejection of mission violence. The emphasis was on producing a paper trail for mission defense, rather than on compensating the injured, and it provided no apology for past actions, even though in internal documents the mission worried about Father Thyssen's mental stability.⁶⁵ The order's new leader

in Uganda, indeed, complained that “the Governor has gone too far and beyond his powers in threatening to deport Fathers Kiggen and Thyssen. His actions seem to me to be very arbitrary and spiteful... His Excellency [the Governor] is not a persona grata with anyone”.⁶⁶

In the cases of both Kiggen and Thyssen, the mission clearly understood and to some degree accepted violence as a progressive force in an unruly region. Kiggen, his superiors noted, never could see himself as having done anything wrong or worthy of punishment. And Thyssen, his superiors argued, had simply acted “to see the [canon] Law obeyed and to carry out what is often extremely distasteful duty”.⁶⁷ Overall, Bishop Campling argued that the Fathers were kind and only trying to ensure faith and progress. While “mistakes had been made in Teso,” he implied, they were the product of “great zeal to overcome the vices of the natives,” certainly the best of motives.⁶⁸ The order officially abandoned the use of violence only reluctantly and under pressure.

4. Progressive Violence and the New Society

British critics of local practices officially won this particular set of debates over the use of violence in the communities of the Eastern Province. A mild draft letter from the Colonial Office, which rejected any attempt by Griffin to reprimand administrative officers for their disregard for law, nevertheless clearly stated that the native courts should stop beating women.⁶⁹ And the Mill Hill Mission’s instructions to priests barred any more violent enforcement of canon law and Christian marriage.⁷⁰

On the ground, however, the result of these controversies was far more ambiguous as both European and African officials rejected the assertions of the Chief Justice and Colonial Office and accepted the pressure of local necessities. Eastern Province administrators received complaints from local African courts unsure what to do with all the difficult women under the new rules. And these administrators rejected the Chief Justice’s argument that, in violating the law, they had done something fundamentally wrong. Perryman, an Eastern Province expert promoted to acting governor in the wake of the scandal, defended officials’ actions, arguing “a District Officer used to be constantly required to commit illegal acts... and it is difficult for him to distinguish between different illegalities”.⁷¹ Missionaries, too, while restricting their

activities out of fear, continued to long for whips as an evangelical tool, even as the Colonial Office officials recoiled in horror at such mechanisms of conversion and church-building.⁷²

Over the next few years, officials' and missionaries' grudging acceptance of the law may have prevented a few beatings. But it also led to an administrative push to reform the law, granting greater autonomy to native courts, providing them with more effective ways to hide their actions from judicial overview and appeal. In 1929, the Governor referred to the controversy over Eastern Province floggings when he proposed a new Native Courts bill that removed individuals' right to appeal to the High Court in favor of a system of review of major court decisions by District Officers and Provincial Commissioners.⁷³ Still upset about the Governor's defense of officials' disregard of law, the Chief Justice condemned the proposed bill, arguing that courts should be overseen by those with a loyalty to justice, rather than merely a desire for smooth administration.⁷⁴ The Chief Justice, however, lost. The Colonial Office accepted the governor's argument that Native Courts were intended as an institution which provided political education, and that they should therefore be under the tutelage of an administrative service, rather than held to the strict legal standards of the Chief Justice, and his High Court.⁷⁵

The Governor and his officials, after all, were able to argue that they knew the real conditions of the people, not merely the abstractions of the law. And their mission was to create a solid, comprehensible form of administration, which would root the colonial state in the lives of the people and tie the Africans who mattered—the elite, the literate, and those growing cotton—more closely to the institutions of colonial power. Similarly, the mission's nostalgia for violence was not one of the characteristics which nervous superiors regarded as a possible sign of insanity, but, instead, a devout and serious desire to build the church into the lives of the people and make the people live up to the expectations and demands of Church rules. Neither local officials nor missionaries argued that husbands or fathers should have the right to whip their own wives and daughters. Instead, they argued that the state and church should take on that role, simultaneously taking a distasteful necessity out of the hands of men and transforming the beatings from personal matters to public, formal acts which enforced the new order.

