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Strive for Excellence:

The Congregation of Holy Cross at St. Leo's College, Kyegobe

Fort Portal, Uganda, East Africa

by

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The Congregation of Holy Cross came to Tooro District, Uganda, in 1958 to help establish a new Diocese in Fort Portal from what was then area included in the Mbarara Diocese. Holy Cross priests and brothers from the United States were entrusted with the responsibility for establishing this new Ugandan foundation. The Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross joined the effort in 1967.[1] At the invitation of the Brothers of Christian Instruction, two Holy Cross Brothers joined the staff of St. Leo's College, Kyegobe, in May 1961; January 1, 1962 marked the formal transfer of the St. Leo's administration to Holy Cross control, with seven Brothers on staff including Brother Lewis James as Headmaster.

In considering the involvement of the Congregation of Holy Cross at St. Leo's College, this paper privileges two contexts. First, the general survival of schools in Uganda, particularly the period from 1971 to 1986, is considered extraordinary by all accounts (Furley, 1988; Heyneman, 1983; Paige, 1998). These times of civil war and intractable social conflict which accompanied the Amin/Obote II regimes, collapsed the economic, judicial and social infrastructure of the country, but schools like St. Leo's survived. Secondly, the influence of the Church on schools and society is a significant factor contributing to school survival. Given that the 1970 Chapter of the Holy Cross Brothers' Eastern Province had called on the Brothers in the Uganda mission to terminate their commitment to St. Leo's College within three years (Connelly, 1981), the continuation of a

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[1]See Connelly (1981) for the history of Holy Cross in East Africa, 1958-1980.

Holy Cross presence at St. Leo's to the present time not only testifies to an option for the poor and oppressed exercised at great personal risk, but also may give credence to the adage "Man proposes but God disposes!"

Background

Uganda[2], a Wisconsin-sized country straddling the equator in East Africa, was established as a protectorate in 1894 by the British government and gained independence in 1962. In succeeding years, supporters of a centralized state vied with those in favor of a loose federation with a strong role for tribal-based local kingdoms. The struggle ended in 1966 when Prime Minister Milton Obote suspended the constitution and assumed full governmental powers. In 1971, General Idi Amin overthrew Obote in a coup, declared himself president and amended the constitution to give himself absolute power.

During Amin's eight year rule, the economy went into deep decline, and social disintegration and massive human rights violations occurred. In 1979, assisted by Tanzanian armed forces, Ugandan exiles waged a six-month war of liberation which caused much destruction. Amin and his remaining troops were expelled. The next seven years saw continued political and economic unrest. In elections generally considered rigged, Obote was returned to power in 1980, and a guerrilla war against his regime began. This meant that parts of the country were in rebel control, and other parts subject to devastation by the Ugandan army in a scorched

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[2]Uganda is located in the heart of Africa in the Western Rift Valley, astride the equator. Landlocked, the country is bounded by Tanzania and Rwanda in the south, Congo/former Zaire in the west, Sudan in the north, and by Kenya in the east; most import/export traffic is by rail or surface transport through Kenya. Uganda has a total land area of 241,139 square kilometers, of which 17 percent is swamp and water--including much of Lake Victoria, and 12 percent is forest reserve and national park land. In 1991, the population, made up of 28 tribes, was 16.6 million. In 1997, the population was estimated at 20 million (Odaet, 1988, 1994).

earth campaign. Holy Cross has remained in Uganda and has maintained a presence at St. Leo's through this period, and up to the present time. A brief historical sketch of Catholic mission work in the area and at St. Leo's helps position this ministerial presence in time and place.

Christianity and Colonialism in Tooro

Unlike in Buganda where missionaries preceded the arrival of colonial agents, Christianity and colonialism arrived simultaneously in Tooro in the person of one man--Kasagama, a crown prince of the Tooro kingdom. Kasagama had fled his homeland in the 1870's when the *omukama* (king) of Bunyoro reconquered Tooro which had seceded from Bunyoro four decades earlier. Kasagama had been living in exile in Buganda, where he met Frederick Lugard, chief agent of the Imperial British East African Company. Under Lugard's protection, Kasagama was reinstalled as *omukama* of Tooro in 1891. Having become exposed to the Anglican faith in Buganda, Kasagama soon sent for Ganda catechists to begin preaching the gospel in Tooro (Kassimir, 1995).

The relationship between Tooro and the British was formalized through a series of agreements which specified the limitations of Kasagama's powers while establishing the classic indirect rule pattern characteristic of British colonialism. Hence, Christianity initially spread from top down, beginning with members of the royal clan, and strongly encouraged by the king himself. While both Catholic and Anglican missionaries appeared in Tooro to open mission stations and win converts, chiefships in Tooro were distributed on a basis that greatly favored Anglican converts. As most appointments historically had gone to those who had established ties with the king through kinship or patronage, most chiefs adopted the king's Anglican faith as a sign of loyalty (Kassimir, 1995).

St. Leo's College, Kyegobe

Catholic missionaries came to Tooro at the same time as the Anglicans, but finding themselves relatively closed out from access to the mainly Anglican Tooro political class, they concentrated on converting the rural masses. "Beginning with the first Catholic missionary in Tooro, the White Father Augustine Achte, and continuing throughout the colonial period, Catholic missionaries regularly complained to the king and colonial officers about discrimination in the appointment of chiefs. This was because the missionary enterprise seemed so contingent upon the presence of sympathetic chiefs. Indeed, this was also an important motivation for the establishment of mission stations as self-contained, relatively autonomous social spaces, with the parish priest possessing chief-like powers, both within and beyond its territorial bounds" (Kassimir, 1995, p. 123). This observation is borne out somewhat in the establishment of St. Leo's College.

On 1 September 1921 St. Leo's College was founded on the Catholic mission compound at Virika near Fort Portal by Rev. Father Eugene Derby, a member of the White Fathers. Despite strong opposition from laymen, Fr. Derby established St. Leo's for those boys who had successfully completed four years of schooling at Virika Boys' Day School and those from St. Joseph's Elementary School at the Butiiti Catholic Mission, about thirty kilometers distance away. St. Leo's, with four forms and an average of twenty students per form, was intended to be one of several feeder schools for St. Mary's College at Kisubi--founded in 1906--the premiere Catholic school for sons of devoted Baganda Catholics and Goans. However, under the direction of the White Fathers, St. Leo's very quickly established a solid reputation as a strong academic institution in its own right.

