EAST AFRICAN STUDIES

19

A HISTORY OF BUNYORO–KITARA

A. R. Dunbar

MAKERERE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

EAST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Published on behalf of
The East African Institute of Social Research
by
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
NAIROBI
1965

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C. 4
GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY NAIROBI IBADAN ACCRA
KUALA LUMPUR HONG KONG

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FOREWORD

By

R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara

I AM indebted to the writer of this book for giving me the opportunity of writing a foreword to it. The book briefly tackles the history of the ancient kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara from which all conceptions of kingship in Uganda originated.

The book has been written during the time in which I have been the King ruling in the succession of my ancestors.

Kitara was a kingdom of vast size stretching from Tanganyika to Lake Rudolf and from Lake Naivasha to the Ituri Forest in the Congo. Through unfavourable and unjustifiable circumstances the kingdom was reduced by the British to its present extent. Part was made into a separate kingdom, Toro, part was given to the former Belgian Congo and part was entrusted to Buganda—hence our 'Lost Counties'. In spite of being small the kingdom still retains its cultural pride and traditions and at the same time cherishes its unquenchable spirit of regaining its 'Lost Counties'.

The writer is a European friend of mine whose work has been based to some extent on the accounts which were written by the early European explorers. Many of the points raised by these writers can be refuted because they came at the time of the scramble for colonies in Africa and so they desired to remove every obstacle which prevented them from achieving their ambitions. Most of the strong kings, including my father, were provoked by them. The early explorers were anxious to avoid the exposure of their own follies and consequently falsely accused the indigenous rulers in order to gain the support and respect of their readers. Although this book has been completed in the second year of Uganda's independence there is still a trace of this attitude, for example:

(1) Certain Europeans have written that Omukama Kabarega gave poisoned beer to Samuel Baker's men. This is not true. Baker's troops drank excessive quantities of strong and undiluted beer and as a result became badly intoxicated in much the same way as when too much whisky, brandy or gin is drunk.

(2) The death of the Omukama's messenger Mbogo Mumizi has been recorded as an accident whereas it was a deliberate act by Baker to incite Kabarega to fight.

(3) Samuel Baker had planned to shoot Omukama Kabarega by handing a loaded pistol to him. The Omukama cleverly avoided this stratagem

which was witnessed and remembered by many people including Baker's troops but which was deliberately not recorded.

There are many other similar instances.

In spite of these comments I think that the author has tried to write a balanced account of the history of Bunyoro-Kitara. He is one of the few Europeans sufficiently interested in the affairs of my kingdom to have attempted such a task. I commend his effort to my people. I hope that it will stimulate those who are interested in history to collect more information and to write further accounts of my people and my country. Lessons can be learnt from the past which can assist in solving the problems of the future. As the standard of education rises I am confident that a history of Bunyoro-Kitara will be written from the Kinyoro point of view and that my Petition to the Queen about the 'Lost Counties' will form the introduction to it.

Thanking the writer and his helpers again.

T. G. K. WINYI, IV
Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara.

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PREFACE

THE writing of this book has been a labour of love. Bunyoro was the first district in which I worked after my appointment to the then Colonial Agricultural Service in Uganda and it has been said that one's first district forever remains one's spiritual home. For me this is so. I worked as an agricultural officer in Bunyoro from January 1954, to March 1955, and again from February 1961, to August 1962. As far as my work in other districts permitted I have continued to take an interest in the affairs of Bunyoro-Kitara but the brevity of my service in Bunyoro has prevented me from making this history as good as it ought to be.

Though this book concentrates largely on the hundred years between 1862 and 1962 for which written evidence is available, it is necessary for a better understanding of the period to consider the pre-history of Bunyoro-Kitara. This is based upon the oral traditions of the ruling clan, which remain to be proven by comparison with those of contemporary kingdoms and by the research of archaeologists, anthropologists and ethno-historians.

It may be argued that to attempt to write the history of Bunyoro-Kitara to such a recent date as 9 October 1962, is a mistake because events which are too close to the present day cannot be viewed with the perspective and detachment that the historian requires. It seemed to me, however, that with the attainment of independence by Uganda and the consequent departure of many Europeans much valuable oral information might be lost unless recorded now and might prove useful to any future historian of Bunyoro-Kitara. It has been said that there is a good reason and a real reason for any occurrence. For many of the recent events that have been recorded in this book I have given the good, or official, reasons, but I have not, in certain instances, been able to give the real reasons, because the matters are still confidential.

Bunyoro is the remnant of the ancient and extensive kingdom of Kitara which covered the greater part of western Uganda, in east central Africa, between latitudes 2° 20′ North and 1° 0′ South and longitudes 30° 0′ and 33° 0′ East. This kingdom stretched southwards to the River Kagera, south-eastwards over Singo, Bulemezi, Buruli and Bunyara (Bugerere), eastwards and northwards to the River Nile and westwards beyond Lake Albert and the River Semliki. Thus Kitara refers to the full extent of the kingdom and Bunyoro to the former district and present kingdom which has well-defined geographical boundaries, the Rivers Nile, Kafu and Nkusi, and Lake Albert. It is usual to refer to the whole kingdom as Bunyoro-Kitara as is done formally, but for simplicity's sake the ancient kingdom is called Kitara, the modern kingdom Bunyoro, and anything that does not fall readily into these

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

WHEN writing A History of Bunyoro-Kitara I received much assistance from many people who gave me advice and information. What use I have made of it is my responsibility as are also the mistakes that may be found. Where possible acknowledgement has been made in the footnotes for the source of specific information. Other help was of a more general nature and cannot be acknowledged in this manner.

First and foremost I should like to thank R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, for the assistance that he has given me: without his interest and co-operation this book would never have been written. I also have to record my appreciation of the help given by Sir John Gray and H. B. Thomas, Esq., O.B.E., who may be regarded as the doyens of the Uganda historians. Indirectly I owe a debt to M. M. Reese, Esq., who stimulated my interest in history and who taught me to write English, to J. C. D. Lawrance, Esq., O.B.E., and Dr. H. F. Morris, former editors of the *Uganda Journal* under whose auspices the articles, which formed the basis of Chapters 8, 9 and 10, were published. I am grateful to the Uganda Society for their kind permission to make use of this material. Other people, who have at some time or other read drafts of all or part of the book and whose comments or criticisms are reflected in the text, are Dr. K. Ingham, Dr. D. J. Stenning, Dr. M. Posnansky, Dr. A. W. Southall and Dr. J. H. M. Beattie.

Many friends in Bunyoro have answered my questions, particularly Mr. J. W. Nyakatura, Mr. L. M. Muganwa, Dr. I. K. Majugo, Mr. A. N. W. Kamese, Mr. J. C. Rujumba, Mr. Z. H. Kwebiha and Mr. E. B. Rwakaikara, and others too numerous to mention have helped me to find historical sites or provided me with information. I have to thank several members of the White Fathers Mission who have worked in Bunyoro, Fathers Baudouin, Miller, Lord, Caumartin and George Lefaivre and Archdeacon and Mrs. Ridsdale of the Church Missionary Society. I also have to pay tribute to the late A. J. Margach for his assistance.

Any person interested in Bunyoro owes a great debt of gratitude to Dr. J. H. M. Beattie for his many erudite papers on the social institutions of the Banyoro and also to E. B. Haddon, Esq., for his recollection of past events.