Despite Colonial office disapproval, violence remained an important tool of progressive reformers in the Eastern Province and, indeed, in Uganda as a whole. As the Colonial Office tried to block the state from whipping women, the local administration resisted requests for statistics on whippings and fought vigorously to build new institutions, such as the native courts, which would allow it to hide its actions and continue to flog the marginal and disruptive, such as youth and prisoners.⁷⁶ Within the leading schools of Uganda, mission teachers encouraged students to maintain a prefect-based system of discipline which fostered violent hazing in the name of educational advancement and the cultivation of leadership. And within the armed forces, whipping remained a tool of military discipline not just of soldiers, but also of their wives, up to the Second World War.⁷⁷

Far from receding into history as Uganda's elite turned from slave raiding and elephant hunting to cotton farming and government-appointed chieftainships, violence in the name of wealth, progress and orderly administration remained an important tool of a British and Ugandan elite administrative alliance more concerned with results than with methods.

The struggle over state and mission whippings of women was not the simple matter of civilization versus barbarity that the Chief Justice and his colonial office allies suggested. Instead, it was a moment in which administration, mission, and African leaders made explicit the tensions over governance, economic growth and social change. In the Eastern Province, many of the changes came at the expense of wives. And these women, whose voices were non-existent in the official records, spoke loudly enough through their actions to threaten the administration, mission, and elite African visions of change. In efforts to control these dissidents, the region's new leadership deployed new institutions. Violence, and patriarchal leadership was no longer the private prerogative of the husband and father, but a matter of the courts, mission teachers, and public economy. Public, formal violence in native courts, mission schools and churches became an important resource for the men essential to the colony's development as they sought to enforce changes by coercing women.

NOTES

1. I am grateful for a Faculty Research Grant from the University of Richmond and a Fellowship from the Shelby Cullom Davis Center, Princeton University, for supporting the research and revision of this article.
2. Chief Justice, response to Eden memo, 15-2-26, Public Records Office [PRO], Kew Gardens, UK, Colonial Office Documents [CO] CO536/139.
3. The pattern I describe here has some similarities with the patriarchal alliances of Southern Rhodesia, but there are significant differences as well, principally rooted in the status of Southern Rhodesia as a settler colony dependent on migrant labour and Uganda as a leading case of indirect rule. See, for Southern Rhodesia, Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1992) and Diana Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion and Power* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
4. For example, J.C.D. Lawrance, *The Iteso* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957)3, 17-21.
5. Native Courts consisted of an appointed Chief and two local male assessors. See, for example, Suzette Heald, *Controlling Anger: The Sociology of Gisu Violence* (London: Manchester University Press, 1989) 25-29, 246.
6. C.C. Wrigley, "The Economic Structure of Buganda" in L Fallers, ed., *The King's Men* (London: Oxford UP, 1964) 35-6. Wrigley notes the use of tribute labor in Busoga, Bukedi, Teso and Lango and quotes the governor as labeling the Eastern Province as "altogether more virile and industrious and alive" than Buganda.
7. For a discussion of mission privileges see Ormsby-Gore to Bishop of Uganda, 18-2-27 and CJ Jeffries note, 10-1-27, PRO CO536/145. Details of mission privileges emerged from mission protests when these privileges were withdrawn. Jeffries noted that the privileges the missions were claiming were "entirely illegal."
8. Lawrance, *The Iteso*, 3. Similar verdicts have been offered on other Eastern regions by professional anthropologists. See, for example, Lloyd A Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956, 1965) 50-9.
9. Wrigley, in Fallers, ed. *The King's Men*, 41-2.
10. The Kiboko was a new sort of whip, a style imported from Southern Africa where it was known as a sjambok. These were serious, potentially lifethreatening sentences. For comparison, consider that after reforms in Uganda, men could legally be whipped no more than 10 strokes, for fear of permanent impairment, and in Tanzania, 25 strokes was considered potentially lethal.
11. The correspondence is in PRO CO536/139. The summaries in these files delete names, but the Attorney General noted that the numbers were almost certainly underestimates since only names which were unequivocally female (such as Christian baptismal names) were counted, and many local names were gender ambiguous.
12. Southern Rhodesia classics include E. Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders and Wives* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1992) and D. Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion and Power* (Oxford: Oxford UP 1993). Historians of Uganda who do work on gender include Holly Hanson, "When the Miles Came" (Ph.D thesis, University of Florida, 1997) and works by Ganda historians and amateurs in which women's role in court