The Brothers of Christian Instruction--known in Uganda as the "Kisubi Brothers"--took over the staffing of the school in 1937, replacing the White Fathers who wished to concentrate more on parish ministry. All through 1937, Brother Adrian Deneau was the only Brother on staff helped by some Ugandan lay teachers; at the beginning of 1938, Brother Alphonsus Zayera, one of the first African brothers, came to help Brother Adrian. It is interesting to note that both the White Fathers and the Kisubi Brothers engaged the services of Ugandan teachers: six African lay teachers, graduates of Makerere College School, assisted the founding faculty of White Fathers, and of the forty-one Brothers of Christian Instruction who served at St. Leo's, twelve were Africans.

Under the leadership of the Brothers of Christian Instruction, the school made steady progress. Of the eighty-four students who sat for junior leaving certificates between 1939 and 1945, only four failed to pass. Headmaster Brother George Lord (1950-1955) was an outstanding builder. He brought enrollment to over two hundred students, added a number of new buildings, and laid the groundwork for the move from the Virika Mission compound to establish a much larger school. Brother Louis took over the school in 1956 and made all the arrangements for St. Leo's to become solely a secondary school. In January 1960, the school was moved to the new site at Kyegobe, a hilltop location about two kilometers from the Virika compound, and three kilometers from Fort Portal town. New and larger dormitories, laboratories and several classroom blocks, a large dining hall/kitchen complex, and an administration building were arranged around

a grassy commons area. The new students planted a variety of shade trees on the compound which contribute to the beauty and park-like atmosphere of the campus to this day.[3]

Life at St. Leo's, Virika, had reflected the values of the Catholic founders and teachers who tried to develop men with "a deep sense of Christian justice, initiative, independence of character, gentility, and ability to cooperate with others towards achieving a common good....Once a week, or at least every fortnight, each form master [gave] a set lesson on social life and good manners which [made] the machine run smoothly. Every Saturday/Sunday the Headmaster was required to assemble the whole group (or a section) and give an encouraging talk to stress some aspects of life, e.g., sociability, punctuality, etc. Daily, students were given the opportunity of attending Holy Mass and other spiritual exercises to strengthen them in the combat of life" (Kabagambe, 1997a, p. 9). However, life at St. Leo's new Kyegobe campus soon encountered changes broader than those entailed by the mere geographic move.

In 1961, the Brothers of Christian Instruction invited the newly arrived American Brothers of Holy Cross to replace them at St. Leo's so that they might concentrate their manpower in their older institutions in Uganda. Holy Cross took over the running of the college under the direction of Brother Lewis James. Ugandan independence in 1962, the effective nationalization of mission schools after 1964, the rising tide of black rule in sub-Saharan Africa, and a revised vision of

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[3]"Brother George Lord told me that the Kisubi Brothers were allotted but not given control over about eighty thousand pounds for the "new" St. Leo's. But by the time the White Fathers at the Catholic Education Secretariate decided on the new locations available to him, large portions of Leo's grant were funneled off to other Catholic grant-aided schools requesting development funds. So the story goes that the fifty thousand pounds left was sufficient for simple 'cheese box' structures only for the classrooms.

When I arrived at St. Leo's in August 1963, the compound was a grass field with a hedge-bordered walk down the center. It was Brother Harold Qualters who [supervised the planting of] all those trees that are of any age on the compound" (Las, 1998).

Catholic mission work promulgated by Vatican Council II, presented unique challenges for the new American missionaries. "By 1970 Headmaster Brother John Houlihan began planning for a new future for St. Leo's. Up to that time the staff was basically made up of Holy Cross religious and British expatriates.[4] He began building additional staff houses for that time when the seven brothers living in the large Brothers' House would be replaced by young Ugandan teachers. At the same time funds were received from the World Bank and the number of buildings on the compound nearly doubled. Active recruitment was done to bring in Ugandan teachers; at that time Ugandans were mainly involved in primary level teaching. Moses Nyakazingo, Austin Mulengwa, and Henry Basaliza were some of the young men to begin teaching at Kyegobe" (Nichols, 1997a, p. 14).

In January 1973, Holy Cross handed over the administration of St. Leo's to the government. Mr. Moses Nyakazingo was appointed as first Ugandan Headmaster of the college. Two Holy Cross Brothers (Reinald Duran and Fred Cosgrove) remained on the staff and moved to a staff house--in fact the same staff house that the first two brothers had occupied in 1961. The large Brothers' House eventually became a residence for unmarried teachers, although Holy Cross Father Steve Gibson, St. Leo's chaplain, maintained his residence there. In 1975, Mr. Nyakazingo was succeeded by his Deputy, Mr. Austin Mulengwa, who served as Headmaster to 1987. In 1980 St. Leo's was raised to an A-level school (S5-S6), even though there was no expansion of facilities to accommodate the over seven hundred boys enrolled in this now six year secondary boarding institution.

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[4]There was one Ugandan teacher of history (Las, 1998).

The Holy Cross Experience at St. Leo's

Nearly everywhere in Africa schooling expanded rapidly after the end of European rule. The newly independent countries saw education as a prerequisite for nation-building, and schools as the route to social benefit and progress. However, the task was enormous, the resources severely limited, and the legacy inherited from the colonial period flawed. The heady optimism of independence succumbed to the reality of rapid decline into political, economic, and social chaos (Samoff, 1993).

For the newly-established Holy Cross administration at St. Leo's, this initial optimism is clearly expressed by Brother Lewis James (1962, p. 3) in his first "Headmaster's Page" article published in The Leonese, the school's annual magazine:

> This has been a wonderful year in the history of Uganda, and my staff and I take this opportunity of wishing this newly independent nation a peaceful and prosperous future....You, the students, have a responsibility to your country, to your family and benefactors, and to yourselves, to gain the utmost benefit from your education. We, the staff, have a duty to help you.
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> Success in examinations is important, but it is by no means the only standard by which to judge whether one has indeed benefitted from education. A sense of responsibility, a mind open to new ideas, tolerance and humility, are of at least equal value. Furthermore, we should remember that one's life on earth is the most important examination of all. We should try to make God part of our lives: we should attend to the needs of our souls with much greater care than to our bodily wants. To be able to understand what is truly important in our lives--the way we serve God--is a sign that we are men, educated in the finest possible way.