I also have to thank B. B. Whittaker, Esq., Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, and Major R. J. Redman, M.B.E., Map Production Officer, for the maps drawn by the Lands and Surveys Department.

A number of ladies have at different times and in different places undertaken the typing of drafts and I would particularly like to thank Mrs. A. Weir and Mrs. P. N. Lane.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

On 4 November 1964 the Uganda Government held a referendum in accordance with the Independence Constitution to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the 'Lost Counties' of Bugangaizi and Buyaga.

Voting was as follows:—

County		Bugangaizi	Buyaga
To remain in Buganda	...	2,253	1,289
For transfer to Bunyoro	...	5,275	8,327
For a separate district	...	62	50

Buganda claimed that the referendum was unconstitutional. The Uganda High Court rejected this claim but the Buganda Government announced that they would appeal to the Privy Council.

By the passing of the Constitution of Uganda (Third Amendment) Act, 1964 the counties of Bugangaizi and Buyaga with effect from 1st January 1965 once again formed part of the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara.

March 1965.

A. R. D.

Part I

TRADITIONS, PRE-1862

INTRODUCTION

NO written history of the Banyoro exists before the arrival of the first Europeans in 1862. Conjectures based upon traditions form the pre-history of Bunyoro-Kitara and they remain to be confirmed or disproved by comparative ethnology and by archaeological excavation. Nevertheless an account of the traditions of Kitara may serve as a theoretical model, which can be challenged by ethnologists or archaeologists, and it may provide an introduction, albeit speculative, to the history of Bunyoro-Kitara. Oral traditions, especially those of the ruling clan, are reasonably complete because the Banyoro are conscious of their past and the early Europeans were able to collect material before it was forgotten or distorted. Later a few Banyoro recorded their traditions. The traditions are linked with three dynasties, the Batembuzi, the Bachwezi and the Babito. The theme is struggle for power; the domination of a fairly homogeneous society by an alien group which established itself as an aristocracy with a king at its head and which maintained its authority by virtue of its prestige until secession of the outlying counties weakened the kingdom and allowed another group to seize power.

The traditions start in the mists of fable and myth with aboriginal peoples living in the forest by gathering fruits and roots and by hunting. Later grassland cultivators infiltrated, cleared the forests and amalgamated with the original inhabitants. Possibly the next invasion was composed of pastoral people, who entered the country from the north-east in search of grazing for their cattle. The scattered communities of heterogeneous cultivators found it better to give way and to become subservient to the pastoralists, who were more united, who looked to one man for leadership, and whose life centred around their cattle. All these peoples are loosely grouped in legend as the Batembuzi. A list of twenty kings is given but their names do not represent a dynasty but individual heroes, who are today regarded as gods, featuring in the myths of creation and of the validation of social and political organization.

With Isaza the mists lift; the reign of the gods gives way to the rule of the demi-gods, the Bachwezi. An elaborate attempt has been made in tradition to link them to their predecessors. The traditions give the Bachwezi a dynasty of only two generations and provide no satisfactory explanation of their arrival except that they came from the north. Perhaps they were Bahima. Archaeological evidence may add to what is known of the Bachwezi, permit an estimate of the duration of their civilization, say

whence it came and whither it went. Possibly they were a small ruling pastoral clan who maintained their dominance and power by their apparently superhuman knowledge and skill. It is said that they possessed immense herds of cattle and lived almost entirely upon milk. The construction of earthwork fortifications has been attributed to them. It is believed that they subjugated the original inhabitants of the country and at the same time adopted their language. Tradition says that over the years their auguries failed, they lost their prestige and cattle murrain swept the land. Eventually they disappeared southwards and were replaced according to legend by descendants of the Bachwezi through a Muchwezi who married a woman of the Lwoo group of Nilotic-speaking peoples of the southern Sudan and Uganda. Their occupation of Kitara appears to have been voluntary and they established a ruling dynasty known as the Babito.

The Babito ascribe to the Bachwezi the social and cultural features which distinguish the interlacustrine Bantu from the surrounding tribes of the eastern Congo, Kenya and Tanzania. The later Babito were careful to relate how they copied and learnt the kingship customs of the Bachwezi and so inherited their kingdom. The Babito traditions, which are paralleled by those of Ankole and Buganda, go back nineteen generations, possibly one more or one less, and the disappearance of the Bachwezi may be put between 450 and 550 years ago. Probably due to the influence of the Lwoo the new rulers of Kitara, instead of remaining lords of a petty principality of pastoralists like their predecessors and the Bahima chiefs to the south, extended their power to the east of the Nile, south-east along the shores of Lake Victoria and maintained pressure southwards on Ankole and Rwanda. For about ten generations the Babito dynasty, centred near Mubende, was the predominant power in the region between the great lakes. Gradually a strong rival power emerged in Buganda within the Babito sphere of influence. Buganda was an agricultural state which had adopted the system of government of Kitara and had found that it worked more efficiently amongst a settled population of cultivators than it had done in its pastoral kingdom of origin. The resulting cohesion permitted the kings of Buganda during the next six generations to establish their authority and to increase their power first within their own territories and later at the expense of Bunyoro-Kitara. Under the leadership of Kabarega the Banyoro regained their lost territories only to find that the final defeat of the Baganda was frustrated by the presence of the British who gave their protection to Buganda.

The traditions of Bunyoro-Kitara may be conveniently treated in four chapters. The second chapter discusses the veracity of the sources. The third gives an account of the Batembuzi. The fourth is concerned with the Bachwezi and the fifth chapter with the Babito.

DISCUSSION OF SOURCES

THE science of history is, in one sense, the ascertaining of historical facts. This is important in the early history of pre-literate societies where evidence is both scarce and obscure. Such questions are scientific since they concern the weight to be attached to different sources of evidence. The sources available are almost exclusively drawn from oral traditions which were written down a generation or more ago by the first European travellers, administrators and missionaries who entered Bunyoro-Kitara. Vansina has defined oral traditions as testimonies of the past which are deliberately transmitted from mouth to mouth. They concern past events and are distinct from rumours which always bear the character of sensational news and are not deliberately transmitted from generation to generation in the same way. He has formulated some theoretical rules for assessing the value of these historical documents.[1] Whatever their inadequacies they cannot be ignored or overlooked. The historian interested in the traditions of Kitara must use what he can find to compile a conjectural account of what might have happened in the hope that in due course the evidence to prove him right or wrong may be forthcoming.

The traditions of the old people, passed on from generation to generation, are often the best part of a tribe's spiritual culture and provide the best available sources of knowledge about them. The fact that they are passed on in this manner and are not forgotten indicates that the traditions fulfil some need which is of value to the tribe of today. Traditions, nevertheless, are not infallible and the historian and his readers must interpret, sift and evalute them.[2] Each tribe has a tendency to magnify its successes and to minimize its defeats and if the dynasty changes and a new ruler comes the traditions often tell of a connection between the newcomer and the former royal house to ensure his acceptance by the common people where in fact no such connection existed.[3]

Telescoping of the time sequence in tradition may occur or the relation of traditions to the actual sequence of past events may vary. Distortions and exaggerations may result and undue emphasis may be placed on particular aspects and details of events. These may be counterchecked in the versions given by neighbouring tribes.[4] On the other hand traditions may be expanded and in contemporary Africa many tribes wish to establish their claim to a lengthy past which may bear comparison to the histories of Asia and Europe. Since such traditions are oral the content and its

sequence depend solely on the story-teller and he may modify them to suit the tastes of his audience.

