

## Adult Education at Makerere University College (1953-1962): Motivations and Provisions

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### Abstract

Makerere University College opened in 1953, established the Department of Extra-Mural Studies following the recommendations of the 1945 Asquith Commission. The Asquith Commissioners hoped that university adult education offered through centres of extra-mural studies would serve the remote areas that were unreachable by the university colleges through offering adults opportunities for part-time study. The end of World war II and the subsequent creation of the United Nations (UN) Organisation led to pressure being mounted by the Organisation on its member states to enhance efforts to prepare colonies for self-government. Focused largely on foreign content delivered through weekend classes, public lectures, evening classes, one-day schools, and annual study vacations, extra-mural studies targeted English-speaking adults. This paper identifies some contradictions in the starting of extra-mural studies. Extra-mural studies promoted the Eurocentric lifestyle. It was disguised as preparation for self-government and yet the colonial officers became suspicious of the work of tutors as though worried that they might lead to increased nationalism. They seemed worried about the impending loss of empire and change of the status quo.

**Keywords:** Extra-mural studies; university adult education; Makerere University

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## Introduction

This article examines the establishment of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Makerere University College in 1953. The guiding research questions for this article are: 'Why did the colonial authorities introduce extra-mural studies at Makerere University College in 1953?' and 'What extra-mural activities existed before Uganda's independence?'. The major theme in the 1950s in much of Africa was nationalism and the need for independence. Extra-mural Studies focused on preparing adults for such and other changes yet to come. The central argument of this article is that extra-mural studies were started at Makerere University College as a response to pressures agitating for the end of colonialism such as the call by the United Nations Organisation to its member states to end colonial rule in its territories. From the early years of Makerere as a College, the European influence was evident. Eric Ashby, described as the leading historian of colonial universities, is said to have wished that Makerere was not following the European model (Mills, 2006, p.250). Ashby criticised 'British cultural parochialism and elitism of the Asquith Commission which assumed that a university system appropriate for Europeans brought up in London and Manchester was also appropriate for Africans brought up in Lagos and Kumasi and Kampala (Mills, 2006, p.250). Ashby's criticism of the universities was based on its separation of the student from his

family and village and the fact that it made the student obliged to behave in a Western way.

## Methodology

Archives at Africana Section at Makerere University Main Library, and Bodleian Library of Oxford University were used. I accessed the Oxford University archives online through requesting the university for access by electronic email (e-mail), which was granted. Among other archival documents, the 1945 Asquith Commission Report was analysed as one of the influential colonial documents on the developments in higher education during colonial rule (Colonial Office, 1945). The other sources included newspapers, such as *The Uganda Herald*, and *Uganda Argus*; Makerere University College Calendars; Makerere University College Reports; and Annual Reports of the Education Department in Uganda. While most archival documents analysed were accessed at Makerere University Library, Africana Section, some were accessed online using Google Scholar, the search engine. I also used memoirs and other written recollections from Dr Ronald Francis Clarke and Professor Lalage Bown regarding their years in Africa, Uganda in particular. Most authors of the reviewed documents were former Makerere University staff, and a few current members of staff. An in-depth interview was conducted with Professor Lalage Bown on 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2021 online using Zoom

technology and it lasted one hour and 3 seconds.

Analysis of the findings was chronological; done following the years, while maintaining attention to themes as they unfolded over the years through the several events that took place. It was also thematic by looking through the collected data to identify common patterns that then guided the organisation of my writing. The common patterns or issues identified formed the themes and helped to organise the writing. The major theme in the 1950s was nationalism and the need for independence, with extra-mural activities focused on preparing adults for such and other changes yet to come. The central argument of this article is that extra-mural studies were started at Makerere University College in order to promote adoption of British socio-economic and political values, beliefs and practices, disguised under the notion of helping prepare the country for self-government. University adult education, like higher education generally, was a colonial innovation.

The theoretical framework that guided analysis of the findings was the theory by Bourdieu (1984) on taste. It argues that people with a high volume of cultural capital, the non-financial social assets, such as education, are most likely to determine what constitutes taste within society. On the other hand, those with a low volume of cultural capital will most likely accept the dominant forms of taste. Bourdieu argues that the acceptance

of dominant forms of taste is a form of symbolic violence because it denies the dominated classes the means of defining their own world. As a result, the dominated people are constantly obliged to define themselves in terms of the dominant aesthetics of the ruling class or risk societal disapproval for lacking taste. In this theory, Bourdieu presents 'taste' as an example of cultural hegemony.

### **Aims and Goals of Extra-Mural Studies**

In an interview with her, Professor Lalage Bown narrated that the basic philosophy that guided extra-mural work was related to the need to make the university not appear as meant for only those who needed degrees but for all, including adult students: 'The Oxford training imbued in me the conviction that everyone had the right to share in the knowledge a university has to offer, applicable, to their own lives/ community...' (Interview with Professor Lalage Bown, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2021). In an interview with Dr Ronald Francis Clarke, he talked about the pre-occupation of the department of extra-mural studies as having been 'to prepare the middle leadership level of people working as teachers, as government officials, in areas like health, local government and to sort of raise their level of understanding; we used to call them the machinery of government. That's why there was concentration on language and communication skills plus some wider cultural

appreciations' (Interview with Dr Ronald Francis Clarke, 11<sup>th</sup> November 2021). Extra-mural activities were therefore educational activities for out-of-school adults who needed to enrich their knowledge on certain topics especially as provided by the resident tutors. On the other hand, however, the adults' choices were not wholly limited to the choices made by the resident tutors. There were times the adults influenced what was offered in the extra-mural activities. An instance was the December 1958 weekend conference in Teso region regarding the establishment of the museum in Soroti; the people in Teso region influenced the agenda at that conference because there was an interim committee of the Teso museum society comprised of the people from the Teso community. The focus of the conference was the history and culture of Teso district (Posnansky, 1963).

