

CHAPTER 18

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE BRITISH PROTECTORATE AFTER THE SCRAMBLE AND PARTITION OF EAST AFRICA

THE BUGANDA AGREEMENT OF 1900

WHY THE BUGANDA AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED

1. The Buganda Agreement was a binding document that was signed between Baganda under the young Kabaka Daudi Chwa, who was represented by his regents in the names of, Apollo Kagwa, Stanlus Mugwanya, Zakaria Kisingiri and the British Commissioner Sir Harry Johnstone.
2. It was signed on 10th march, 1900.
The agreement was signed because of the following reasons:
3. It was part of the British colonial effort to strengthen her administration in Uganda for effective occupation.
4. The agreement was signed to formalise British rule over Buganda.
5. It was intended for the British to tighten their hold over Uganda.
6. It was signed to restore law and order that had been torn apart by the political religious wars in Buganda.
7. The 1900 Buganda agreement was also signed to introduce and stimulate cash crop growing so as to meet imperialistic interest. This would be done by tapping raw materials and minerals.
8. It was signed to make Buganda pay for her own administration.
9. The agreement was signed to define the boundaries of Buganda.
10. It was signed to give Buganda her special privileges from the rest of Uganda, which was in line with the principle of divide and rule.
11. It was intended for the British to have firm authority over Uganda by having their base in Buganda.
12. It was signed to deal with the hostile Omukama Kabalega of Bunyoro once and for all.
13. It was to answer the call from the Christian Missionary Society to help the young King Daudi Chwa.
14. It was also signed to act as a legal document upon which the British were to base their imperialism.

15. It was signed to make Buganda act as the nucleus of British imperialism in Uganda.
16. It was to clearly define the relationship between Buganda and the British colonial government.
17. It was to act as a proof for Britain's official taking over of Buganda and finally the whole of Uganda.

TERMS OF THE 1900 BUGANDA AGREEMENT

1. The 1900 Buganda agreement had a number of provisions or resolutions which were political and economic in nature.
2. The terms also covered major issues like Administration, revenue, and land.
3. **Politically** Buganda was to be ruled by the Kabaka but with instructions from the British.
4. The Kabaka was to be assisted by: The Prime Minister (Katikkiro), the Chief Justice (Omulamuzi) and the Treasurer (Omuwanika).
5. The laws of Buganda were to remain in place but were not to conflict with the protectorate laws.
6. All cases involving foreigners were to be handled by the protectorate government.
7. The Kabaka was to remain a cultural leader of Buganda and to get the title of "His Highness Sir".
8. The Kabaka was to work under the close supervision of the British representative.
9. Kabaka was to earn a salary for his work worth 1,500 pounds.
10. The Kabaka was not to elect or dismiss any member of the Lukiiko without seeking British permission.
11. The Kabaka was not to form any armed body minus the knowledge of the protectorate government.
12. Buganda's boundaries were to be formalized to include the lost counties of Buyaga and Bugangaizi which belonged to Bunyoro. They were to be added to Buganda as a reward for her role in the extension of colonial rule there.
13. Buganda was to be part of the British protectorate and Uganda at large and not to remain an independent state.
14. The Lukiiko was to be a legislative body made up of 89 members, with 66 notable members elected by the Kabaka, 20 county chiefs and the 3 ministers.

15. The Lukiiko would also serve as the highest court of appeal.
16. **Economically** the Lukiiko was to approve all taxes.
17. The king and his chiefs were to be paid salaries for their work.
18. All minerals and forests were to belong to the protectorate government.
19. Land was to be divided into two namely: Crown land which would include rivers, forests, Mountains and would be under the control of the British. Then Mailo land to be controlled by the Kabaka. This land was to be given to the Kabaka, his family members and ministers. It would be measured in miles hence the word “Mailo “land coined from Luganda.
20. All men who had attained 18 years were to pay a tax of 3 rupees which was to be collected by local chiefs.
21. The income or revenue collected from taxes was to go to the protectorate government and not to the Kabaka.
22. All natural resources like lakes, rivers, swamps and so on were to be land of the protectorate government.
23. Cash crops were to be grown with encouragement from the protectorate government.
24. There was to be no more collection of tributes from other states like Bunyoro by Buganda.
25. Taxes from Buganda were to be merged with those from other kingdoms and given to the protectorate government.
26. There was to be two versions of the agreement namely: Luganda version and the English version but the English version would abrogate or officially end the Luganda version.