- politics, and thus in the political struggles of precolonial and colonial contexts, has been prominent. See for example Nakanyike Musisi, "Women, 'Elite Polygyny' and Buganda State Formation" *Signs* 16:4 (Summer 1991) 757-86.
- 13 Lawrance, *The Iteso*, 140-1. Or, in Bugisu, a classic early study described each wife as having her own plot of land and granary, an economic tie between women and fields that was reinforced in the ritual of marriage when the bride was accompanied to her new husband's home by girlfriends who brought their hoes with them, and stayed three days, digging fields for the new wife. J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924) 49, 34.
- 14 In a later discussion of what allowed some farmers to emerge as successful cash crop cultivators, A. Mafeje and AI Richards noted that wives did more than just traditional food cultivation; on the bigger farms, wives worked as supervisors and managers of labour, and that wives' labor may have been even more central to the success of the more ambitious farmers than it was to the ordinary peasant cultivator. Senior male relatives, or even older siblings and kin, could not be asked to work. And youth were often at school and unavailable. Mafeje and Richards, "The Commercial Farmer and His Labour Supply" in Richards, et al *Subsistence to Commercial Farming in Present-Day Buganda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) 184. For a discussion of the destabilizing effects marriage could have on men's social relations, see Heald, *Controlling Anger*, 100-1
- 15 Roscoe observed that when women tried to sell without her husband's permission, she broke a traditional rule and "Neglect of this rule often led husbands to beat their wives but wives would stand up for themselves and fight their husbands to get their own way." *The Bagesu*, 49. Cotton, according to a later anthropologist, caused even more difficulties in marketing as it was sold not by women, but by men who put all their wives' cotton together and failed to provide wives with payments for what they grew. Richard T. Curley, *Elders, Shades and Women: Ceremonial Change in Lango, Uganda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 31-2, 49-50.
- 16 Perryman, 5-3-26, PRO CO536/139.
- 17 D. Schut to Biermans, undated [1929], Mill Hill Archives, St Joseph's College, Mill Hill, London, UK (MHA) box UGA 30 (Campling Correspondence).
- 18 JM Gray, 30-7-25, PRO CO536/139.
- 19 Acting Governor Boyle to Bishop Tucker, no date, CMS Archives G3 A7/O 1907-1915. Quoted in Joan Vincent, *Teso in Transformation* (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1982), p. 214.
- 20 Sir Philip Mitchell, quoted in Vincent, *Teso in Transformation* p. 214.
- 21 Vincent's discussion, *Teso in Transformation*, pp. 215—222.
- 22 PRO CO536/159 includes files on Governor Sir William Gowers' testimony on whippings, forced labor, and other abuses. Gowers' standard response to questions was that he did not know because it would take too much effort to keep track of what the Native Courts were doing.
- 23 "Lukiko" in Luganda can refer to a judicial or legislative body at any level. JM Gray's usage is non-standard. JM Gray to Chief Justice, 31-10-25, PRO CO 536/139.
- 24 See Vincent, *Teso in Transformation*, eg. 211.