The influence of the British-dominated extra-mural studies curriculum was very powerful in determining what the adults were taught or exposed to, during the extra-mural activities before independence. The adults' choices were largely limited to what the resident tutors were able and willing to offer and this resonates with Bourdieu's notion of taste regarding how those with a high cultural capital most likely influence what constitutes taste in society.

On the other hand, the adults' choices seem not to have been totally limited to the choices by the resident

tutors because there was a time when the people in Teso region also influenced the agenda. It was at the December 1958 weekend conference regarding the museum which was to be set up in Soroti. There was an interim committee of the Teso museum society regarding establishment of the museum and it comprised members of the Teso community. The focus here was on the history and culture of Teso district. So, it would be wrong to assume that at all circumstances, only those with more cultural power influence occurrences and taste.

In addition, Bourdieu's theory was criticised for assuming that all societies are class societies. More so, in the post-modern consumer society, tastes are less influenced by social structures but by what one finds pleasurable and affordable. The above criticisms aside, Bourdieu's theory on 'taste' offers an explanatory framework of extra-mural studies as it started in the late colonial era even though it might not explain many other instances.

### **Establishment of Extra-Mural Studies in 1953**

The practice of extra-mural studies is historically credited to the British colonial anthropologist, James Stuart, who introduced it in 1867. He defined it as an extension of university-based learning to adults and communities who lived far from the university; located in the communities distant from the university premises (Slowey, 2011). In Britain, extra-mural studies were officially launched in 1873, with

its name as 'University Extension', and popularised by the work of inspirational figures, such as R.H. Tawney and G.D.H. Cole (Freeman, 2020a; Rogers, 2014; Atwaru, 1992). University extension work in England involved the provision of courses of study in towns throughout the country to offer an opportunity to adults whose chances of higher education were limited by class distinctions, such as the middle and the working classes (Atwaru, 1992; Rogers, 2014). James Stuart believed that social harmony could be created by adult education classes where the rich, poor, men and women learnt together, thus the social and equitable motivations that underpinned university involvement in extra-mural studies (Atwaru, 1992; Rogers, 2014).

Albert Mansbridge later carried on the efforts started by James Stuart by starting the Workers Education Association (WEA) in 1903, targeting the working class; to help workers obtain university education at Oxford as part of the class struggle for equal rights and democracy (Alfred, 2001; Bown, 1995). In Britain, the WEA later became the main provider of extra-mural studies. Through working with organised trade unions and universities, the WEA provided manual labourers with access to university education (Bowl, 2017). It was contradictory and ironical that the same kind of extra-mural studies was imported to the colonies for the elites, the English-speaking people who had some formal education yet it was meant for the lowly class in Britain

and much of Europe. Nonetheless, between the 1940s and mid-1960s, there was increased establishment of university extra-mural departments in British colonies, with many colonial struggles and many colonies gaining independence in that period.

The 1945 Asquith Commission was influential in the establishment of extra-mural departments by strongly recommending that the university colleges in the colonies take a leading role in the development of adult education in each colony. The commission hoped that university adult education offered through centres for extra-mural studies would serve the remote areas not reached by the university colleges and provide opportunities for part time study (Omolewa, 1975). The majority of the first resident tutors were of British origin under a sort of 'special relationship' philosophy. Makerere College had entered a special relationship with the University of London in 1949 for it to be helped to grow into a full university, offering courses of its own (Sicherman, 2005). The following pre-independence tutors were of British origin: Mr W.A.J. Harris, the first resident tutor (1953-1957), Miss Lalage Bown 1955-1959, Miss Cherry Gertzel (1957-1958), Mr John Coleman (1957-1959), Dr Alan T.C. Slee (1960-1970s), Mr Gerald Moore (1960-1966), Mr Ronald Francis Clarke (1961-1970), and Mr Roger Levick (1961-62) (Atim, 2004; Edgington, 1964).

In December 1950, the colonial secretary at the time, Mr J. Griffiths, reiterated that the British government aimed at East African territories obtaining self-government within the commonwealth (Ingham, 1958). Mandating the new nations to stay within the commonwealth was to keep control over the former colonies. The United Nations had required that colonies be enabled to get on the path to independence (Cherifa, 1991). That requirement was equally influential in the establishment of extra-mural studies at Makerere University College. Extra-mural studies establishment seems to have been partly to show that a country, such as Uganda was abiding by the United Nations Organisation. British post-World War II policy was adjusted to assume a humane face, including efforts to ensure that colonial territories got a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression of any kind (Colonial Office, 1948).