In the same edition of the magazine, it is noted that the year 1962 has seen the introduction of an almost completely new staff, the Brothers of Christian Instruction having been replaced by the Brothers of Holy Cross from America. In addition to the new Headmaster, the new staff included Brothers Geoffrey Shiber, Alexander Stroz, John Hudson, Robert Hart, and Francis Killoy, together with Mr. Richard Hovey, Mr. Anthony Chesney and Mr. Rodolphe de Koninck. "In any

changeover such as this there are bound to be certain difficulties and misunderstandings," notes the editor, but "the measure of friendly and willing cooperation which exists between the pupils and the staff...and the feeling of loyalty which exists towards the school" are signs that "St. Leo's should make good progress both athletically and academically" (The Leonese, 1962, p. 4). Indeed, some old boys remember particular members of the Holy Cross staff with fondness.

> I had never been taught by Europeans or Americans, who were a big majority of the staff. Most of them were Brothers of Holy Cross...nice, pleasant and kind people to know....Among some of them whose names comes easily to mind are Brothers John Nicpon, Robert [Reilly], Michael [Keegan], John Houlihan, Fred Cosgrove, Peter McGarry, Father [Raymond] Massart, Brothers Chester [Chrusciel], and Alvin [Ouellette]. (Sabiti, 1997, p. 45).

Political and social chaos were the first problems to manifest themselves at St. Leo's. "Brother Lewis was constantly harassed by the UPC (Uganda People's Congress) Youth League for expelling 19 students at the end of the 1962 school year" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 10 January 1963). A student strike in June 1963 forced the closure of the school for over a month, leading the country's Chief Education Officer to suggest that the Brothers resign from St. Leo's. Brother Lewis refused to resign unless directed to do so by the Ministry of Education, but discussed with Bishop McCauley the "possibility of getting an African Headmaster, and [an] African chaplain and lay teachers to run the school. There is resentment against whites and missionaries; the school has no Catholic influence" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 17 June 1963). However, the Board of Governors and Bishop McCauley also wanted to keep the school, and recommended improvements to be made. Very Rev. Germain-Marie LaLande, Superior General, who visited and interviewed each of the Brothers, completely backed the Bishop in wanting the Brothers to remain at St. Leo's College. (St. Leo's College Board of

Governors Meeting Minutes, 6 June 1963; 19 June 1963; St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 13 July 1963).

These problems at St. Leo's, however, were not merely local aberrations; the social situation in the country was tense. The Minister of Education, noting that in a six month period that he had had reports of similar indiscipline in nine other schools, offered some reasons and recommendations in a national radio broadcast:

> This indiscipline is a creeping disease...due, I believe, to a new spirit that is abroad following Independence and which--very mistakenly--a few young men and women have twisted into a wrong idea of personal freedom and independence from all discipline and authority. As an example of this there was a report in the newspapers the other day that following an outbreak of mass indiscipline in one of our biggest secondary schools, a senior pupil had proclaimed: 'We are big men; we know how these things should be.' If that is his opinion then clearly this young man has no place in our school system...
>
> I would like to say this once again. This nation does just not yet have enough people to run its services, more especially its teaching services. For a time we will have to rely on expatriates--people who come here of their own free will to assist us in teaching at our schools. We should all of us be doing our best to make use of the services of these men and women, without whom our school system would certainly come to a standstill (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 14 June 1963).

Nevertheless, the chronicles note that one brother "left for Rome; his nerves and morale were shot" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 13 June 1963). It is interesting to observe that the global iconoclasm characteristic of the 1960's was not confined to First World students only. At St. Leo's "the students requested a Requiem High Mass for the Negroes killed in the U.S. race riots. The Headmaster agreed but included in the intention the Negroes killed in Uganda in the tribal riots" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 19 September 1963).

Africanization

Despite the best intentions of these Holy Cross missionary teachers, and notwithstanding what now seems an inadequate preparation for work in a cross-cultural setting and their personal

limitations, the inevitability of Africanization would carry the day.[5] A perusal of school publications gives evidence of symbolic as well as structural transitions: the 1960's names for the St. Leo's dormitories--Stanley, Livingston, Speke, and Park--become Nasser, Kabalega, Nkrumah, and Lumumba in the 1970's. However, the changing relationship of Holy Cross to St. Leo's seems, by some initial accounts, to be viewed with disappointed resignation. This summary of a St. Leo's House Meeting is revealing:

> In the 1920's, St. Leo's was a primary school conducted by the White Fathers. The Brother of Christian Instruction took over in the late 1930's, changing it to a high school in 1954. When Bishop McCauley (sic) invited the Holy Cross Brothers to staff the school in 1961, the Superior General relayed the request to the Eastern Province and the Brothers assumed control in January 1962. Since that time, there have been two strikes, four headmasters and a rather high turnover in the staff. St. Leo's College is a government school, but the diocese has some influence on the Board of Governors. There is no choice in the selection of students, but the majority are Catholics; it is a diminishing majority. Courses are conducted according to the government sponsored University of Cambridge syllabuses. The Brothers are paid a salary by the Government of Uganda. Legislation has been recently introduced that would eliminate what little influence that the churches still have in the schools.
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> The official and unofficial attitude of Ugandans is to Africanize the staffs of all the schools as soon a possible. In their impatience for that ideal, the students' attitude toward the Brothers has changed from general friendliness to one of indifference and mild antagonism. Strikes have become widespread in the secondary schools and the government has taken a lenient stance--thereby cultivating the political support of the youth of the country.
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> The educational work of the missionaries is appreciated by Ugandans and has made many friends for the Church. However, the nation is graduating one hundred fifty secondary school teachers each year. With only seventy (sic) secondary schools in which to place those teachers, one can see that in a very short time, expatriate teachers will no longer be necessary.
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> The Brothers at St. Leo's feel that we should plan to withdraw from this school within five years. The staff will be Africanized regardless of what we do; we hope to

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[5]"It was in Brother Albert Ciri's term of office (1964) that the Minister of Education informed him of a replacement being considered for the position of Headmaster of St. Leo's. It was to be an African. Bishop McCauley went immediately to Kampala to prevent this because the school was still a mission school, controlled by a Catholic board" (Las, 1998).

> influence the transition by effecting it ourselves (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 27 December 1969).

Subsequent events--another strike at St. Leo's in February 1970--motivated a recommendation to the Provincial Chapter from the Brothers in Uganda: "We had a meeting tonight with the Brothers from Butiiti and the [St. Mary's] Seminary to express our opinions on what John [Houlihan] should say at the Chapter. We figure that we have from two to four years left at this school even if John can replace all the Brothers here now who plan to leave [i.e., four of them]" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 13 May 1970). Consequently, the Provincial Chapter of 1970 approved the termination of the commitment to staff St. Leo's College within three years,[6] and Headmaster Brother John Houlihan implemented a plan of Africanization.