An interesting example, given by the Alur Legend of Sir Samuel Baker and the Mukama (King) Kabarega, has developed in about a century from accounts by eye-witnesses of the same events which were recorded by Baker. The comparison between the two is useful in assessing the value of oral tradition and it is worth noting:

(a) the telescoping of the time sequence;
(b) the crystallization of the activities of many people into that of one personality;
(c) a fair degree of accuracy in the recollection of the sequence of events;
(d) the translation into indigenous idiom and behaviour.

The genuineness of such events as the migration of the Bachwezi and the organization of the early kingdom of Kitara must be compared with such material.[5]

In Uganda, as in other parts of Africa, tradition does not belong to the mass of the people but to a comparatively recent and culturally superior minority.[6] This refers to published tradition. To date no account has been written on the oral history of the clans of Bunyoro-Kitara but some of those clans which have been closely attached to the kingdom have a well-remembered history; when their ancestors arrived, with which Mukama they came, and what offices they held. They find difficulty in recounting their traditions if they are not fully aware of the questioner's intentions.[7]

In the traditional lore of pre-literate African peoples the problem is to distinguish where mythology ends and history begins. Many assume a wide period of overlap between the two: traditional lore tends to hang purely mythical stories on the pegs provided by the personalities of its past. In these circumstances the myths must be ignored and the history selected. This is the attitude of Oliver, the historian, who has endeavoured to sign-post the oral past by fixing dates.[8]

Wrigley, an economist who is also interested in mythology, asserts that oral tradition can tell little, or nothing, of events which took place more than, at the most, four centuries ago. He argues that it is better to concentrate on the mythology. He thinks that the Bachwezi, and doubtless their predecessors, the Batembuzi, never existed except in the imaginations of men, who worshipped them as gods, and the traditions provide a beautiful African variation on a universal mythological theme. He finds similarities with the Greek myths and suggests that Aegean and Bantu culture may have had a partial common ancestry in the early neolithic age of the Nile valley. Although this theory is attractive, human nature being what it is, permutations of plot are limited and may arise spontaneously in different parts of the world.

Speke assumed, and so did other writers, that the unusually complex political organization of the interlacustrine Bantu is explicable only in terms of the influence of a superior immigrant people.[9]

Wrigley, on the other hand, postulates that kingship is ancient in this

region because of the elaborate ritual connected with kings and the great earthworks, with which the Bahima, a pastoral people, with consequently little cultural baggage, could have had little to do. He thinks that there was once a large, loose-jointed Bantu kingdom of the same general type as those of the Congo, Lunda-Luba and Zimbabwe-Monomotapa (Mwene-natupa), and that this system broke down many centuries ago, leaving the central area to be occupied by small groups of herdsfolk. Later on, not earlier than the sixteenth century, a new expansionist power under Lwoo leadership arose in the north, which owed its successes to control of the best supplies of iron. The quasi-feudal Bahima and Batutsi states developed to defend against these marauders.[10]

These mythological interpretations have possibly emptied the legendary accounts of all historical content whatever. The Bachwezi dynasty is abolished and the Babito dynasty is curtailed from about twenty to fourteen generations. If this is so who built the earthworks associated by tradition with the Bachwezi? If the Babito period in Buganda is abbreviated how can the corresponding dynasties be shortened? How can the existence of the royal tombs in Mubende and Buganda be explained?[11]

In the absence of any specific proofs the identity of the Batembuzi and the Bachwezi must remain uncertain. In spite of all the conjectures it is not known who they really were. Indeed the historian whose fancy is caught by the story would do better to concentrate his attention on the traditions rather than on the doubtful historicity of its heroes. About the traditions something positive can be said. They give a picture of a golden age and form interesting comparisons with the traditions of the other kingdoms and with the fables of other civilizations. Of the African reciters nothing is known except for their repertoire of popular tales, which they would alter, or add to, as taste demanded, but which they drew from a common stock. Thus the Batembuzi and the Bachwezi emerge as the central characters in traditions that concern the doings of gods and demi-gods and account in part for the ritual of the Babito dynasty. These traditions must have been popular to have lasted so long and in this context it matters not so much who the Batembuzi or Bachwezi were but who people thought them to be.

The traditions of the Babito are more certain because they are of more recent origin; they can be compared to and checked with the traditions of the other kingdoms to the south and they are linked to the individual Bakama, most of whose tombs can still be traced, although some are abandoned or indifferently tended since most lie in the counties of Bunyoro-Kitara which were lost to Buganda in 1894. A chief known as the Mugema resides in Mubende district in order to supervise the royal tombs and their guardians but the conflict between Bunyoro and Buganda over the future of the 'Lost Counties' has made his task difficult.[12]

The traditions of the Batembuzi, Bachwezi and the Babito as recounted in this book have a definite Kinyoro bias. Each kingdom in the region between the great lakes has its own version of the traditions though the basic characters, happenings and ideas expressed are common to all. Lack

of evidence makes it impossible to say which version is the most correct or to make a synthesis of them. Thus the version to be narrated is the one which is most readily accepted by the Banyoro though it will be disputed by the Banyankore, Baganda and Banyarwanda. Similarly, the Banyoro do not accept the traditions as recounted by these peoples. The early legends of Ankole, Buhweju and Buzimba have been summarized by Morris and may be compared with those of Bunyoro.[13] It will be seen that the bias lies the other way. Rwanda traditions categorically affirm that Rwanda was independent of Kitara and in them can be traced a long ancestry of kings even beyond their founder Gihanga (the Ruhanga of Bunyoro and Ankole).[14]

Accounts of the traditions of Bunyoro-Kitara are to be found in the writings of Johnston, Mrs. Fisher, Gorju, Roscoe, Bikunya, K. W., Nyakatura and Crazzolara.[15] The older accounts are less likely to have been influenced by attempts to make historical or political capital out of the fables, legends and myths of Kitara. They were told to relatively impartial Europeans by Africans who had less contact with western culture and so may be purer than accounts written by more recent African authors who have to justify and to magnify the achievements of their tribe and as a result fall victims to the propaganda of political and tribal influences.

Sir Harry Johnston, who was Special Commissioner in Uganda from 1899 to 1901, had before his appointment wide experience in West, Central and East Africa. He possessed unusual vision and energy coupled with administrative ability and originality. He was also a prolific painter and author, an outstanding taxonomist and an indefatigable researcher in African languages. Whilst in Uganda he made a rapid study of the majority of the tribes and if he made errors, as he did in ascribing to the Karimojong a Bantu affinity, he was remarkable because, in the twenty months available to him, he was so often correct in his theories. On the advice of his doctors he was unable to visit Bunyoro, although he toured Toro and Ankole, and he relied for information about Kitara on George Wilson and the Rev. A. B. Fisher of the Church Missionary Society.