The second World War left Britain defeated. After the British forces in Singapore had in February 1942 surrendered to the Japanese, making the loss of the Asian territories, Margery Perham, a renown intellectual, in a 1942 article emphasised British failure to meet the social and political needs of its colonies; she criticised the violence of colonial racism (Perham, 1942). Perham argued for 'a new and more intimate and generous relationship with the colonial peoples' (Oliver, 1991, p.24). The British government

then embarked on reforms within the empire focused on improving the welfare of colonial populations and dealing with racism, using education for the acculturation of the colonies to reduce racial tendencies (Charton, 2020). Universities were set up in various regions, in special relationship with the University of London to help them develop to the required standard and universities were to lead the process of acculturation, of spreading British culture in the colonies as part of cultural imperialism; the intellectual colonisation of the colonies (Oliver, 1991). There were several other reforms following the end of World War II, with the Community Development and Welfare Act as the main policy guide at the end of World War II (Charton, 2020). The United States of America and the Soviet Union had made clear their anti-colonialist intentions. In particular, the United States extended a lot of support through grants and technical assistance to the colonies as efforts to help them towards independence. This assistance included scholarships to study overseas especially in Britain, the Soviet Union, and America. Studying abroad meant exposure to more acculturation. Several of the funders of adult education were American such as Rockfeller Foundation, Carnegie Cooperation of New York, and Ford Foundation which was the biggest philanthropic organisation in the United States, (Ferguson, 2013).

After World War II, Arthur Creech Jones, the Secretary of State then, with an interest in education for self-government, invited George Wigg, the Labour member of parliament at the time, to join a sub-committee on 'Education for citizenship in Africa'. The committee reported in 1948 calling on colonial policy to create a citizenship training programme for colonies (Summers, 2014). Hodgkin was the secretary of the Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy in 1945 and supported the establishment of extra-mural studies in the colonies. In 1948, Ghana became the first country to establish extra-mural studies in colonial Africa under the Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy, subsequently, becoming the first sub-Saharan country to get her independence in 1957. Extra-mural centres were later established in Ibadan and Fourah Bay, Makerere, and Salisbury (Edgington, 1964).

Whereas the history of Makerere University started in 1922 with the establishment of the technical school at Makerere (Chilver, 1957; Macpherson, 1964; Sicherman, 2005), the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Makerere University College was only introduced in November 1953, on a pattern similar to the English extension services in England which were organised as public lectures, evening classes, weekend classes and discussions (Makerere, 1954b, 1959; Parkes, 1963). The extra-mural centre at Makerere University College was the first one

to be established in East Africa and it served Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. The department was set up at a time of heightened anti-colonial struggles. India and Pakistan had achieved independence in 1947 while there were agitations in the Gold Coast; and a Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya had started in 1952 (Newsinger, 1981). The multiple struggles for independence signalled to the colonial office that independence was inevitable although some individual colonial officers remained uncooperative in efforts to prepare colonies for self-government. The problem of British settlers had led to the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya because British official policy encouraged the whites to occupy the best farming land and enjoy tax advantages while majority indigenous Kenyans were relegated to labour exploited to meet the needs of the capitalists to produce for export (Titmus & Steele, 1995). The year 1953 was the same year the Kabaka (King) of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, was exiled by Governor Sir Andrew Cohen for defying the British orders and claiming that his kingdom had a privileged relationship with Britain and an independent status granted by the 1900 Buganda Agreement. He later returned from exile following demands by Baganda nationalists (de Bunsen, 1995; Ingham, 1958).

*The Uganda Herald* of May 13<sup>th</sup> 1954 reported that the Department of Extra-Mural Studies offered a variety of non-vocational subjects

(Editor, 1954b). Subjects ran for twelve to twenty weeks or twenty-four weeks sometimes (Editor, 1954a, 1954b; Makerere, 1954b). Some would run for six months with regular classes once a week (Colman, 1958a). The department had a library and it lent out books to the students, while radio talks were also arranged in Kampala (Makerere, 1954b). Student enrolments for daily physical classes increased and exceeded nine hundred people by the end of 1954 (Makerere, 1954b, 1954a). In 1954, activities were restricted to Kampala because there was only one resident tutor, Mr. Harris, until the second resident tutor, Miss Lalage Bown, joined in 1955 as the tutor for Mbale, eastern Uganda (Editor, 1955). The work of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies continued to grow and in 1955, there were 28 part time tutors and about 30-40 university lecturers who participated in residential courses, extension, and administrative work (Makerere, 1955).

In the same year 1954, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, in collaboration with staff from other departments at Makerere University College, such as the Department of History, and the Department of Political Science participated in other extra-mural activities (Makerere, 1954a). The interdisciplinarity and cooperation across the university departments was reflected in *The Uganda Herald* announcement on Tuesday, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1954, regarding the 16<sup>th</sup> course that the Department

of Extra-Mural Studies was going to offer. It showed that Mr C. Erlich, of the Department of Social Sciences would give a series of six weekly lectures on the Introduction to Economics at Entebbe. Mr W.J.A. Harris, the first extra-mural department organiser was to start the offer of a six-week course on 'Current International Affairs' at the Mengo Social Centre. The same article in *The Uganda Herald* announced that another course would start on May 4<sup>th</sup> at the Mengo Social Centre on 'English Language and Literature', based on the study of *Antigone* with the tutor as Mr A. Wilshere. On April 21<sup>st</sup> of the same year, as part of the series on 'The Peoples of Uganda', Dr Audrey I. Richards, and Director of the East Africa Institute of Social Research (E.A.I.S.R.), later renamed Makerere Institute of Social Research (M.I.S.R.), was to lecture on 'The Peoples of South Uganda' at the Uganda Social Centre. Audrey Isabel Richards was a pioneering British social anthropologist who lived between July 8<sup>th</sup> 1899 and June 29<sup>th</sup> 1984. She was the initiator and first director of the E.A.I.S.R. at Makerere from 1950-1956 (Firth & Firth, 1985; Richards, 1977). As an anthropologist, she contributed a lot to social research, practicing anthropology, promoting it as the best observational technique, and while at E.A.I.S.R, she did a lot on Ganda ethnography (Firth & Firth, 1985).