THE RESULTS /IMPACTS / EFFECTS OF BUGANDA AGREEMENT OF 1900

1. Buganda was used as a springboard or a launch pad or facilitator for the extension of British rule to other parts of Uganda.
2. The Kabaka’s power was greatly undermined.
3. The Kabaka’s political powers were reduced to a merely “a constitutional monarchy”. He was made just a figure head or ceremonial leader.
4. The Kabaka lost his judicial powers and could no longer pass death sentences.
5. The Kabaka lost control over his chiefs since they were now to be paid by the colonial government.

6. The Lukiiko became the legislature or the law making body.
7. The agreement empowered the Christian and Moslem chiefs who collaborated with the British. The chiefs who worked to promote the colonial interest gained a lot from their activities.
8. The king lost powers over the army; he could no longer raise an army without the British consent.
9. The Kabaka lost powers over the revenue of Buganda.
10. The agreement favoured Buganda's position within the protectorate but not other Kingdoms.
11. It created land nobility which at times led to landlessness among the peasants who became squatters. A class of land owners and the land less existed in Buganda.
12. It confirmed the lost counties to Buganda that is to say, Buyaga and Bugangaizi which became a source of hostility between the two Kingdoms.
13. Buganda and Uganda at large lost independence up to 1962.
14. It created new classes of people namely: the land lords, tenants and the landless.
15. Buganda collaborated in extending British rule over Uganda.
16. Infrastructural developments in form of roads, hospitals, schools were extended to many parts of Buganda.
17. It ended the political and religious wars in Buganda.
18. It officially formalised British presence in Uganda at large and Buganda in particularly.
19. Buganda's revenue was to be combined with those of other kingdoms and taken over by the colonial government.
20. It defined once and for all the boundaries of Buganda within Uganda.
21. It brought the idea of graduated tax into Uganda.
22. Britain was able to exploit Uganda economically.
23. Cash crops like cotton and coffee among others were encouraged to be grown in Uganda.
24. It cleared the ground thoroughly for the abolition of Kingdoms in Uganda.
25. The agreement elevated the British position in Uganda than ever before.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY SIR HARRY JOHNSTONE AS AN IMPERIALIST IN UGANDA.

1. Harry Johnstone was one of the most outstanding imperialists in Uganda. He came to East Africa in 1884.

2. On arriving in East Africa he settled briefly at Zanzibar before moving to Kilimanjaro areas where he later set up his base at Moshi.
3. Around the Kilimanjaro areas, Harry Johnstone was able to make friendship with the Chagga and Taveta.
4. On 27th September 1884, Johnstone signed a treaty of friendship with Taveta Chiefs. He was given a lot of land where he planted wheat.
5. Harry Johnstone was made a special commissioner to Uganda by the British government in 1899.
6. By appointing him a special commissioner to Uganda, Britain had wanted to reduce the cost of its administration which was rising each time.
7. Through Johnstone, Uganda as a colony started paying for the cost of their administration.
8. He made sure Uganda as the British colony contributed in collection of taxes.
9. Harry Johnstone was very influential in the signing of the 1900 Buganda agreement which saw Buganda and later Uganda falling under the control of the British.
10. He liaised with the Christian missionaries and used them to convince the regents to sign the Buganda agreement.
11. In the signing of the agreement, Johnstone was able to convince the three regents; Stanlus Mugwanya, Zakaria Kisingiri and Apollo Kagwa to include revenue in the terms of the agreement. Hut tax and gun tax of three rupees each were therefore to be collected.
12. Johnstone confirmed the British authority over Buganda and Uganda at large. This was done through the agreement he signed with Buganda in 1900.
13. In the agreement signed by Harry Johnstone, half of Buganda was made land owned by the British government, Crown land. He therefore acquired land in Uganda for the British government.
14. Sir Harry Johnstone is remembered as an imperialist for extending the British control over Tooro and Ankole regions. He signed agreements with the leaders of these regions and he was able to get revenue, land and authority over them.

THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER OF 1923

FACTORS THAT LED TO THE DECLARATION OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER OF 1923

1. The name Devonshire was acquired from the then colonial secretary, Duke of Devonshire.

2. The Duke of Devonshire issued a white paper to clarify the British position on issues raised by the conflicts between the Asians and the white settlers.
3. Land and political rights were the main issues in the dispute.
4. Europeans had continued to have an upper hand in politics of Kenya against other races like the Africans and Asians, for example in 1907, the Europeans had been given seats in the legislative council and in 1920 their number was tremendously increased but not the Asians and poor Africans
5. Previously in 1918, the Europeans had been given seats even on the executive council but not the other races.
6. Europeans had gained the most fertile lands in Kenya, the Kenyan Highlands but not the Asians and Africans.
7. The Europeans had totally refused to Asians demands for equal treatment.
8. Devonshire white paper was declared to combat racial segregation in schools and hospitals.
9. The Asians wanted unrestricted immigration within East Africa just like it was the case with Europeans.
10. It was declared to create a platform upon which European view were to be heard.
11. Africans wanted withdrawal of the “Kipande” system that restricted their movements.
12. Africans wanted to push for the reduction of taxes, especially hut tax.
13. Africans needed to get more favourable working conditions.
14. The Kikuyu and other Africans wanted to regain their land.
15. In 1921, there was a cut in wages which was meant to make Africans stay in employment longer.
16. In 1923, a conference was summoned in London by the colonial secretary “The Duke of Devonshire” to deal with all the above racial problems.
17. After the conference, a paper or document was written known as the “1923 Devonshire White Paper”.

TERMS OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER

1. The terms of the Devonshire white paper were to raise solution to the racial conflicts in Kenya.

2. It was declared that Kenya was primarily an African territory and as such, the interests of Africans were to be important.
3. Kenyan highlands were to be reserved for only the whites' settlement.
4. The document declared policies of racial discrimination in residential areas null and void.
5. The Asians were to move freely into Kenya.
6. The Asians were to elect five members to the Legislative council.
7. A missionary was to be elected on the Legislative council to represent the interests of the Africans; Dr Arthur was elected to this effect.
8. The document was to recognize the contribution of the Europeans community in the development of Kenya.'
9. It declared that there was not to be any further advance towards self government in the near future. That Kenya was to be under Europeans.
10. It declared that the British colonial office was to watch over Kenya's affairs and preserve the African interest.
11. Asian had to be represented on the Municipal Councils.

EFFECTS OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER

1. The paper confirmed the whites' settlement on the Kenya highlands. The highlands were reserved for the European settlers only.
2. The Asians elected five members to the Legislative council as per the terms of the agreement.
3. The Asians were represented on the Municipal councils. This was stipulated in the terms of the agreement.
4. Racial segregation in residential areas ended or stopped.
5. There was to be no further advance towards settler domination.
6. The Africans interests gained importance than before.
7. It led to the development of Kenya into a more multi-racial society than before.
8. It frustrated the Africans and Asians, as some of their interests were not handled.
9. The dream of the whites to control Kenya as a racist country was completely shattered and given a death blow.
10. It acted as a reminder that the Africans would not be dominated by either whites or Asians for long.

11. The Asians and Africans were denied access to Kenya highlands.
 12. It brought unity of purpose between the Asians and Africans, after all the Europeans had been given an upper hand against both the Africans and Asians.
 13. It led to the establishment of the East African high commission to try and normalize relations between Africans and Asians with Europeans.
 14. It aided and facilitated massive migration of Indians into Kenya due to free immigration that was granted to them.
 15. Land and labour problems were not well handled which in the end partly caused the Mau-Mau rebellion in the 1950s.
 16. Insecurity and hostility was cultivated within Kenya as the issues among the Asians, Europeans and Africans were left unsettled.
- Note that** sometimes one is expected to either specifically give the effects on only the Africans, the Asians, Europeans or on the races generally.

REACTIONS OF THE ASIANS AND WHITE SETTLERS TO THE WHITE PAPER

1. The white settlers were disappointed because they were denied control over Kenyan affairs.
2. Lord Delemare, a white farmer opposed the resolutions of the white paper.
3. The white settlers insisted to rule over the Africans.
4. The Asians refused to elect their members to the legislative council until 1933.
5. The Asians were annoyed with unequal representation in the legislative council which was not granted.
6. The Asians opposed the preservation of Kenya high lands for white settlers.
7. The Europeans continued to fight to control the government of Kenya by having the majority members on the legislative Council.
8. Asians continued to voice their social and political inequality with Europeans.
9. Asians refused to pay separate taxes which were not those of the Europeans.