- ²⁵ Vincent, *Teso in Transformation* 210, and for comparative material see, for example, Isaacman and Roberts, ed.s *Cotton, Colonialism and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995); or Allen Isaacman, *Cotton is the Mother of Poverty* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996).
- ²⁶ See, for example, the *Annual Report on Uganda for the Year 1946* (London: HMSO 1948) 14-25. This report summarizes the economic concerns during the war and explains that during the war, cotton revenue was "extremely buoyant" and money came into the exchequer faster than it could be spent.
- ²⁷ This can be traced through the discussion of the estimates in various CO536 files.
- ²⁸ Note: those who controlled land were generally the ones who profited from cotton. Day and term labor, supplied by Banyarwanda and other immigrant groups underwrote these families' success. That cotton was the only game available is demonstrated by producers' response to falling cotton prices: when prices fell, they expanded production rather than shifting to other crops or developing alternative sources of income. Unlike mailo holders in Buganda, however, Eastern Province officials and chiefs lacked freehold land. Unable to sell land, they were forced to rely on cotton to get cash. For the increasing importance of education, see Vincent, *Teso in Transformation* pp. 242-3; and Vincent M. Battle, "Education in Eastern Uganda, 1900-1939: A Study of initiative and Response during the early colonial period" (Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, 1974).
- ²⁹ Stephen Bunker, *Peasants against the State* (Urbana: U of Illinois Press, 1987) writes about the essential role of coffee, but coffee was a relative latecomer, taking over the role of centering the Ugandan economy only in the 1950s. By the mid 1980s, Bunker notes, 95% of Uganda's foreign exchange came from coffee.
- ³⁰ See, for example, the attempt of the heir of Apolo Kagwa, Sepiria Kadumukasa, to work with a British firm to grow cotton on a large scale on his inherited lands (PRO, CO536/192), or the failure of large scale cotton marketeering which led to a massive debt judgement against I Musazi.
- ³¹ Nothing in this study, however, should be taken as arguing that domestic abuse was not a reality of women's lives in Eastern Uganda. For recent discussions of the issues, see Regina Amollo, *A Season of Mirth* (Kampala: Femrite, 1999) 60, 78-9, as this popular novel depicts discussion of an upcoming marriage principally in terms of how the terms of the marriage will affect the wife's options when beaten, and the family's potential liability in case of divorce, or, for a more systematic discussion, Lillian Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza, *Women's Violent Crime in Uganda: More Sinned Against than Sinning* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1999) which explores in detail the ongoing battery and domestic abuse which provoke some women to murder.
- ³² In Teso, for example, the new elite men reportedly received "patient teaching" from the CMS mission at Ngora, and the Mill Hill mission. Lawrance, *The Iteso* 32-3.
- ³³ Governor to S of S for Colonies 8-3-26; Notes of a meeting at Government House 22-9-25 on flogging of women, EB Jarvis (Chief Secretary) to PCs 26-9-25, PRO CO536/138. Note: Jarvis insisted that Mr. S Ormsby, collector of Bukedi, had instituted the practice of woman beatings by Native Councils in 1907 to prevent maltreatment of women by their husbands and husband's kin, and retaliation by

women's families against an abusive lineage. Some support is found for this argument in Vincent's work, where she cites missionaries' observation that where they could convert some areas by simply first converting the King, in Eastern Uganda, they had to first convert the headwoman, she would take care of her husband or son, and then the rest of the people would follow.