By 1954, one year after the establishment of the department,

public lecture audiences ranged from 100 to 150 people and it embraced all races. Public lectures, as differentiated from extension lectures, were not limited to the regular extra-mural students. They were open to the public. Topics handled in Kapchorwa and Butaleja public lectures in 1954, but also at most extra-mural centres included 'The Law and the Citizen'. It was relevant to the time because of the constitutional and legislative council issues about which the people needed to be sensitised.

The Department of Extra Mural Studies was started during the time of constitutional and local government changes in Uganda. The 1949 riots in Buganda spearheaded by the Bataka party and the African Farmers Union eventually contributed to some constitutional changes (Ingham, 1958; Summers, 2005, 2014). In 1950, for example, the composition of the Legislative Council was expanded to include sixteen official members and sixteen unofficial members that comprised of eight Africans, four Europeans and four Asians (Ingham, 1958). The increase in African membership did not take away the feeling among many Africans that the Legislative Council was a foreign institution (Ingham, 1958). The Legislative Council was a colonial establishment to facilitate colonial rule and the exertion of more colonial control in the economic, political and socio-cultural aspects of Uganda until 1958 when direct elections were held in all provinces of Uganda except

in Buganda (Tumushabe & Gariyo, 2009). In 1951, new district councils were created in eastern province in particular, Bukedi and Bugisu. The topics handled at the extra-mural public lectures were designed to raise awareness on the events happening at the time, such as the changes in local government, political parties, elections, and the workings of the district councils. The systems being introduced were modelled on the British kind of political administrative structures.

Since 1936, the colonial officials had always tampered with, and merged Bugisu and Bugwere districts to form the Central District but this merger had created conflicts because the two had different administrative units (Khanakwa, 2011). In 1941, Budama was added to Central District to form Mbale District but in 1954, there were more administrative changes and Mbale was split into Bugisu, Bukedi; and Mbale remained separate hosting the administrative headquarters of both Bugisu and Bukedi districts (Khanakwa, 2011). This situation aggravated conflict between the Bagisu and Bagwere as they all wanted the territorial control of Mbale Town, resulting in riots in 1954, 1956 and 1962 (Khanakwa, 2011). The riots were sparked off by insults from the Bagisu to the Bagwere for lack of the circumcision culture and Bagisu rejected Bagwere claim over Mbale (Karugire, 1980; Khanakwa, 2011). The extra-mural public lectures of 1954 on 'The law

and the citizen' were given in the context of quelling the insurgency in the area over the Bugisu and Bukedi boundary, and ownership of Mbale Town.

Around the mid 1950s, new constitutions were introduced in both Acholi and Lango local governments (Ingham, 1958). The constitutional changes of the 1950s influenced the topics that were handled in extra-mural classes at the time, especially as reflected in the notices for public lectures on 'The Law and the Citizen' in Bunyole Saza Headquarters, Butaleja on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1958, and Kapchorwa on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1958 at Sebei Saza Headquarters. The public lecture was about the general principles of law and how they affect the ordinary citizen, and the speaker was John Kazzora, a Barrister-at-Law and Advocate (Bown, 1957b, 1957a, 1958). Such public lectures enabled extra-mural studies to contribute to the community's understanding of the legal and constitutional changes that were happening in Uganda at the time but also for the people to avoid violence.

Residential courses especially in the form of annual study vacations were another extra-mural activity. They were held at Makerere University College during which students and tutors gathered for a short period of study, usually a week or a little more than a week. The first residential course was held for one week at Makerere in 1954 and focused on 'Education and Society'

(Makerere, 1954b). It was attended by only thirty-eight extra-mural students in Uganda. Most participants were drawn from Uganda because at that time, extra-mural studies operated in Uganda only and had not extended to Kenya or Tanganyika yet. Each year had a theme on which the lectures and seminars would be based. The aim of the residential courses was to offer the adult an opportunity for serious study and concentration away from the distractions of domestic and other commitments (Bown, 1957b). There were two types of residential courses held at Makerere in a year; one was held in January, devoted to a scientific theme, while the second one was in April on general subjects (Bown, 1957b). The one in April was the Annual Study Vacation (ASV). The first highly attended Annual Study Vacation was held in 1957, from 22<sup>nd</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> April, during the long vacation that year. It was a large-scale residential course, similar to a summer school; a common feature of university vacations in the United Kingdom and the United States (Colman, 1957).

The ASV was one of the many Eurocentric aspects of extra-mural studies that were transplanted from Europe to Uganda and East Africa. In an interview with Professor Lalage Bown, she narrated how, as the first field resident tutor in Uganda, based in Mbale from 1955-1959, she brought the concept of vacation courses from both Oxford and the Gold Coast where she had been for five years as

a resident tutor at the Department of Extra-Mural Studies:

I brought the concept of vacation courses from both Oxford and the Gold Coast and John Colman also believed in it. It enabled specialist tutors to be involved and adult students both to meet each other and be exposed to a wider subject range and we could involve international scholars (Interview with Professor Lalage Bown<sup>1</sup>, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2021).

The annual study vacations offered an opportunity for the students, tutors, and all interested people from all over East Africa to meet and share discussions on several topics such as the role of political parties, the working of government, and others such as was contained in the course on *Machinery of Democratic Government* (Colman, 1957). *Machinery of Democratic Government* included the following topics: 'Introduction to the modern state', 'The Modern State-The legal framework-Unitary and Federal', 'The place of the Cabinet in the British System of Government', 'The President of the United States and His Work', 'The Work of the Legislature: the House of Commons and the House of Lords', 'The

Legislature in the United States of America: Senate and Congress', 'The role of the Civil Service in the Modern State', 'The Function of Government in East Africa', 'Totalitarianism and Democracy in the Modern World'. Tutors for the course on 'Machinery of Democratic Government' were G.F. Engholm, and P. Whitaker, both from political science, Makerere College (Colman, 1957).