However, what may have been depicted with discouragement by the Brothers in 1969 was viewed differently five years hence. The letter of the first African Headmaster, Mr. Moses Nyakazingo, offers another interpretation:

> One of the greatest changes that has taken place here since the issue of the last Leonese magazine in 1972 is that the Brothers of Holy Cross who, since 1961 were managing and running this college, handed back the administration of this school to the government at the end of 1972. They felt that the time had come for Ugandans to run their own affairs. We are sincerely grateful and indebted to these fine men for the dedication and the wonderful services they have rendered to this fine college for so long. Though they are retired from the administration of the school, they have not left the school entirely. Two of them, Brothers Reinald Duran Ateenyi and James Nichols continue to offer their services as ordinary teachers. And Father Steve Gibson, a Holy Cross priest, continues to teach and act as chaplain for the college. (The Leonese, 1974, p. 2).

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[6]It should be noted that there was a general atmosphere favoring school retrenchment prevalent in the Eastern Brothers' Province at the time; the Provincial Chapter of 1970 approved the termination of staffing commitments in several U.S. schools, as well as at St. Leo's.

The second African Headmaster, Mr. Austin Mulengwa, offers additional insight from the perspective of his long service through difficult times.[7]

> I think one of the things that really helped us at St. Leo's was that in a way we were prepared for the difficult days [ahead]. I know that may sound a bit surprising, and I don't know whether you believe it, but the people who helped us were the Brothers of Holy Cross. Because by the time I joined St. Leo's in 1971, it was already the policy of the Holy Cross Brothers to get out of the St. Leo's school administration and to hand it over to Ugandans....They made this known to the Minister of Education.
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> And [the Brothers] had encouraged, persuaded a number of Ugandan teachers to join the staff. So I was in Masaka when I talked to Brother John Houlihan during the holidays and he said: 'Oh, you should come as quickly as possible.' And so I came to St. Leo's. In 1972 I was appointed Deputy Headmaster [to Brother John Houlihan]. In 1973 a Ugandan Headmaster was appointed, and so we had a Deputy and a Head who were Ugandans....I would say the majority of the staff by 1973-74 were already Ugandans.
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> So this is why I said I think the Brothers of Holy Cross did St. Leo's a good thing. I'm not sure they foresaw what was going to happen. But I think they felt...that the time had come for them to hand over the school to Ugandans. So I think that this was a very important development. Because looking back now during that period of Amin, I think at St. Leo's we did well. And I can say that part of the explanation...[is] that actually in a way we were prepared because we had taken over responsibility for running St. Leo's before the storm came (Mulengwa, 1997).

The storm broke when Amin decided to expel the Asians and also the European expatriates.

Departure of Expatriate Teachers

The vast majority of teachers serving in Uganda's government-aided boarding secondary schools were British citizens. The British government, as part of their foreign aid to Uganda, paid the British salaries. The Uganda government also paid the British people a salary, which was higher than the "local terms" salary Ugandan teachers received. Moreover, the salary from the British government was deposited at home, in a tax-free account for the teacher. This vestige of

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[7]Mr. Austin Mulengwa served St. Leo's College as Deputy Head from 1972 to 1975, and as Headmaster from 1975 to 1987. Mr. Henry Basaliza, another one of the young Ugandans who began teaching at St. Leo's with Nyakazingo and Mulengwa, later served as Deputy Head to Mulengwa (1983 to 1984) , and as St. Leo's Headmaster (1987 to 1993).

colonialism allowed these expatriate teachers to live much better than Ugandans. In 1973 Amin announced that any British people remaining in the country had to work on "local terms." Furthermore, Britain had cut foreign aid to Uganda to protest the expulsion of the Asians,[8] so the tax-free supplementary salary that British teachers had received was also canceled. Most of the British felt they could not live on "local terms," especially without the supplementary payment benefit, and within the year most departed, leaving the secondary schools critically understaffed.

St. Leo's has started to Africanize their faculty in the early 1970's, so the presence of a number of Africans teachers on staff helped ease the transition when the British expatriates left so suddenly (Mulengwa, 1997). In January 1973 "school opened with complete Africanization of the administration as had been planned a number of years ago by the Eastern Province of Brothers. Mr. Moses Nyakazingo succeeded Brother John Houlihan as Headmaster and Mr. Stephen Ndabakirire succeeded Brother Frederick Cosgrove as the Bursar. Four hundred eighty students are enrolled with a staff of twenty teachers: two Brothers (Fred Cosgrove and Reinald Duran), one Holy Cross priest (Steve Gibson), three British teachers, and fourteen Ugandan teachers. The plans of the Brothers for Africanization have worked out according to schedule" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 17 January 1973). Even so, the African teachers tended to be fresh out of Kyambogo Teacher Training College or Makerere University with little or no experience. Brother James Nichols (1997b) recalled "one time I remember a guy from the Ministry [of

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[8]On 4 August 1972, President Amin declared an "economic war," and ordered the expulsion from Uganda of all Asians holding British passports; that targeted group was given three months to leave the country. Most businesses in Uganda were owned and staffed by Asians--Indians, Pakistani, Goans--who had first immigrated during colonial times and had remained in the country legally as British Commonwealth citizens. While Amin's intent was to Africanize businesses, the Asians' sudden departure quickly turned his economic war into economic chaos, further exacerbating the departure of expatriates from the country.

Education] came to the staff room. Afterwards he told us he thought he was in the Senior Four lounge; the teachers were only twenty-two or twenty-three [years old]...they were all kids!"

As has been seen, the Brothers' plans for the Africanization of St. Leo's may have been motivated as much by reality as by foresight. When the Holy Cross Brothers came to St. Leo's in 1961 at the dawn of Independence, the previously stable colonial society was immersed in change. By 1972 there had been four student strikes, five headmasters, and a high turnover of staff at St. Leo's.[9] There was a feeling among some that the students' attitudes toward the Brothers had "changed from general friendliness to one of indifference and mild antagonism" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 27 December 1969). Some of these Brothers left voluntarily; others chose to stay. In October 1973 Amin fomented a crisis for Americans in Uganda by ordering the six marine guards of the American embassy to leave the country within forty-eight hours; by November the embassy had closed. While the U.S. State Department had advised all Americans to leave the country, the remaining Holy Cross priests and brothers and sisters who worked in Fort Portal, including those at St. Leo's, again chose to stay.