George Wilson had an extraordinary personal influence with Africans and was known as *Bwana Tayari*. He played an important role in events in Uganda from 1894 until his retirement as Deputy Commissioner in 1909.[16] The traditions may be compared to those collected by later writers but the time scale is telescoped; for instance, Isimbwa becomes the ancestor of two dynasties, the Bachwezi and the Babito, and he also provides a link with the pre-Bachwezi rulers.[17]

The next collector of material was Mrs. A. B. Fisher who prevailed upon Daudi Kasagama, Mukama of Toro, and Andereya Duhaga, Mukama of Bunyoro, to write the history of their kingdoms.[18] Despite its inept title (devised without the author's knowledge by her publishers) *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda* is of exceptional value because it records many of her husband's observations. The Rev. A. B. Fisher visited Bunyoro in 1895 and in 1899 and worked in the district from 1905 to 1913. The book contains one of the most authoritative statements of the traditions of the

Bachwezi and the Babito dynasties in Kitara.[19] Nevertheless a bias towards Toro exists because Kasagama's account has greater influence than Duhaga's.[20]

Bishop Gorju was a member of the White Fathers Mission. He was stationed in Western Uganda so he views Kitara in wider perspective because he includes Ankole and the Bahima in the south-west, although to some extent he relies on Mrs. Fisher's material. His book is based upon his field notes which he started compiling in 1896. He is more definite about the Bachwezi whom he considers to be Hamites and whom he claims were brothers of the Bahima, thought to be of Galla origin. He postulates the foundation of the Hamitic kingdom of Kitara in the eleventh or twelfth centuries. The Bachwezi arrived in the fourteenth century and disappeared towards the middle or end of the seventeenth century. The Babito then ruled over their Galla kingdom in their stead. These dates put the disappearance of the Bachwezi at less than 300 years ago,[21] which may be compared with the generally accepted figure of between 450 and 550 years ago.[22]

The greater part of the Rev. J. Roscoe's work subsequent to *The Baganda* is marred by a superficiality in part due to his allowing conclusions which he knew to be accurate in their application to that tribe to sway his judgement when dealing with other tribes.[23] Roscoe does not clearly differentiate between the Batembuzi and the Bachwezi, whom he calls the descendants of Ruhanga. He considers them to be Negro-Hamites and an off-shoot of Galla stock. In this he erred with Speke, whose idea it originally was, being misled by the striking likeness in features between the Galla and the Bahima. Roscoe goes somewhat astray in his division of the totemic groups into three but time has proved him correct in his assumption that the present Babito dynasty was originally not of pure pastoral stock.[24]

Petero Bikunya was Katikiro (prime minister) of Bunyoro from 1917 to 1939 and wrote a short history of his country and its traditions.[25] In the main Bikunya follows the story related by Mrs. Fisher although he plays down the supernatural.

K.W. is R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Mukama of Bunyoro-Kitara.[26] He used the initials K.W. as a pseudonym because he obtained much information from his father Kabarega, while he shared his exile in the Seychelles. The K. represents Kabarega and the W. the Mukama's name Winyi, indicating that it is a joint account, although the Mukama subsequently read much and collected material from the north and from as far south as Rwanda.[27]

K.W.'s dynastic list of the Babito (26 reigns, 18 generations), compares with the Kiganda list and although it has been criticized by Crazzolara, time and study have tended to support K.W. rather than Crazzolara on chronology. His writings corroborate the Kiganda story of the struggle for power in southern Uganda from the point of view of the loser instead of the gainer. They also correspond with the traditions of the kingdoms further to the south, Toro, Kiziba, Koki, Ankole, Buhaya, Karagwe and Rwanda. He has been nearer than anyone to the fountainhead of tradition.[28] K.W. seeks

to relate a more rational account of the traditions of Kitara that will bear historical scrutiny, and like Bikunya, he plays down the fanciful, the fantastic and the fabulous. He explains the connection between the Batembuzi, the Bachwezi and the Babito and thus validates his dynasty's succession.

K.W.'s contentions have been supported and enlarged by J. W. Nyakatura, a former county chief and retired chief judge, who in his younger days served a historical apprenticeship under Sir John Gray.[29]

Father Crazzolara has written on the Lwoo but some of his theories contradict many of the usually accepted explanations of the traditional history of Bunyoro-Kitara. He asserts that the Banyoro were one of the Madi group of tribes and were headed by the Batembuzi or Madi Ndri. Later the domination of the Madi was replaced by that of the Lwoo and he argues that the Bahima and their leaders, the Bachwezi, were of Lwoo origin, as were the Babito.[30]

Mrs. Fisher's account has provided the basis for the chapters on the Batembuzi and the Bachwezi and K.W's account for the chapter on the Babito.

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[29]Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 8-126.
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THE BATEMBUZI: THE REIGN OF THE GODS

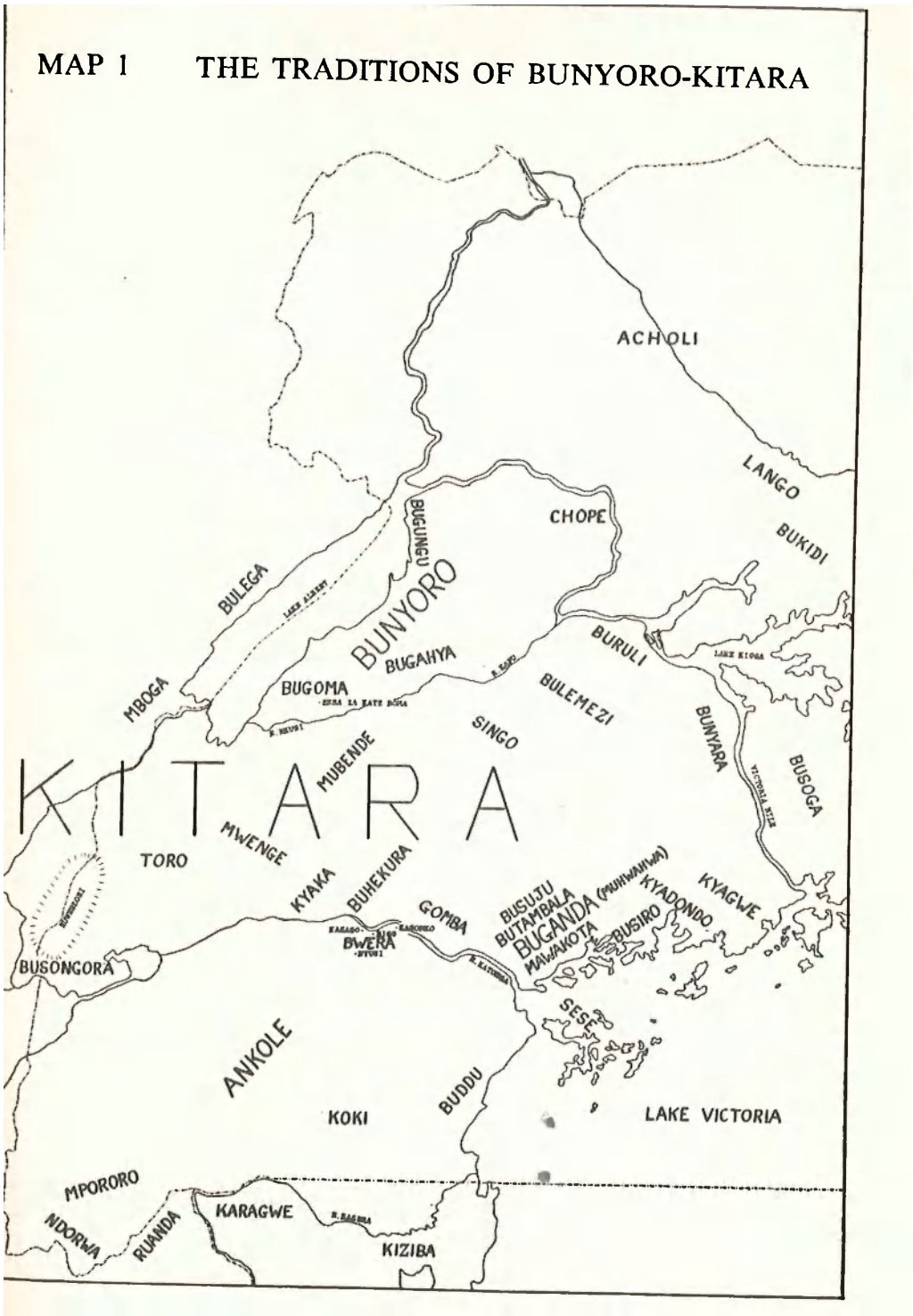
AS far as Uganda is concerned within comparatively small borders there have been wave after wave of immigrants of many tribes and races, and hundreds of years of unwritten and almost unguessed history. South of a line drawn through Lake Kioga the country is occupied by Bantu-speaking peoples, comprising a number of agricultural tribes who are probably the earliest arrivals left in the country but almost certainly not the original inhabitants. Bantu agricultural tribes, least influenced by contact with later immigrations, live on the mountains to the east and to the west. On the central plain and the uplands of the west, Bantu culture has been overlaid and profoundly altered by the influence of peoples of different race, firstly 'Hamites' and secondly Nilotes. Nilotic-speaking peoples live to the north and also to the south-east. In the north-east a wedge of Nilo-Hamites has penetrated to Lake Kioga. Sudanic and Nilo-Hamitic tribes live in the north-west.[1]