A few years later in 1957, tension between the colonial administrators and resident tutors became more manifest. The governor got concerned about the political nature of the topics handled in the ASV. Several correspondences were exchanged between the principal of Makerere University College, Mr Bernard de Bunsen, and Governor Sir Frederick Crawford, over the political nature of the study vacations. The governor wanted to stop the study vacation because he feared it might turn very political since the Kenyan trade unionist, Tom Mboya, and Tanganyika's Mwalimu Julius Nyerere had been invited to attend. Sir Crawford was not able to stop the vacation from happening because of the resolute defence put up by Principal Sir Bernard de Bunsen. He involved the Academic Board because he called its special meeting on April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1957 (de Bunsen, 1957). The principal explained the mandate of the department as well as referred Sir Crawford to the 1955 decree that established the Department of Extra-Mural Studies as an organ of the University College (High Commission

<sup>1</sup> Professor Lalage Bown, (Sun Reporter, 2020), died on 17<sup>th</sup> December 2021, almost a month after my meeting with her online using Zoom. Born in 1927 and at 94 years of age, she died following a fall at her house. She had lived a very illustrious life across the globe advocating adult education, women's literacy and development, in addition to mentoring many people. A brief on her life is contained in an obituary by Robert Hamilton on December 28th 2021 (Hamilton, 2021).

Gazette Supplement No.3. Makerere University College Council, 1957). He quoted the colonial office paper number 2369 of August 8<sup>th</sup> 1952 that accompanied the community development and welfare grant which facilitated appointment of the first director of extra-mural studies, Mr Jack Harris, in 1953. Sir Crawford let the study vacation go on.

In 1956 and 1957, the department conducted several other extra-mural activities with tutors from other departments of Makerere University College, government departments, the Uganda Museum, and the church. The collaborations made it easy to organise and conduct extra-mural classes with tutors from such other agencies. Lalage Bown, in her 1957 report about extra-mural work in Eastern Province showed that the Department of Extra-Mural Studies also cooperated in teaching and organising courses arranged by other institutions, such as the Department of Community Development, the Police College, the Labour Department, and the Mothers' Union. She gives the example of a course on 'How Uganda is governed' which was held jointly with the Community Development Department at Vukula, Busoga in August 1956. A course for journalists was held in June 1957 at Makerere with the Department of Information as the collaborating agency (Bown, 1957b). The collaborations illustrated the importance of interdisciplinarity and team work in dealing with community socio-economic and

political issues. In the following quote, Miss Bown illustrates that the extra-mural department was the 'face' of the university, linking it with the community: "We had to be aware of what was going on in all departments, what visitors were coming..." (Interview with Professor Lalage Bown, November 22<sup>nd</sup> 2021). Indeed, the collaborations benefitted all parties involved by helping make it easy for each to achieve their aims.

In 1957, a course on 'Advanced English' in Jinja and the 'English Language and Literature' seminar at the Second Annual Study Vacation in 1958 were held at Makerere University. The 'Advanced English' course covered the following: 'A definition of language and why English is a worthwhile language', 'The correct use of reported speech', 'How to prepare a report for a newspaper', 'The writing of personal and business letters', 'Everyday idiom', and 'Spoken English' with the final meeting as a debate at which the students' use of language would be commented on (Ngoloma, 1957). The recommended books were all by European/ British writers and publishers (Ngoloma, 1957). The content of the course and the recommended books reflected the Eurocentric nature of the extra-mural activities.

In the Eastern Province at Butaleja in 1958, an extra-mural course named 'An Introduction to Political Institutions' was conducted. And the tutor for the class session of 1958/1959 was Lalage Bown, the

resident tutor for the Eastern Province of Uganda. The Eastern province extra-mural activities areas of Mbale, Budaka, Bukedea, Iganga, Kamuli, Kumi, Ngora, Butaleja, Serere, Soroti, and Jinja (Bown, 1957b). The aim of the course was to explain the machinery of government in Uganda and discuss possible future changes (Bown, 1958). Content of the course on 'Political Institutions' included 'Uganda's Position as an African British Territory Being Led Towards Independence', 'The Parliamentary System', 'The Law-Makers at Work; the Uganda Legislative Council (Legco) or the United Kingdom Parliament', 'The Executive; the Cabinet', 'The Civil Service and its Africanisation', 'The Head of State as Queen Elizabeth', 'Western Democracy and Communism' (Bown, 1958). These courses enabled the adults and the communities to know the way the new forms of political institutions operated since Uganda was adopting the same kind of political institutions.

Funding for the establishment of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Makerere was provided by the British colonial government under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Arthur Creech-Jones<sup>2</sup> was the Secretary of State for the Colonies at that time (de Bunsen,

1995). The colonial government offered a grant of 2000 pounds annually for the first two years, under the community development and welfare (C.D. &W) department (Colonial Office paper number 2367, August 8<sup>th</sup> 1952; UZ67/164A/006, AR/MAK/122/6). The Colonial Office Paper number 2367 mentioned the grant of C.D. &W money to Makerere University College for the appointment of a Director of Extra-Mural Studies, Mr W.A.J. Harris. A resident tutor was a lecturer who had the duty of administering and organising educational work within the locality where he lived with duties, such as planning and implementing educational programmes, conducting research, counselling and providing information on educational programmes to the people in his/her region (Atwaru, 1992; Ojok, 1966). The concept of 'resident tutor' was itself borrowed in its use at the University of London (Atim, 2004a). This was one of the issues that were kept or learnt from the University of London as a result of the years of the special relationship.