The year 1977 was another one of tension for the Americans in Uganda. Amin, goaded by President Jimmy Carter's remark that the whole world was disgusted with "events in Uganda," ordered all Americans in the country to meet with him on 14 February 1977, but he canceled the

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[9]Student strikes resulting in school closings occurred in June 1963, July 1965, February 1970, and July 1972. Headmasters during this period included: Brother Lewis James (1962-63); Brother Tadeus Las (Acting Interim Head, 1963); Brother Albert Ciri (1964); Brother David Murray (1965-68); Brother John Houlihan (1969-72).

meeting at the last minute.[10] In November, Amin made a surprise visit[11] and later in town "gave a speech about the Americans here in Fort Portal--they are all spies and work for five different spy agencies, the CIA and FBI among them!... His helicopter was parked on the football pitch here at St. Leo's" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 19 November 1977). The West German embassy, which now looked out for American interests in Uganda since the 1973 closing of the U.S. embassy, "suggested that all Americans in the country get out as soon as possible in light of recent speeches and also the proposed boycott of Ugandan products that is being debated in the [U.S.] Congress" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 3 December 1977). The Headmaster of St. Leo's confirmed the unease such tensions generated for the American missionaries on staff, and the consequent difficulties in recruiting expatriate teachers. "We informed the headmaster of St. Leo's today that we would be leaving he school. [He was] a bit shocked, to say the least, but understanding of our situation. His comment: 'You mean that after all these years here at [St.] Leo's the Brothers of Holy Cross are finally leaving?' Tom [Keefe] will leave completely. Jim [Nichols] will reside at Virika and commute to teach part-time...in the hopes of keeping a foot in the door, so to speak. In the future Brothers may again return" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 10 January 1984). On 31 January 1984 the Holy Cross Brothers closed their house at St. Leo's College.[12]

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[10]See also Connelly (1981, pp. 25-26).

[11]"Amin visited Saaka, only to find about thirty of us, Africans and Europeans, making an Hour of Adoration in the chapel. He actually came into the chapel to see who was doing the singing, with the invitation of Father George MacInnes" (Las, 1998).

[12]However, some Brothers (James Nichols, John Flood) continued teaching part-time on the St. Leo's staff while residing elsewhere. There had been a similar hiatus--December 1978 to March 1981--when Brothers on the St. Leo's staff temporarily resided at Virika. The 1984

On-Going Difficulties/Quality of School Life

When the government failed to adjust civil service salaries--including teachers' salaries--or the per pupil capitation grants to compensate for their devaluation due to inflation, schools began to feel the pinch quickly. "Meat...eggs...bananas disappeared [from the school menu] because the local food became too expensive; *posho*--the corn meal eaten today--came in. Up until 1974 or so, most people never heard of *posho*" (Nichols, 1997b). Schools were also supported by the subsistence infrastructure, that is, a barter economy. Brother Jim Nichols (1997b) details examples of how this worked. "A cow was worth US $100; and a goat could pay for, maybe, a term...goods had value. If you worked and grew food, or brewed beer, you could sell it and make money....One story I always remember: this kid went home during the long holiday and he went deep into the village--like twenty miles in--and bought tobacco from the farmers. Then he brought it out to the roadside and sold it to people along the road; you know, to people who would crush it up and make tobacco. In a week or two he made his school fees for almost the whole year! So there were ways to do things" (Nichols, 1997b). Faced with such stresses and difficulties, the quality of school life in Uganda inevitably suffered. That academic standards declined should not be surprising, given the realities of the critical teacher shortage, part-timing, financial and material shortfalls, and school interruptions occasioned by the economic chaos. By some estimates, only one-third of scheduled classes were taught.

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departure was prompted by internal community circumstances: "It was decided that since Brother Tad [Las] is soon to go on home leave and when he returns go to the novitiate at Saaka, that will leave only John Flood at Virika and Tom Keefe and Jim Nichols at Leo's. For community living the best thing is for all of us to come together again at Virika" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 27 December 1983). In 1992, the Brothers teaching at St. Leo's re-established a residence on the school compound.

Morale in the Schools

Life was hard for most everyone and it began to show. A student-authored article in The Leonese, paints the picture well:

> Dear students, how many times have you come from your holidays saying that you managed to grab some 100 bottles of PPF from your brother who is a doctor in a government hospital and you sold these at a very high rate? How many times have you said that you bribed a cashier in the relief shop so that he can sell you more soap than he had sold to others so that you can in turn sell at a double profit scale? How many times have you come to [a] football match at the town stadium and on reaching the neighborhood school, you throw stones at the school buildings only to break the louvers of their classrooms? Many people admit that they've done such but that it was to earn a living and to keep pace with prevailing situations (Tumusiime, 1981).

The *magendo* (black market) economy justified smuggling; corruption and bribery were the order of the day; cheating and stealing were justified by an "IGM: I got mine" philosophy. "The idea of the African tradition to share and everything, that went out because there [was] not enough to share!" (Nichols, 1997b). Clearly the prevailing political, economic, and social circumstances of the country affected school life at St. Leo's.

Tribal/Ethnic Tensions

At St. Leo's, former students, staff, and administrators identify external social and political situations spilling over into the schools as the source of ethnic/tribal tensions experienced on the campus. "These conflicts did not enter full scale in schools....Boys are boys; they like each other" (Rumanyika, 1997). However, schools are not immune to the historical and social contexts in which they operate and there were incidents that caused difficulty.

> There was a roadblock mounted near school...and that roadblock specifically did not check people's identifications but they asked people's ethnicity: 'What tribe are you?' Now here in the school we had many of those boys, those from Acholiland and those from Lango. And they were actually hidden....It was a period of tense time and it lasted for, I would say, weeks. The people in the intelligence kept coming to school to find out 'Do

> you have any Acholi people here? Do you have any Langi?' They didn't ask, of course, officially, but everyone knew what they were about.
>
> And fortunately the boys were very cooperative; they wouldn't, of course, say where their colleagues were. And the teachers kept some of those boys. Others were staying in the bush; they would come at late hours for meals and they'd go back to hide. So that was when we were directly involved (Rumanyika, 1997).[13]

There were other ethnic situations where the school was forced to step in to assure the safety of students who felt threatened, and perhaps this earlier experience of hiding the Acholi boys by Holy Cross provided a model for later actions. For example, there were some problems between the *Batooro* and the *Bakonjo*.[14] In 1981, some *Batooro* who were in the Kasese area were kicked out; some were attacked, some lost property. When that happened there was reaction among the students in Kabarole, a predominately *Batooro* area. Austin Mulengwa, the St. Leo's Headmaster, tried to reason with the students in assembly saying that such a situation cannot be allowed to affect the school; but there were a number of students--especially those whose relatives were affected in Kasese--who were not so reasonable. A number of *Bakonjo* students left because they felt threatened. However, some students were due to take an exam. The Head recalled "I took some *Bakonjo* boys...and I kept them at my house just to help them sit the exam; they did not feel secure enough to sleep in the dormitory. I kept them at my house through the exam period until they could go home" (Mulengwa, 1997). Heads and teachers indicated that they

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[13]See the Appendix for a detailed account of hiding the Langi and Acholi students.