It is against this background that the traditions of Bunyoro-Kitara must be considered.

It is believed that God was Ruhanga, the creator, and that he lived in space because heaven and earth did not exist. Ruhanga had a brother called Nkya, another way of describing the creator, who complained that life was dull because nothing had been created. So Ruhanga created heaven and earth. He took a stone and flung it in the air and it became the sun but the heat oppressed Nkya because he had no shade. Ruhanga withdrew the sun towards the west and covered it with a cloud so that darkness fell. Ruhanga threw another stone in the air and it became the moon. The sun and the moon pleased Nkya but still he was not satisfied.

Ruhanga ordered Nkya to lie down and sleep. He created the cock[2] to crow when night had passed. Ruhanga planted grasses and trees to shade Nkya from the sun. In those days heaven was close to the earth, being propped up with a barkcloth tree, *omutoma nyakabito*, (*Ficus natalensis*); a Uganda coral tree, *omuko*, (*Erythrina abyssinica*); and a bar of iron. Ruhanga told Nkya to remain on earth while he went to see how matters were in heaven. On arrival he realized that his hands were dirty so he washed them and the water fell upon earth. Nkya was unprepared for this and was drenched. Ruhanga explained that it was rain. Nkya asked for shelter. Ruhanga told him to break off branches but Nkya was unable to do so. Ruhanga seized a stone and broke it into three pieces forming a knife, an axe and a hammer, which he gave to Nkya to build a hut.

MAP 1 THE TRADITIONS OF BUNYORO-KITARA



When Nkya had done this he demanded something at which to look. Ruhanga created flowers, shrubs, insects, wild beasts, goats and sheep. One day Nkya asked Ruhanga why he had made his body and stomach as they appeared to be useless. Whereupon Ruhanga created cows, felled a tree and carved a bowl into which they could be milked. Nkya was delighted but asked for more solid sustenance. Ruhanga took a creeper and planted it. In a short time it produced fruits in abundance. Ruhanga made a pot out of clay and he placed it on three little ant-hills. He put the fruits into the pot and laid wood under it. He struck a rock, upon which the sun had shone, with a stone and produced fire which ignited the wood. The heat was so great that the fruits would have burned had not Ruhanga poured water over them. He told Nkya to probe the fruits with a stick and when they became soft they would be ready to eat. Nkya was so eager that he seized the boiling food with his hands and burnt himself. Ruhanga rebuked him and showed him how to lay leaves upon the ground to turn out the food upon them. Nkya tasted it and declared it good. Ruhanga told him that all his requirements had now been supplied but it would have been better for mankind if he had not listened to the stomach because it would be master, causing pain, work and theft.[3]

Nkya had four sons. One was named Kantu, 'little person', but the others did not have names which caused trouble because when one was called, all came. Nkya explained his difficulty to Ruhanga who said that the boys should visit him the next afternoon to be tested.

Ruhanga had an ox killed, put the strips of hide and the head together with cooked finger millet and sweet potatoes[4] in a basket, and while the boys were waiting for him at his house, he placed it in the centre of a crossroads with an axe, a knife and a head-pad. On his return he summoned the boys, gave each a present of a milk-pot and bade them farewell. When they reached the crossroads they saw the food which Ruhanga had secretly placed there. The eldest immediately seized the basket of food and began to eat. His brothers remonstrated with him for taking food which was not his, so he picked up the axe, the knife, the head-pad and the basket of food and took them home with him. The second chose the strips of hide because he thought that they might be useful for tying the cows at milking. The youngest carried home the ox-head. They reached their father's house and told him everything. He was angry with the eldest for eating food that was not his.

Ruhanga devised a second test to confirm his evaluation of their characters.

In the evening when the cows were milked Ruhanga came to the boys and before they went to sleep he filled their milk-pots, placed them between their thighs, commanded them to guard the pots safely until morning and warned them not to drink. At midnight the youngest dozed and spilled some of his milk so he begged his brothers to give him a little of theirs, which they did. At cock-crow the eldest upset his milk-pot and when he asked the others to fill it for him they refused because so much would be needed to fill the empty pot. At dawn Ruhanga came and each boy

the hide without cutting his flesh. Eventually two old counsellors who had escaped banishment commanded that Isaza's friends bring him before them and they threw him into a pond. The skin loosened and the old men cut the hide and released him.[6] Isaza was the first ruler of Kitara to divide it into counties.[7] Hence his name, one county being *isaza,* two or more *amasaza.*

It is said that Nyamiyonga, king of the underworld, was trying to win the world and sought to make alliance with Isaza. He sent ambassadors to test him with riddles. No one could give Isaza the answers except the queen's maidservant, Kazana, 'little servant maid', who interpreted the riddles.

That which is devoid of understanding is a baby; the dog that cannot smoke a pipe falls short of the mark; finger millet is the bar that binds water; the cow that lows in the courtyard causes the king to turn; that which proclaims the dawn is the cock and the door that shuts out sorrow is blood-brotherhood. She suggested that Isaza should make blood-brotherhood with Nyamiyonga. The counsellors thought that it was frightening to make blood-brotherhood with the king of the underworld and urged a proxy. So Isaza summoned a servant, Kwezi, literally 'the moon', to do it on his behalf.

Nyamiyonga learnt of the evasion and he plotted to bring Isaza under his power. He thought that if woman is the destruction of man she must also exercise her power over the gods. So Nyamata, literally 'as beautiful as milk', the most beautiful and wily of his daughters, was sent to win the heart of Isaza. When Isaza saw her, he loved her and gave her first place in his household. One day Isaza left her to watch his cows being milked and she sulked because she did not like to share the Mukama's love with his cattle. She left him and returned to the underworld.