In 1958, a conference in Mbale was organised in collaboration with the church. The particular instance was at a conference on the topic 'The Christian in Politics' organised with St Andrew's Church and the Bishop of the Upper Nile, Rt. Rev. L.C. Usher-Wilson. The bishop raised several issues to be noted by the audience and they included freedom of thought, discouraging discrimination,

<sup>2</sup> John Holford referred to Arthur Creech Jones as the forgotten British minister of adult education whose immense contribution to colonial policy on adult education never received the attention it deserved in the history of adult education literature. Holford argued that Creech-Jones made the most important attempt to bring adult education to the center of social, political and economic development colonial policy (Holford, 1995).

the voter's duty; and concluded that it was the duty of the Christian to see that politics are conducted with truth, honesty, and justice (Editor, 1958). The conference raised powerful messages as the country dealt with issues of self-government, elections, and the prospect of subsequent independence. Other speakers that day included Mr Tito Mudanyi, who was the chief judge of Bukedi; Mr J.G. Wanyoto, the secretary-general-designate of Bugisu; Miss Lalage Bown, the resident tutor of that region at the time; and Mr John Compton of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) Teso. Being a team of leaders, some of them from that region might have promoted acceptance of their messages, increased visibility of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies and Makerere University College in the communities as a whole through the media announcements and reporting of the activities.

Extension lectures at regional extra-mural centres included a wide range of subjects and activities. The regional centres varied by region but for eastern region, the centers included Mbale, Budaka, Bukedea, Iganga, Kamuli, Kumi, Ngora, Butaleja, Serere, Soroti, and Jinja (Bown, 1957b). Activities outside Kampala (Buganda) were few in the 1960s because at the beginning of 1960, the department had only four tutors in East Africa. By October 1961, there were eight established posts in East Africa (Moore, 1960). Roger Levick started the centre in Fort

Portal in 1961 and later opened new centres in Tooro, Ankore and Kigezi (Clarke, 1961). There was a centre in Gulu, Central Kenya, Western Kenya at Kapsabet, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam (Clarke, 1961). Extension lectures were usually conducted daily or on weekends. Some classes were held every evening in the week. Weekend courses were particularly advantageous to adults who had other work-related commitments during the week.

Almost all the extra-mural activities focused on ideas that were not African in origin. They were borrowed from Britain and were being taught to promote their adoption as hopes of self-government and independence increased in the 1950s. The contents in each course testified to the British, and generally European, origin. Just as Bourdieu argues in his theory on taste, people with high cultural capital dominate those with low cultural capital. The British as the colonial power, through their expatriate extra-mural staff introduced extra-mural studies in the form they wanted, with content largely on the British culture, beliefs and practices, and the East African extra-mural student had to participate in the activities. An example was the course *Machinery of Democratic Government* which was offered at the First Annual Study Vacation (Colman, 1957). It included the following topics: Introduction to the Modern State, The Modern State-The Legal Framework-Unitary and Federal, The Place of the Cabinet in

the British System of Government, The President of the United States and His Work, The Work of the Legislature: the House of Commons and the House of Lords, The Legislature in the United States of America: Senate and Congress, The Role of the Civil Service in the Modern State, The Function of Government in East Africa, Totalitarianism and Democracy in the Modern World (Colman, 1957). The topics supported the introduction of democratic politics modelled on the Westminster kind of parliamentary politics. Extra-mural studies acted as a vehicle for raising more awareness on such and other issues on the forms of government. Just like Colonial Office Paper No. 2369 had emphasised the importance of taking part in well informed discussions on current topics, as a way of moulding and maturing African opinion, extra-mural studies offered the platform for the moderate discussions of several topics under expert leadership of the resident tutors and other people and agencies with whom the department collaborated.

Relatedly, on October 31st 1958, John Colman, the Director of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies wrote a report (Colman, 1958b) in which he alluded to the government's suspicion of the department. He revealed that Cartland, then Minister of Social Services had told him that Mr Harris and Miss Bown were too political. Cartland had further alleged that the two had frequently told the

public that, "You do not trust the government but you can trust us." This allegation was probably based on the extra-mural activities that they suspected and feared would incite nationalism against the colonial power. The minister wanted to discredit the tutors and probably have the extra-mural studies suspended by alleging that they made the government unpopular. While on a visit in Tanganyika in 1958, Governor Twining had told Colman that he did not trust Makerere because it was a centre of black nationalism. So, the fear for nationalism was probably the greatest factor that caused mistrust of the tutors' extra-mural work. There were also financial difficulties and extra-mural studies were never prioritised by the East African governments. Professor Lalage Bown narrated something similar on funding: "When money was short, the university would draw in its horns and withdraw from outreach activities," showing how the colonial office never prioritised extra-mural work, (Interview with Professor Lalage Bown, November 22<sup>nd</sup> 2021). A racial allegation, a slander against the personal life of Miss Bown, as Colman called it in his write-up, was also raised by Crawford, the chief secretary, in November 1957. The allegation was that Miss Bown "sleeps with Africans" and the purpose was to use the allegation to deny her the confirmation of her appointment which was due that month. Colman did his best to protect Miss Bown. He recommended her and she was

appointed. There was lack of unity of purpose, or a contradiction regarding the function of the department of extra-mural studies as far as the move to self-government was concerned. The intention of establishing the department was, therefore, a farce and dishonest.