[14]Ethnic tensions pre-date the Amin/Obote II times, also. "In 1965 tribal wars broke out which required a predawn run to Kisubi with three *Bakonjo* Form IV students. In discussing the need for this effort with Bishop McCauley, I asked what would be our action if we came upon one of the many so-called 'citizen roadblocks.' He answered that we were not to stop unless they were manned by police or army. Fortunately we met no road blocks! One of the three students was able to adjust sufficiently to finish out the school year, with financial aid from Holy Cross Brothers" (Las, 1998).

tried to protect students at school as much as possible in such situations, and noted that at least students were not attacked in school. "I think as a school we created a situation where all the students from whichever part of the country [they came from], felt that they were protected here" (Mulengwa, 1997). But that may not have been the feeling of those who were members of the oppressed minority. "Some of the Langi [and] Acholi student have started getting letters from home speaking of relatives who have died; one lost his father, another his brother and another two uncles. It must be a tremendous strain on them to keep going, despite what seems like a hopeless future" (St. Leo's College House Chronicles, 26 March 1977).

The *Banyarwanda* were targeted in 1982 by the Obote II regime and forced into refugee camps; a number of these camps were located in Kabarole.[15] A St. Leo's teacher, a *Munyarwanda*, stated: "My home was directly affected [and] my parents were directly affected; they were pushed to a refugee camp. It had an effect on my work, [but] I didn't stop the work....We had many *Banyarwanda* boys here, too; when their homes were taken, their parents thrown out...they lived under heavy tension. They were protected quite well here--nobody harassed them--but there's psychological [stress]; you don't know where your families are" (Rumanyika, 1997). So while in the external forum, it may be said that schools like St. Leo's provided protection and tolerance during ethnic troubles, internally it would appear that the persecuted--teachers and students alike--still suffered greatly.

Obote II Politics and the Schools

Following the 1979 Liberation War, the slogan on everyone's tongue was reconstruction/rehabilitation. When the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) gained control of the

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[15]See also Kajubi (1987), Kanyeihamba (1988), Kasfir (1988), and Pirouet (1988).

government in December 1980 in the contested election that returned Milton Obote to power, schools in Uganda hoped to gain from the move. However, the UPC's motives for educational involvement were more political than educational. Obote II incursions into school affairs are most clearly portrayed by recounting UPC Youth Wing and National Union of Students of Uganda (NUSU) activities. While the situations differed from school to school, a St. Leo's student of the time reports a typical incident:

> There arose a conflict between the student leaders and the administration because in the student leaders we had two bodies: the Prefects Council, which used to be elected by the whole student body; and then we had the NUSU, which was sort of a branch of UPC.
>
> So the person we had here--the one who was chairman of NUSU--it seems he felt that he had a lot of power over the administration of the school. So whatever used to happen here, it would [be] directly taken to the [UPC] authorities compound. So on several occasions we would receive people coming; and the Headmaster would tell us that 'I am always being warned that if I don't do this, if I don't do that, I'll be dismissed from the school.'
>
> [For example]...when we have Senior One's, they are teased [i.e., hazing of new students]. So when they were teased, I think that year, that Chairman of NUSU went and informed the DC [District Commissioner] that there was a problem in the school. So he came here and confronted the Headmaster in front of us. And he said: 'We are going to throw you out of this school; we know you are not a UPC'....They were claiming that he was a DP [Democratic Party] supporter.
>
> So it was not easy on the Headmaster's part; he tried to use--he was a very cool man--he tried to convince them. And he had to accept, he had to punish the students responsible--those who raided the other students; they were thrown out of school. But it was out of pressure....So that was one of the problems we were having, conflict between the UPC student leaders and the administrators (Kabagambe, 1997b).

In light of such situations it helped to have a long-range perspective. St. Leo's Headmaster Austin Mulengwa (1997), when explaining why it was not an option to close schools in spite of the collapse of the economy and the insecurity, said "Life had to go on! This was not a situation...which brought everything to a standstill; this was a situation which was likely to continue for years. The best thing to do was get these children in school, [and] keep them in

school....Going back to the village was not an option; it was worse there....The chances [in the village] of getting involved in some kind of event where one would get killed, I think, was more likely to happen if one was out of school than in school. I think school gave some kind of protection." Connelly (1981), in referring to the mission of Holy Cross in Uganda after Amin, states: "From one point of view, the best the missionaries could do was to endure these times with the rest of the Ugandan church" (p. 28). In fact, the heroic stance of the St. Leo's College Head was sustained by the support of Holy Cross religious.

> When looking at how we got through those years...we as a staff worked together more closely than before because of the problems around us, because of the dangers. But I would also like to say that among the staff we really had some fine people who tried to encourage us perhaps more than others, encouraging the Headmaster.
>
> I remember, for instance, the late Brother Reinald [Duran]....So sometimes we had problems and we were kind of depressed because of the problems....but Brother Reinald liked to say: 'You know every country in the world--even the United States--it had its difficult period; Uganda cannot be an exception.' And we said: 'But you never had an Amin; you never had...' But he said: 'Oh, there were also difficult times. So even in Uganda, we'll get over these problems.'
>
> And then Brother Thomas Keefe--the same kind of person. When we had problems he would come and say: 'No, no; this is only a temporary setback. We have got to work even harder! We have got to do the best we can!' So they were really helpful, I thought. Because I was talking of the staff as a whole working as a team, but there were also some members who were very helpful (Mulengwa, 1997).

What other support might the church and a Holy Cross presence have provided to the schools?