Soon afterwards she gave birth to a son, Isimbwa. When Nyamiyonga saw how handsome he was, he made greater efforts to procure Isaza and despatched the choicest of his cattle to tempt him. When Isaza saw them he would not let them out of his sight. One day he fell asleep after tending them and the cattle returned to the underworld. Isaza searched for them. At last he came to a deep pit out of which their horns protruded and he went to assist them but the earth opened and swallowed him. He found himself a captive. He was taken before Nyamiyonga who mocked him. So ended the reign of the gods.[8]

The Batembuzi are mere names that have come down from a remote past but the lists of names given by the various writers on Bunyoro-Kitara may be compared in Table I.

Bikunya has copied Mrs. Fisher. Nyakatura with one exception has followed K.W. He combines K.W.'s Isaza Mukama and Isaza Nyakikoto into one person, Isaza Waraga Rugambanabato. There are similarities between the lists given by Mrs. Fisher, Gorju and Roscoe, which are not reflected in K.W.'s list. K.W. has introduced many names although he considers that some more names have been lost because it was a long time

Table I

Batembuzi

Authority:—	*Fisher* / *Bikunya*	*Gorju*	*Roscoe*	K.W. / *Nyakatura*
	Ruhanga	Ruhanga (Hangi)	Ruhanga	
		Rugaba	Enkyaya Enkya	
	Nkya		Enkya	
	Kantu			Kintu
	Kairu			
	Kakuma			Kakama
	Kakama Twale		Twale	Itwale
			Hangi Nyamenge	Ihangi
		Ira (lya Hangi)	Ira Kabangera	Ira lya Hangi
		Kazoba (Nyamuhanga)		Kazoba ka Hangi Nyamuhanga
		Nkya		Nkya I
				Nkya II
	Baba	Baba	Baba	Baba
				Kamuli
				Nseka
				Kudidi
				Ntonzi
				Nyakaho-ngerwa
	Mukonko	Mukonko	Mukonko	Mukonko
	Ngonzaki	Ngonzaki	Ngonzaki	Ngonzaki
	Isaza	Isaza	Isaza	Isaza Mukama
				Isaza Nyakikoto
				Bukuku

ago and because the Batembuzi did not keep a record of their tombs. K.W. has followed the tendency of modern African historians to lengthen rather than to shorten tradition.

Since some of the legends concern vegetable food as well as milk they lend verisimilitude to the assumption that cultivators as well as pastoralists were in Kitara.[9] Father Crazzolara explains that the Batembuzi were Madi Ndri and headed the occupation and domination by the Banyoro (Madi) of the greater part of Uganda.[10] In Runyoro and Runyankore

Batembuzi means people from elsewhere who have moved and re-settled; possibly this has significance in indicating that the Batembuzi were not the first people in the land.

In conclusion it is impossible to say who the Batembuzi were until archaeology provides an answer.

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[2]Fowls are of Indian origin and the insertion of the cock so early in the tradition of the creation may have been an afterthought.
[3]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 69-72.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 1-4.
Gorju. op. cit., p. 39.
Gorju writes that the Bahima called god Ruhanga but the Banyoro called him Hangi. The earlier accounts assigned him one son Rugaba but the later accounts gave him three sons, Ira, 'long ago', Kazoba, another title given to the creator, 'little sun or day', and Nkya.
[4]Sweet potatoes have their centre of origin in South America and it is thought that they and other crops of new world origin, maize, cassava, beans, groundnuts and tobacco, were brought to the coasts of Africa in the 16th century by the Portuguese and diffused inland along the trade routes. Many Banyoro do not accept this argument and prefer to think that these crops were introduced at an earlier date by way of the Pacific and Asia. Certainly tobacco features so much in Kinyoro myth and ritual that it is unlikely that it is a recent insertion into the legends. Possibly some indigenous plant was used for smoking before the introduction of tobacco. Finger millet is indigenous to Africa.
[5]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 72-75.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 5-7.
Roscoe. op. cit., pp. 336-337.
Roscoe gives different versions of the first and second test.
[6]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 75-78.
[7]K.W. (1935). op. cit.
[8]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 78-83.
Roscoe, op. cit., pp. 323-325.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 9-15. Bikunya confirms the story. K.W. (1935). op. cit. K.W. has little to say about the Batembuzi except that he implies that Nyamiyonga was king of a country to the north to which Isaza disappeared.
Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 19-26. Nyakatura makes the story more rational. Nyamiyonga becomes king of an unknown country.
Morris. op. cit., pp. 6-7. Nyamiyonga was Ruyonga, Mugabe (king) of Ankole.
[9]Trowell & Wachsmann. op. cit., p. 16.
[10]Crazzolara (1959). op. cit. Crazzolara (1961). op. cit.

BACHWEZI: THE REIGN OF THE DEMI-GODS

THE traditional link between the Batembuzi and the Bachwezi, literally 'people of the moon', is tortuous. It is said that Isaza the last king of the Batembuzi had no male child except Isimbwa who was in the underworld with his mother Nyamata. When Isaza failed to return Bukuku, his gate-keeper, proclaimed himself king but the chiefs did not recognize him and divided the kingdom among themselves. Bukuku retreated to the south-west of Bunyoro-Kitara. He had one daughter Nyinamwiru, so called because her father was a peasant. The witch-doctors warned Bukuku that if she gave birth to a son the young man would eventually kill him. So Bukuku imprisoned his daughter and mutilated her, depriving her of one eye, one ear and one breast.

Isimbwa, the son of Isaza and Nyamata, grew up and was married by Nyamiyonga, king of the underworld, to one of his women, Nyabiryo, who bore him a son called Kyomya. Isimbwa used to hunt upon earth and one day he came to the country ruled by Bukuku. He saw that the land was fertile, rich in people and herds, and he desired to possess it. He heard about Nyinamwiru, evaded Bukuku, climbed the fence surrounding her prison and made love to her. After five months he left her pregnant. Bukuku was astonished when a son was born and ordered his servants to throw the baby into the river. A potter, *mubumbi,* rescued the child whom he recognized as Nyinamwiru's and he and his wife looked after him, secretly assisted by Nyinamwiru. The boy was called Karubumbi, because he was found by a potter; he grew up perverse and impertinent and so irritated Bukuku's herdsmen that they brought him before Bukuku. Karubumbi speared Bukuku and proclaimed himself king. Nyinamwiru emerged from her prison to explain that he was the son of Isimbwa and the grandson of Isaza. The people detected his likeness to his mother and his grandfather and were overjoyed because the gods had returned to rule over them.

The chiefs who had asserted their independence refused to submit to Karubumbi so he fought against them and re-conquered his grandfather's kingdom. Isimbwa came and announced that he was Karubumbi's father and was given land on which to live with Nyinamwiru. Isimbwa's other son Kyomya assisted his half-brother in subduing his kingdom and having subjugated Buganda settled there. Karubumbi's armies fought in Ankole, Buganda, Bukidi, Bulega, Busoga, Toro and Madi.

The people were impressed and Isimbwa in praise and exaltation of his son announced that in future Karubumbi would be known as Ndahura. Ndahura gave his father gifts in multiples of nine because nine was the magic number of the gods. Periodically Ndahura gave his sons and brothers orders to go with their armies to make his power known throughout his kingdom and he apportioned certain counties to each.

One day Ndahura was swallowed by the earth while waiting for his son Wamara, (from *okumara*, to finish or to end) to return from an expedition. He remained in the underworld for two days before he was extricated by his servant.