Titmus and Steele (1995) sarcastically observe that British rule claimed that it aimed at preparing the colonies for self-government but even after World War II, several colonial officers had difficulty coming to terms with the possibility that self-rule and the end of the empire was close. The Asquith Commission report indicated that extra-mural studies were also started to reduce the gap between the university graduates and the rest of the community, ensuring that the graduates were not the only few elites but that the general intellectual and cultural knowledge of all were raised (Colonial Office, 1945). In reality, however, not all people participated in the extra-mural activities, but only the few English-speaking adults. Extra-mural studies never reached all people because it targeted those who could speak English. There were few people in Ugandan communities who were schooled and could speak English, (Prewitt, 1967) and so, many were most likely unable to participate in the extra-mural activities due to the language barrier. Related to that, it is also possible that few Ugandans could be reached because the department always struggled to raise finances to run its activities. It lacked

the ability to operate in very wide geographical areas and so could only run a few classes in areas near urban centres. Additionally, there were few tutors at the department (Ojok, 1966). Between 1953 and 1962, the staff size was limited to one director and two resident tutors. Others were mainly part time staff. (Atim, 2004a, Ojok, 1966). Expansion of regional centres and recruitment of more staff was only possible after 1962. If the colonial office had the intention that extra-mural studies should reach many people, it would have devoted enough funds to the department to enable it to recruit enough staff to be able to reach many Ugandans. It was, however, not the case. Nonetheless, extra-mural studies served to reduce the ivory tower nature of the university college by offering the communities a chance to interact with members of staff of Makerere University College who participated in the extra-mural activities.

In 1963, together with the committee of the museum society, the department organised another weekend conference with the theme *Towards an African culture* at Teso College, Aloit, Soroti. The conference aimed at helping people understand more about the study of local history, literature, art and other forms of culture, and to encourage them to take greater interest in discovering and learning by themselves (Department of Extra-Mural Studies and the Interim Committee of the Museum Society, 1963). Topics explored at

the conference were several: ‘The Cultural History of East African Peoples,’ by Professor Aiden Southall; ‘Creating African History: How a Historian Works,’ by Alan Ogot; ‘Creating an African Literature: The Growth of Poetry and Story-telling,’ by Gerald Moore; ‘Discovering African Pre-history: The Foundation of African History by Dr Merrick Posnansky.’ There was a practical discussion on how people can help to collect, preserve, and expand their local culture. Dr Merrick Posnansky was curator of the Uganda Museum from 1958-1961 but also taught archaeology at Makerere University College. He organised interactions of museum staff with communities (Posnansky, 1963; Rivard, 1984). Films shown were two; ‘A First Look at Africa,’ made by African and English school boys on Mt. Elgon and in Teso during August 1962. The other film was ‘The Flame Tree’, a dramatic portrayal of a Kiganda legend. This conference reduced the seeming sole focus on European topics in the extra-mural activities and refocused on everyday lives and culture of Ugandans. It sought to promote appreciation of African practices and the study of African history. Being after independence, the emphasis on African practices in drama, poetry, the study of African history and the methods of doing so, was great and timely to show the need for Africans to focus on African history. Ugandan communities gained interest in starting folk museum societies through collecting

ethnological materials and securing a place to open their community museum, such as was opened in Teso in 1959 (Posnansky, 1963). This was one of the aspects of the extra-mural activities that recognisably promoted appreciation of local culture and practices.

With funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the extra-mural activities in Kenya started in October 1956 with Mr Ieuan W. Hughes as the first resident tutor (Ojok, 1966; Makerere, 1958). Other funders of extra-mural activities included the Uganda and Kenya governments, British Council, and the United Kingdom through the Colonial Development and Welfare funds, Rockefeller Foundation, and Ford Foundation (de Bunsen, 1995; Makerere, 1958). More staff were recruited later depending on availability of funds (Editor, 1960). Minutes of the third meeting of the Advisory Committee for Extra-Mural work in Kenya held Friday, March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1960 included a report on the activities that had been conducted in Kenya. Hughes was the secretary to that meeting. The following topics were some of those which were offered in extra-mural activities in Kenya: What is Government, East African Constitutions, Nigerian Background, Government in East Africa, What Can Education Do for You?, Background to International Affairs, Everyday Life in Britain, Life and Peoples of the United States of America., What is Democracy?,

Economics, Intelligence, Good Law, West Indies, Colonial Developments in Africa, Orwell's Animal Farm, Local Government, Financing an Underdeveloped Country, Constitutional Change in Nigeria, Looking Forward, Economics, What is Education for?, International Background, Current Social Problems, and Economic Change in Kenya (Hughes, 1960). From this list of topics, it can be noted that whereas there was effort to learn from some African and non-European cases, the majority of the topics offered in Kenya were similar to the ones which were offered in Uganda. They had a lot of Eurocentric content around the areas of politics, the economy, and social life. It seemed inevitable given the history of Makerere as a university that was in a special relationship with University of London, teaching its courses, several academic staff trained in Europe and so they could have appreciated Eurocentric content more than Afrocentric content. The rejection by Ugandans in the 1920s of native education focused on everyday agricultural and other native concerns probably also set a bad precedent for formal education, making it more focused on European-oriented subject areas (Kallaway, 2020).