The Influence of Church and Religion on Schools

"For most *Batooro* it is difficult not being a "something"--Catholic, Anglican, Pentecostal, Muslim. As long as it is common sense to have an institutional religious affiliation, those who share a common denomination will continue to find symbolic importance in the notion of religious community" (Kassimir, 1995, p. 137). Religious symbolism has an obvious and evidently long-accepted place in Uganda's schools. At a Catholic-founded school like St. Leo's College,

crucifixes, murals depicting lives of the saints, even a statue of school patron Pope St. Leo the Great all have their honored places. Moreover, St. Leo's, like other government-supported secondary boarding schools, has a school chapel on the compound, employs Catholic and Protestant chaplains on staff who conduct regular religious services, and makes provision for Muslim students to worship. All schools have student organizations--Young Christian Students, Scripture Union, Muslim Students Association--that work with the student religion prefect to coordinate religious functions and make known to the administration student religious concerns. School publications attest to the active presence of these societies in school life. Traditional African wisdom and spirituality is manifested in the frequent use of *Batooro* proverbs in school publications and in metaphorical explanations, as well as in the veneration of ancestors in memory and/or ritual. For Ugandan school communities, Dei's (1994) comments about the effect of African aesthetics and spirituality--and one might add the influence of Christian and Muslim religion, too-- "serve as a potent force in the social conduct of Africans as they struggled with the fundamental problems of everyday living" (p. 14).

Trying to distinguish which traditions influence what practices in Uganda, however, is slippery. The psychological aspects of belonging to a church are complicated by other loyalties that cross social categories of region, tribe, class, gender, and clan (Kassimir, 1995). For example, does the moral decline experienced in society and schools during the Amin/Obote II period indicate an erosion of Christian/Muslim religious morals or African traditional values? Clerics and elders both expressed dismay that neither religion nor tradition were sufficient deterrents to the sometimes despicable behavior manifested by those struggling to survive; desperation and despair

often carried the day.[16] While centuries of African tradition and more than one hundred years of Christian/Muslim influence provide sufficient legacy for moral influence, the work of consecrated religious people and clergy is ever needed to help people keep the faith.

The influence of church and religion on the schools was more than moral, however. The church exercised significant structural influence that helped schools survive. Unlike the anomalous situation found in American publicly-supported schools, religion and religious values are constitutive to Ugandan education. Religious Studies are a compulsory subject in the Ordinary level secondary school curriculum, and Divinity qualifies as a subject combination in the Advanced level syllabus. Moreover, church leadership was a powerful voice of resistance to the government, even to the Amin/Obote dictatorships; the risks were great,[17] but churches were often the only institutions to speak out corporately against government, revealing and condemning injustices. In the minds of most Ugandans, the churches were institutions that were respected, considered to be relatively corruption-free, and offered a sense of stability in the midst of chaos; furthermore, the churches sponsored an alternate social infrastructure--schools, health care facilities, community organizations, development projects--that government could not replicate in some areas. Hence, even a military government like Amin's was forced to compromise on occasion. Churches and church people were generally trusted. Informants testify (Byaruhanga, 1997; Nichols, 1997b) and other outside sources confirm (Kassimir, 1995) that the July 1985 surrender of Obote's soldiers at Muhote Barracks, Fort Portal, was negotiated by clerics on the

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[16]"It has been said many times by clergy serving in Uganda that Uganda went through its own Gethsemani experience under Amin" (Las, 1998).

[17]Church of Uganda Archbishop Luwum was murdered in 1977, allegedly by Amin.

Catholic Diocese compound at Virika.[18] And finally, as institutions with international contacts, the churches established financial accounts outside the country--often in Kenya--where monies could be deposited and school and other supplies could be purchased and smuggled into Uganda overland (Kamanyire, 1997; Kisembo, 1997). Church-founded government-aided schools like St. Leo's, therefore, benefitted from association with these respected institutions.

However, support was necessarily limited. Church farms supplied local produce to the boarding schools at times, but little or no direct monetary funding occurred beyond a small loan, an in-kind donation or support for grant funding from an external donor. Roman Catholic and the Church of Uganda organizations cooperated extensively to give moral support to all schools, especially in pastoral planning for youth-related religious events, promoting chaplaincy services, and so forth (Kamanyire, 1997; Kisembo, 1997). "This was a situation where you had to forget about your religious differences, tribal differences, and what have you, and get down to business in order to save the situation" (Byaruhanga, 1997). With regard to the actual involvement of the churches in the affairs of their founded schools, an informant who is himself Protestant, and a parent and board member at both St. Leo's and at Protestant-founded schools remarked: "the Catholic Church remained with one hand in, assisting...their original [mission-founded] schools, whereas the Protestant Church pulled out almost wholly. And I wouldn't hide this. I have told the leaders of the [Protestant] church 'You did [poorly]. Even now you don't see your original schools, the schools you started, as your institutions.' This was a favorable factor on the Catholic side. St. Leo's did in fact benefit [from it's Catholic connection]" (Kajura, 1997). His main

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[18]This saved Fort Portal from suffering the bombing and infrastructure destruction that occurred in Mbarara and Masaka where the National Resistance Army (NRA) rebels laid siege to capture those government-controlled barracks.

contention was that the Catholics continued to prepare personnel--clergy and religious--to teach in their schools and were able to retain some missionaries--like the Holy Cross religious-- as teachers; the Protestants did not do this.

Overall, however, the Christian religious connection with the schools was most frequently articulated by informants as expressions of personal faith: "God saw me through"(Nyakake, 1997); there was also the personal conviction to live a moral life based on religious values, and ritual activities such as worship and shared prayer: "People became attached to God!...that's when the churches would be filled to capacity. Even those people who used not to pray, at that time people were going to church" (Tibihikirra, 1997). The comfort of belonging to something more stable than the nation-state was also a powerful support. Real religious faith is not found so much in the tangible, as in the ability to see beyond bleak circumstances and to imagine possibilities. In sustaining many of those who were dedicated to preserving education, the presence of Holy Cross religious made a definite contribution to the continuity of the schools in a time of chaos.

Conclusion

The Congregation of Holy Cross has been associated with St. Leo's College since May 1961. Since then, thirty-eight brothers and priests of Holy Cross[19] have served at Kyegobe in three distinct periods: the years of administration (1962-1972); the years of presence (1973-1994); and the current years of collaboration (1995-present). The Holy Cross presence today is different than it was in the first period of administration. Today, St. Leo's is truly a Ugandan school; Holy Cross is in an auxiliary role. Brother John Flood, Headmaster, works closely with his two Deputy Heads, Mr. Alex Rumanyika and Mr. Francis Waako, both men with long ties to St.

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[19]See Appendix.

Leo's. Two other Holy Cross religious (Brother Robert Nebus, full-time; Brother Alan Gugel, part-time) serve with a faculty of over fifty teachers and staff. In the future, perhaps some of the young African Holy Cross religious preparing to be teachers will join them to continue this on-going presence in yet another form--a truly African Holy Cross for this truly African school.

Oh! St. Leo's!
By D. K. Kabiito (1997, p. 29), Teacher of English Literature and English Language

Oh! St. Leo's!
It strives for excellence always
so as to restore its lost glory
create discipline in the boys
who daily are molded into great citizens
to build mother Uganda.