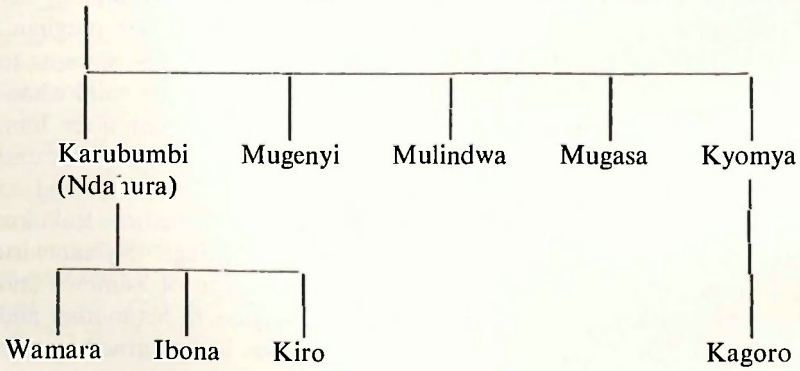
When Ndahura returned he reversed the royal drum and summoned his parents, sons, warriors and people. He told them that since he had been in the underworld he could no longer rule over them. He did not wish his eldest son Wamara to be his successor because he was selfish and if he were Mukama the kingdom would be destroyed. He appointed Mulindwa, 'the guardian', who had acted as his deputy during his absence on campaigns. Nevertheless Wamara seized the throne and reigned. Ndahura and Nyinamwiru wandered south-westwards to Toro and certain places where they lingered are attributed to them in legend: hot springs, crater lakes and footprints in the rocks.[1]

Wamara established his residence in Bwera near Bigo south of the River Katonga. There were nine Bachwezi:

Table II

Bachwezi Genealogy

Isimbwa (not counted as a Muchwezi because he was born in the underworld)



It is said that although they were born of women they had everlasting life and knew neither sickness nor death, though the following legends do not bear this out.

The two brothers Mulindwa and Mugenyi, 'the visitor' or 'stranger', were emotionally attached to each other, had everything in common and always attempted everything together. The women of the Bachwezi watched them leave for hunting and commented on their beauty and strength. Mulindwa excelled Mugenyi and Mugenyi's mother Nyangoro, (from *engoro*, a reed),

was jealous and decided to kill Mulindwa. Mulindwa loved her but could not marry her because she was his father's wife. When they returned from hunting Mulindwa brought Nyangoro some flowers but had to wait for an opportunity to make love to her. The brothers decided to watch their cattle at the salt lick but Mulindwa pretended to be sick and remained behind. Mugenyi went alone. Nyangoro learnt this, dug a pit in her hut, filled it with boiling water and covered it. When Mulindwa called upon her, he fell into the hot water and Nyangoro covered the pit with mats to suffocate him. His cries were reported to Mugenyi who hurried to help him, lifted his body out of the water and poured milk upon him. Mugenyi wanted to kill Nyangoro but Mulindwa said that a son should not kill his mother. Mugenyi forgave his mother but he seized and killed many of her daughters and other members of her clan, the Basingo. Mulindwa cursed the Basingo and from that day princes have never married into the clan.

It is believed that under the rule of Wamara evil increased. The Bachwezi were no longer held in veneration nor regarded as invulnerable. They began to quarrel amongst themselves.

Among Mugenyi's herds there was a cow called Bihogo[2] of rare value because she imparted fragrance to the water when she drank. Mugenyi swore that if evil should afflict her evil should afflict him also. If she should die, he would kill himself.

One day Bihogo had a fit and died. Mugenyi gripped his spear to kill himself but was prevented from doing so. He was inconsolable in spite of lavish gifts sent by the other Bachwezi. Wamara ordered the witch-doctors to dissect the dead cow but when the body was opened it was empty; the entrails were missing. Nobody could understand the meaning. A stranger called Nyakoko, a wise man of Bukidi, appeared and he undertook to divulge the mystery if the Mukama made blood-brotherhood with him so that no prophecy of his should jeopardize his life. Mugenyi was ordered to make blood-brotherhood with Nyakoko. Nyakoko split open the head and the hooves of the carcass and revealed the intestines. A smut blew out of the fire and settled on them. It could not be removed.

Ordering all except the Bachwezi to withdraw Nyakoko told Wamara that he foresaw evil. The empty body of the cow signified that the rule of the Bachwezi over the land had ended. The entrails in the head meant that the Bachwezi would still hold power over mankind. The entrails in the hooves meant that the Bachwezi would wander continuously. The smut meant that a black man would usurp the kingdom of the Bachwezi. The Bachwezi heard these prophecies and decided to kill Nyakoko. Mugenyi managed to warn Nyakoko who escaped to Bukidi.

Wamara ordered his relations to remain with Mugenyi to guard him against suicide because of the death of his cow. They feasted and drank and at last Mugenyi cast off his mourning and joined them in revelry. The next day he was overcome by remorse and was mocked by his aunt for breaking his oath. Mugenyi resolved to leave and when the other Bachwezi heard of it they decided to accompany him because the world was defiled

and women despised them. They collected their herds, their wives and their goods and departed. The regalia of the kingdom was left in the care of the people.

When the Bachwezi reached Bukidi they saw some people sitting under a barkcloth tree and they told them to go and rule the vacant kingdom. The Bachwezi told them that they would be called Babito because the demi-gods had summoned them from a *Bito* tree which is the Acholi name for it.

The Bachwezi departed and were never seen again. Some traced their footsteps to Lake Albert or Lake Victoria, others to the crater lakes. Twice they reappeared to individuals. Although the Bachwezi ceased to rule over the earth they continued to influence the lives of men and to decide their destiny.[3]

Table III

Bachwezi

Authority:—	*Fisher*		*Roscoe*	*K.W.*
	Gorju		*Bikunya*	*Nyakatura*
		Ndahura		Ndahura
				Mulindwa
		Wamara		Wamara

All the authorities agree on Ndahura and Wamara as kings of the Bachwezi but the later authors interpose Mulindwa who was left in charge of the kingdom while Ndahura was absent and eventually became completely in charge. Ndahura nevertheless nominated Wamara as his successor and then abdicated.

The legends describe the Bachwezi but give little information about them.

Speke thinks that the Bahuma were most likely Galla or Abyssinians.[4] The names Bahuma, Bahima and Bahema are used indiscriminately by many authors. It is thought that the Bahuma came to Uganda from the north-east but passed west of Lake Albert and entered the region between the great lakes from the west, penetrating into Bunyoro-Kitara from the south. The name Bahuma comes from the verb *okuhuma* which literally means the cacophony of sound made by a herd of cattle on the move, lowing, thudding of hooves and cries of herdsmen. The Bahuma signify the original invaders; the Bahima are their descendants of mixed parentage because *okuhima* means to become dark or coarse. The Bahema were the people who settled west of Lake Albert.[5] At the present time the Banyoro call the pastoralists or their descendants Bahuma and the people farther south call them Bahima. The name Bahima is most commonly used to describe the cattle-keeping peoples and is used in this book.

Who the Bahima are is not known. The cattle with which they are associated derive from crosses originating from the north-east of Uganda.

Many theories on the origin of the Bachwezi exist, some more attractive than others, but it is impossible to prove them right or wrong.