The intentions for establishing the Department of Extra-Mural Studies were perceived differently by the tutors and by the colonial administrators and their staff. Whereas the tutors aimed at raising the ability of the adults to understand the political

changes going on and prepare for self-government and independence, the colonial administrators and other colonial officers saw the activities of the department as a threat to the status quo. They seemed to fear that the extra-mural activities might arouse the nationalistic energy among Ugandans in a move similar to the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya. No wonder there was limited support from the colonial officials to the extra-mural tutors. The nature of adult education, and education generally introduced in Africa seemed to have been influenced by racial mentalities, such as the 'European standards rule' (Tandon, 1970, p.69) which related to the belief by Europeans that non-Europeans could not perform to the European standards due to an evolutionary gap or deficiency and that non-Europeans never deserved equal rights (Tandon, 1970). It is this mentality which probably contributed to the reality that Europeans and topics on European culture and politics dominated.

Extra-mural studies in East Africa seemed to have been more aimed at strengthening the introduction of the Eurocentric model of government as the countries approached self-government and eventually, independence. It aimed at achieving a social purpose of preparing the middle leadership group for social action and for it to be the strong pillar in the efforts for democracy and post-colonial governance (Kwesiga & Katahoire, 1995; Slee, 1965). In

addition, targeting the English adult speakers was unfair to the more rural dwellers who might have wanted to join the classes but lacked any knowledge of the English language (Kakooza, 1999). Away from what documents, such as the Asquith Commission report promised, extra-mural studies seemed meant for a few and not the majority as it was claimed. It seems likely that the department was also established to offer employment to British nationals overseas as one of the unstated reasons for establishment. The expatriates earned secure employment, with stable and high pay, guaranteed paid leave back to their countries, without consideration of the financial challenges faced by the department. The Asquith 1945 report had recommended that to get quality staff, most of the positions in the new colleges within the colonies should be filled by recruitment overseas, thus it created opportunities for expatriates (Colonial Office, 1945). If universities were meant for a small group of elites (Rodney, 1989), the extra-mural studies targeting the English-speaking adults were equally meant to reach a few people since access to schooling was not widespread yet. Whether it was impossible to recruit Ugandans from the onset knowledgeable in local dialects instead of British expatriate staff, points to the likelihood that extra-mural studies, like the colonial project, was generally meant to employ the British (Ekechi, 1997).

The expatriate tutors with experience of extra-mural studies in Britain were meant to facilitate the transfer of ideas deemed fit for colonies (Kaweesi, 2021; Mayo, 2015; Kwesiga & Katahoire, 1995; Kakooza, 1992). The indigenous educational and political systems were largely ignored (Kakooza, 1992; Bown, 1957a; Bown, 1958a). The Asquith Commission recommended the establishment of departments of extra-mural studies to contribute to the requirements for self-rule (Colonial Office, 1945); but it is not clear then why the colonial administrators were suspicious of the activities of extra-mural tutors (Skinner, 2007; Bown, 2003) and one wonders what kind of preparation was more suitable for self-rule than raising the political consciousness of the communities of adults (Bown, 1958a; Bown, 1958b; Bown, 2003). It, therefore, appears to have been a kind of false generosity and contradiction in terms for the colonial office to claim that extra-mural studies would prepare citizens for self-government and independence and yet expressed a fear of nationalism or the growth of any ideas that sought to lead adults towards nationalism. The lukewarm support and suspicion of the work of extra-mural tutors was evidence that there was no willingness to end the British rule but also much more that the intentions for establishing extra-mural studies were not perceived in the same way by the colonial administrators and resident tutors.

## Conclusion

The 1950s was a period of immense nationalistic motivations among East Africans and it was also a period of changes such as multi-party formation, local government, district council and other parties' election. The establishment of adult education at Makerere University College in 1953 was a colonial action in response to the 1945 Asquith Commission that recommended extra-mural activities in the colonies. The end of World War II seems to have been a contributory factor especially because the formation of the United Nations and its regulatory mechanisms discouraged colonialism. The United Nations requirement that its members work towards the end of imperialism seemed to be the factor that also grudgingly encouraged Britain to allow such initiatives as extra-mural studies to start in East Africa for the sake of putting on a humane face. In reality though, given the suspicion with which colonial administrators treated extra-mural tutors, it seemed to indicate the fear of nationalism and of the change of the status quo.

Extra-mural studies were organised around topics that provided learning to the adults on issues of public

concern in Uganda at the time, such as elections, political parties, the law, constitutions, local government, and self-government. Extra-mural studies seemed to have ensured that the adults in the colonies appreciated and adopted Eurocentric ideas and practices. Such Eurocentric ideas included the form of government headed by the executive, the parliament as the legislative arm of government, political parties, elections, the notions of democracy, and economic development as evidenced in several extra-mural activities. The use of English was a colonising aspect of the extra-mural activities and it endured as a colonial legacy. Uganda remained entangled in the English language dominance and subsequently seemed to fail to develop its indigenous languages. Although the majority of the topics handled in the pre-independence extra-mural activities were Eurocentric, they contributed to awareness raising among Ugandans in light of the socio-economic and political changes that were happening at the time. Some extra-mural activities promoted African knowledge, such as the conferences in Soroti on African history and the Teso museum.

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- An in-depth interview was conducted with Professor Lalage Bown on 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2021 online using Zoom technology and it lasted one hour and 3 seconds.
- Interview with Dr Ronald Francis Clarke, conducted online using Zoom technology 11<sup>th</sup> November 2021 and it lasted fifty-two minutes.
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