Oh! St. Leo's!
Once a mighty and vibrant college
nurtured in difficult times
Times of tyranny, destruction and misrule
Times of hopelessness and despair
Times that never did spare you but
twisted you like a thin wire.

Oh! St. Leo's!
Now slowly being born anew.
Modernization at its doorsteps
The teachers and administrators are your umbilical cord
Keeping you alive and afloat
Bravo to them.

Oh! St. Leo's!
Renovations are steadily astream
Hope and glory can be seen afar at the end of the tunnel
There is a lot to see in seventy five years
Oh, St. Leo's, keep on striving for excellence.

Appendix

The following account of the hiding of Langi and Acholi students during one of Amin's purges is offered by Brother James Nichols (1997b).

JN: And the one night, [rather] one afternoon [February 21, 1977], we had six kids from the north who were students at Leo's. And our next door neighbor [one of the teachers] was Acholi. And this Acholi...his brother was the paymaster at the barracks--fortunately at that time he happened to be on leave, so he wasn't at the barracks...[This teacher] had two younger brothers who were like nine or ten years old who were living with him in the next house. And, ah, somebody came and told the teacher that they were coming from the barracks to get him...they knew he was there because he had the brother in the barracks. So he ran away, and left his two little brothers in the house. So we took them into our house, because they were all by themselves and too young to live by themselves.

And then a couple of days later, one of the northern [secondary school] boys came to the house in the afternoon and said that one of them had been in town talking to a girl, and the girl was a girl friend to a soldier, and the soldier told her that they had orders to come to St. Leo's that night and collect the kids.

JP: ...the Acholi kids?...

JN: Yeah, Langi and Acholi kids.

So the kids came back and told me that. So I said, 'well, would you want to get out?' And they said 'yes!' So I said, 'well, let me see what I can do.' And I went over to the [St. Mary's] seminary--[Father] Duane [Balcerski] was there--and we talked about it, and he said 'alright, I'll get a place to hide them.' So, I went back and I told them 'now what you do is go to supper as usual; and after supper, you come down to our house, but don't tell anybody where you're going. And I'll take you out.' So we did that. We hid them in a room off the chicken coop behind the bishop's house...we didn't tell the bishop, either; if he didn't know he could answer anything he wanted; plus, we didn't want to worry him.

One thing I always remember, the night I took them out....I had a math club I used to have once a week: [at] 8:00 o'clock at night I'd go over to school and teach this math club.... When I got there, I could hear the kids saying 'the Langi and Acholi are not around.' No, they didn't say that. What happened was, at the end of the meeting, a kid came up and said to me 'the Langi and Acholi boys are all gone. Do you know where they are?' And what struck me is this kid's brother...by the name of Jackson Smart, the brother...was a military intelligence [man] in Fort Portal. The kid was a very nice kid...never suspected him of being in any trouble...but for him to be the one to say that was just a shock, you know.

Well, anyway, they were gone and that surprised all the students. I must say, the students were very good; these kids never were threatened by them. So they were gone for three or four days...we had them hidden over there in Virika.

And then another thing happened...like, you could write a novel on it....They were hiding there in this little room...right near Virika there; near the driveway where you come in and go behind the Brother's house and down toward the cemetery....One afternoon, one of them was looking out the window, and he saw a line of soldiers coming down the driveway. And they panicked; they thought somebody reported them. And they all ran. Oh! One ran over to the hospital; some ran all the way back to St. Leo's...they just had shorts on, no shirts...and they hadn't been seen for four days. And they ran across the school compound and ran down to our house and they said the army is after them. 'They've shot one kid, and they're right behind them!'...then they ran down into the swamp. And, of course, we had the two little kids in the house who were Acholi also. So I told them we'd put them up above the ceiling. I remember [Brother] Tom Keefe said, 'well, what are we going to do with them if the army comes?' I said, 'I don't know what we're going to do, but we can't have the kids out here.' So we put them up there. They were frightened...they're only nine or ten years old...and they could hardly speak English, and could only speak the northern language and we didn't know any of that..."

I remember when they were up there, they would start talking to each other; I told them to stay away from the ceiling, it's just paper...they had to sit on the beams and don't move. Well, they were talking back and forth and you could hear them downstairs. And I was saying to them 'you can't talk, you have to keep quiet.' So they did that, and we waited and waited, and nobody came.

And finally, Duane [Balcerski] came back over from the seminary and he had found out that the other kid had run to the hospital, and it was all a mistake. What had happened was, one of the soldiers at the barracks lost a baby, and he was a Catholic and was from way up in the north. They asked the bishop if he could bury the little fellow there. So they had a little burial there. But when the kids saw the soldiers, they all panicked [and ran].But these kids were still in the swamp in front of our house there. We tried to call to them, but they didn't come up until about 10:30 at night. Finally, they came up and we told them what had happened, and [that] they were still safe. I asked them if they wanted to go back to their hiding place; but they said they thought they would rather go back to school. How they could do that, I don't know. They went back to school and the kids never bothered them; they went back to class.

Holy Cross Religious who served as faculty/staff of St. Leo's College, Kyegobe: 1961 - 1998[20]

1. Brother Josaphat Chmielewski
2. Brother Chester Chrusciel
3. Brother Albert Ciri
4. Brother Frederick Cosgrove
5. Brother Reinald Duran (SW)
6. Brother John Flood
7. Father Thomas Fotusky (EP)
8. Father Stephen Gibson (IP)
9. Brother Ellis Greene
10. Brother Alan Gugel
11. Brother Patrick Halpin
12. Brother Robert Hart
13. Brother John Houlihan
14. Brother John Hudson
15. Brother Lewis James
16. Brother James Kane
17. Brother Thomas Keefe
18. Brother Michael Keegan
19. Brother Terrence Kendall
20. Brother Francis Killoy
21. Brother Tadeus Las
22. Brother John Maloy
23. Father Raymond Massart (IP)
24. Brother Peter McGarry
25. Brother David Murray
26. Brother Robert Nebus
27. Brother James Nichols
28. Brother John Nicpon
29. Brother Alvin Ouellette
30. Brother Harold Qualters
31. Brother Robert Reilly
32. Father Louis Rink (IP)
33. Brother James Rio
34. Father Cornelius Ryan (IP)
35. Brother Geoffrey Shiber
36. Brother Christian Stinnett
37. Brother Alexander Stroz
38. Brother Gerard Suddick

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[20]Unless otherwise noted, all those listed are members of the Eastern Brothers' Province

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