Revision questions

- i. Explain the factors which led the Declaration of Devonshire of 1923.
- ii. What were some of the clauses / terms of Devonshire white paper of 1923?
- iii. What were the effects of the Devonshire white paper?

How did the Asians and Africans react the terms of the Devonshire Whit Paper?

CHAPTER 19

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN UGANDA DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

THE KABAKA CRISIS IN BUGANDA IN 1953

CAUSES OF THE KABAKA CRISIS OF 1953 IN BUGANDA

1. Like the name suggest, the Kabaka crisis in Buganda was a situation of serious political disagreements between the colonial government under Sir Andrew Cohen, the then British governor in Uganda and the Kingdom of Buganda under Kabaka Mutesa II.
2. The event was so memorable in that the Kabaka had to be deported to England on 30th November 1953.
3. The Kabaka crisis therefore was a trying moment not to only the British government but to also Buganda specifically and Uganda at large.

The causes were:

4. The desire of Buganda to get her independence from Uganda, that is to say the need for Buganda to establish an Independent entity outside Uganda.
5. The British on the other hand wanted to dominate Buganda fully.
6. The controversial or contentious opinions between the Kabaka and the colonial governor. The Kabaka and the members of Lukiiko objected to the idea of East African federation.
7. Kabaka Mutesa II needed more political power which the colonial governor could not accept.
8. The Baganda were too confident and determined to attain Independence.
9. Kabaka Mutesa II wanted to restore the glory of Buganda as exemplified by its rich history in the pre- colonial period.
10. The aggressive nature of the then colonial governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen led to this crisis.
11. Buganda had totally rejected the reforms made by the Governor like setting up elected local councils.
12. The emergency of young, energetic and politically vibrant Baganda like Abu-Mayanja and Ben Kiwanuka among others helped to create the crisis.

13. Buganda was totally oppressed to the idea of the East- African federation where she knew that her position as a kingdom would be sidelined or submerged into East African federation.
14. The overwhelmingly support that the Baganda always gave to their Kabaka made him to think that he was unchallengeable.
15. The Kabaka's complete failure to co-operate with the colonial administration at the time, created a state with in a state hence leading to the Kabaka crisis.
16. The most immediate factor inevitably was the deportation of the Kabaka by the colonial administration that annoyed and surprised the Baganda.

EFFECTS OF THE KABAKA CRISIS

1. Buganda became more united for her demands.
2. The idea of uniting of East Africa states into a federation was completely given a death blow.
3. The Kabaka's going into exile removed any sympathy of Baganda toward the colonial governor under Sir Andrew Cohen.
4. More political parties were formed in Buganda to act as a forum for Buganda's interests and Uganda in general, for example Democratic Party in 1956, Uganda People's Congress in 1960, among others.
5. The Kabaka was made to be responsible to members of Lukiiko and even the governor.
6. It inspired or encouraged the growth of nationalism in Buganda although it was a tribalistic nationalism.
7. The Kabaka purely became a constitutional monarchy.
8. It spear headed the struggle for independence starting from Buganda to other areas of Uganda.
9. A group of people that included Thomas Makumbi and Apollo Kironde among others went to London to ask for the release of the Kabaka.
10. The Kabaka returned in Buganda in 1955, which was a sign of victory to the Baganda.
11. It resulted into the signing of the Namirembe agreement on 18th October 1955, which tried to revisit or revise the 1900 Buganda agreement.
12. It proved the extent to which the British went against the Buganda agreement, for example they had failed to recognize the Kabaka of Buganda which was a central figure to the 1900 agreement.

13. It led to more political confusion in Buganda as Baganda became more unruly and lost their patience towards the colonial government.
14. The event surprised the Baganda; they will never forgive the colonial government for it.
15. Buganda still remained part and parcel of Uganda.

Revision questions

- i. What led to the Kabaka crisis in Buganda of 1953?
- ii. What were the results of the Kabaka crisis?