- 34 See, for examples, J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu*, 49; Heald, *Controlling Anger*, 95-101; Lawrance, too, describes a relationship more complex than obedient as a marriage ceremony involved a bridegroom trying to drag the bride away from her friends by force, and a bride's response of refusing to eat or sleep with the husband until she has been offered gifts. *The Iteso*, 94-5. In Busoga, Lloyd Fallers distinguished between men's ideal of wifely behavior, and a reality of ongoing negotiation. *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 76-9.
- 35 CA Jeffries, note of summary of governor's position, 14-4-26, PRO CO536/139.
- 36 For example, see "Uganda Native Women's Central Conference" (translation) 2-4-19, Church Missionary Society Archives, Birmingham, UK (CMS) G3 A7/O 1919.
- 37 Perryman 5-3-26; GW Guy Eden, PC Eastern Province to Chief Sec Entebbe, 22-8-25. PRO CO536/138.
- 38 Notes of a meeting at Government House 22-9-25 on flogging of women, PRO CO536/138.
- 39 Governor to S of S for Colonies 8-3-26; C.A. Jeffries, 14-4-26, PRO CO536/138.
- 40 Governor to S of S for Colonies 16-11-27, PRO CO536/147. Local men may also have been irritated that their wives would work for big chiefs during their two weeks imprisonment, giving big chiefs an economic incentive to maximize these sentences, but depriving husbands of wives' labor when the husbands needed it the most.
- 41 Governor to S of S for Colonies 16-11-27, PRO CO536/147. The governor made this danger clear by explaining what happened in Buganda Province, where courts did not whip women. In Buganda "discontent at the complete emancipation of women under our rule is most marked... in the present generation...an extreme reluctance to contract matrimony. the young Muganda feels that if he marries a woman over whom neither he, nor the chiefs, nor the British Government have any control, he is courting trouble..." Governor to S of S for Colonies, 8-3-26, PRO CO536/139.
- 42 *ibid.* Anthropologists have also noted women's resort to suicide. See, for example, Heald, *Controlling Anger*, 57, 98.
- 43 Governor to S of S for Colonies, 8-3-26, PRO CO536/139. In some areas of Uganda, bridewealth might not have been a significant factor. In Teso and Bugisu areas, however, bridewealth was hefty. Lawrance reported that despite colonial attempts to limit it to five head of cattle (or three in a woman's subsequent marriages) it actually averaged ten to fifteen head, rising to twenty-five head in exceptional cases. Lawrance, *The Iteso* 93.
- 44 Neil Kodesh's recent discussion of the building of the Cathedral at Namirembe provides an exploration of how this alliance worked. Paper delivered African Studies Association annual meeting, Nashville, TN, November 2000.
- 45 See, for example, the complex case of Semei Kakungulu, Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda* (Athens, OH: Ohio UP 1993).

- 46 The missionaries involved were Kitching and Pleydell, who routinely took responsibility for threatening rioters and backing the local tax collector. In doing so, they were violating mission regulations. M. Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914* (London: Rex Collings, 1978) 157.
- 47 Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, 179.
- 48 Hints of routine violence by CMS missionaries in Kampala emerge from casual comments by prominent, respected missionaries who beat staff members who refused specific tasks. For example, Dr. Albert Cook described how, when an employee refused to help him dig up skeletons, "I laid him down, and gave him half a dozen of the best for insubordination..." A. Cook, quoted in Nancy Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1999) 2. On conditions in the Eastern province, see for example, "Too much responsibility has often devolved of necessity upon Native workers who are as yet, owing to lack of proper training, unprepared for the burden, in some cases with disastrous results..." Bishop of Uganda, Annual Report of the Uganda Mission 1922, [CMS] G3 A7 O 1922. Eastern evangelists' use of cotton revenues for self support is discussed in Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, 182-7.
- 49 Report by Garfield Williams on Education in Uganda [1st draft] CMS G3 A7 O 1924. The implicit contrast here is with Buganda, where the local oligarchs effectively became the lay leadership within the Church of Uganda, causing a variety of headaches for missionaries.
- 50 The other two were the Anglican low church Church Missionary Society and the Catholic White Fathers. [WCS] Note, 10-1-28 PRO CO536/148. The Verona Fathers, who operated in the North, were even weaker, but generally are left out of the trinity of major mission groups.
- 51 The Mill Hill mission was initially invited into the region to address the government's concern that the French White Fathers were aliens. Yet Bishop Campling (British) had clashes with the administration, and his successor Bishop Reesinck (Dutch) pleaded for the division of the diocese to allow a British bishop, rather than himself, take over at Nsambya, Kampala, where socializing and lobbying government officials was an important part of the Bishop's role. Reesinck to Father McLaughlin 2-6-39, MHA UGA Box 27 1939.
- 52 J.W. Campling to Lord, 6-2-26, MHA Box UGA 22.
- 53 Governor to S of S for Colonies 28-2-28, PRO CO536/148. This letter provides a historical summary of the conflict. Note—the line was clearly murky between social interaction and an administrative summons. This ambiguity arose repeatedly during the case.
- 54 *ibid.*
- 55 *ibid.*
- 56 *ibid.*
- 57 All these cases are summarized in a second set of complaints enclosed in the dispatch from the Governor to S of S for Colonies 28-2-28, PRO CO536/148.
- 58 Bishop Campling to Lordship, undated page [1926] MHA UGA Box 22. Note that even in 1938 and later, Father Kiggen kept trying to return to the area, only to be blocked by the local Mill Hill bishop, who noted in 1938, "In case the question of

- Father Kiggen's return comes up again I should like you to write to me before because ... the Government will have to be asked... Father Kiggen should not come back as long as any of the officials of that time are still in the Service..." Reesinck to Fr General, 2-10-38, MHA UGA Box 27 (1938).
59. Note of meeting between Bishop Biermans and Mr Bottomley, 26-5-28, PRO CO536/148.
60. Bernard F. Booth, *The Mill Hill Fathers in West Cameroon: Education, Health and Development, 1884-1970* (Bethesda, MA: International Scholars Publication, 1995) 42-4. Booth also emphasized that the priest involved was well-liked, regardless of his methods.
61. Note of meeting between Bishop Biermans and Mr Bottomley, 26-5-28, PRO CO536/148. The chief may well have been Protestant. Most chiefs were. And around this time, "certain zealous Protestants" began circulating pictures from the region of "weals and scars on women flogged by the Mill Hill Mission, as well as signed statements from 'victims'". J.E.T. Philipps to Bottomley, 10-1-28, PRO CO536/148. The Protestant campaign against Mill Hill methods thus arose out of the Kiggen incident, and would have made a Protestant chief, or official, more receptive to complaints about the Thyssen incident.
62. [unclear] to Father Farmer, undated (Private); [unclear] to Fr Farmer, 7-4-28, MHA UGA Box 30.
63. [Campling?] to Father Farmer, undated (Private) [1928] MHA UGA Box 30.
64. Biermans (Superior General) to all Fathers, 4-6-28, MHA UGA 30 (1928).
65. Bishop Campling to Lord, 14-12-29, MHA UGA Box 30 1929.
66. Campling to Lord, 29-3-28, MHA UGA Box 30.
67. [Campling?] to Fr Farmer, undated [1928] MHA UGA Box 30 (1928).
68. JW Campling to Lord, 6-2-26, MHA Box UGA 22.
69. Draft letter for S of S for Colonies to Governor, undated, PRO CO536/139.
70. This may not have affected practice, though. scattered evidence from elsewhere in Uganda indicates that corporal enforcement of church rules and church forced labor continued as an unremarkable part of both Catholic and Protestant churches. See, for example, Ronald Kassimir, "The Social Power of Religious Organization: The Catholic Church in Uganda, 1955-91" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1996) 205.
71. Notes of a meeting at Government House 22-9-25 on flogging of women, PRO CO 536/139.
72. D. Schut to Biermans, undated [1929] MHA UGA Box 30; Bp Biermans meeting with Mr Bottomley 26-5-28, PRO CO536/148.
73. Governor Gowers to S of S of the Colonies 21-6-29, PRO CO536/157.
74. Sir Charles Griffin [Chief Justice], Memo 15-5-29, PRO CO536/157.
75. Governor Gowers to S of S for the Colonies 21-6-29, PRO CO536/157. Colonial Office analysts (in this file) also cited other imperial precedents, such as Nigeria and Tanganyika.
76. TH Davies, 2-6-33, PRO CO536/176. Davies noted that floggings increased in the early 1930s, compared with the 1920s, and while Perryman had, under pressure, agreed that sentences should be limited to a maximum of eight strokes, half the sentences in 1932 were more than that, with many sentences of 24 strokes which "I

should think could, in no circumstances, be considered other than barbaric". In Bugishu, Davies noted, a third of those convicted were flogged— "a fantastically high proportion"— and about half of those were juveniles.

- ⁷⁷ The wife of the senior African soldier carried a kiboko, and was responsible for disciplining women. One such wife in the 1920s was referred to as the battalion's "ex-officio beater-in-chief of troublesome wives". And, after asking their officer's permission to discipline their wives, husbands were permitted to beat as they saw necessary. See Timothy H. Parsons, *The African Rank and File* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1999)153-4.