Mrs. Fisher does not commit herself beyond saying that the Bachwezi were a migratory tribe who swept down from the north, subjugated the original inhabitants of the country and taught the Banyoro to work iron.[6]

Gorju thinks that it might have been possible for an Arab, a Turk or a Portuguese to have strayed into Kitara but considers that the Bachwezi were akin to and leaders of the Bahima because the regalia which tradition ascribes to them is not of European origin but may well have been derived from the Galla. The character of the earthworks attributed to them indicates that they were built by an African people. He concludes that the Bahima were Galla.[7]

Ingham finds, like Gorju, no reason to suppose that the Bachwezi were different in origin from the other Hamites. It is possible that they were the most recent wave of Hamitic invaders and were therefore able to bring with them the fruits of European contact from farther north in Abyssinia.[8]

Nyakatura carefully differentiates the Bachwezi from the Bahima and suggests that the Bachwezi, a pale-skinned people, may have come from Abyssinia, Arabia or Egypt. He thinks that Egypt is the most likely possibility because Arab slave-traders had contact with Kitara before the Europeans came and, since the ancient Egyptians had some knowledge of the Mountains of the Moon (Ruwenzori), it is not impossible for them to have had indirect contact at a later date.[9]

The Bahima cannot be divorced from the idea of a kingdom. The Bahima obtained cattle from kings and the Bahima were the vehicle by which the Bachwezi became kings. Thus the Bachwezi, i.e., Bahuma, were associated with the Bahima but the Bahima were not Bachwezi.

Wrigley, the iconoclast, on the contrary believes that the Bachwezi did not exist.[10]

Another authority, Father Nicolet, favours a theory that the Bachwezi were of mixed Portuguese-Abyssinian blood and not of pure Portuguese descent. Many Africans at the present time if asked who the Bachwezi were unhesitatingly reply Portuguese. This is probably a modern conjecture based on Gorju's tentative suggestions.[11]

Crazzolara is confident that the Bachwezi were Lwoo.[12] He states that the Bachwezi (Jo-wat-Cwaa) and the Babito (Jo-wat-Bitho) were both part of the Lwoo movement southwards but that the smaller Bachwezi clan travelling west of the Nile reached Bunyoro first and began to rule. About a generation later the larger Babito clan arrived having travelled east of the Nile and the ruling Bachwezi deemed it expedient to withdraw voluntarily elsewhere. He maintains that the Bahima (Bahuma or Bahema) were also Lwoo.[13] He does not give a convincing explanation to account for the differences in custom and tradition existing between the pastoral kingdoms of the south-west, those further north dominated by the Babito and the countries occupied by the different offshoots of the Lwoo. The *empako* names and the *engabi,* bushbuck, clan totem, are unknown except in those

communities known to have been dominated by the Babito in the past.[14] Again, foreign words in Runyoro and Luganda are often Nilotic in origin as are some clan names. But these words are not found further south. The Lwoo have no tradition of building or using earthworks. Physical and cultural differences are evident between the Bahima and the Lwoo.[15] Crazzolara concludes that the traditions of the Lwoo and of the Banyoro speak of one and the same invasion but he forgets that the Lwoo tell of one occupation and the Banyoro of two. His arguments apply to the Lwoo occupation.[16]

Wainwright suggests that the movement of iron working in Africa has been south-east, south or south-west. Knowledge of iron working on the east coast came from the interior because iron, unlike other metals, has an African name and it has not acquired an Arabic name. The bowl-bellows of ancient Egypt is used. The Bachwezi are acknowledged in tradition to have been iron workers.

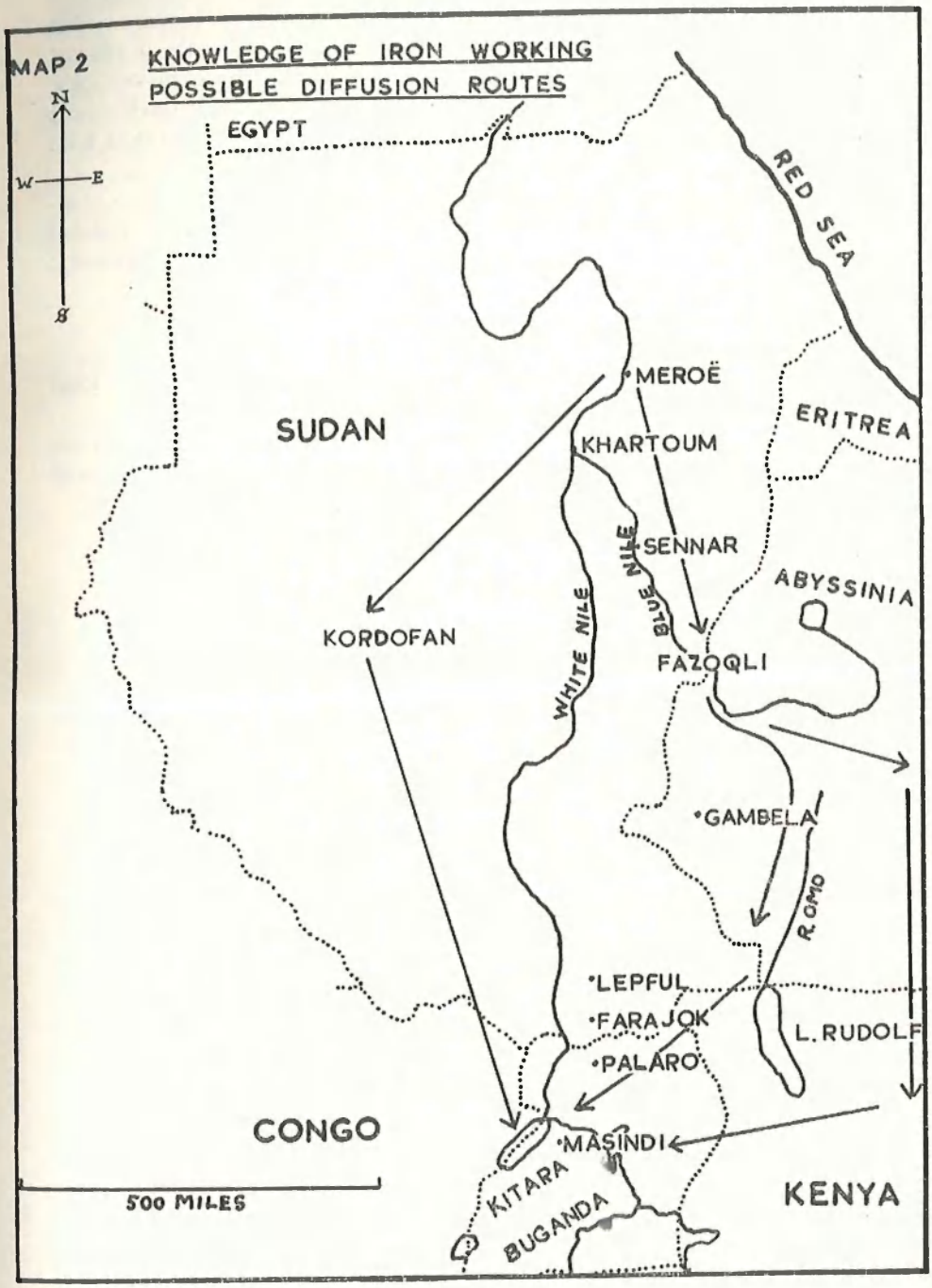
Iron working might have originated in Meroe north of Khartoum, which was in the first centuries A.D. the centre of a vast iron industry. It left prodigious slag heaps. There are three possible routes by which knowledge of iron working could have reached Kitara.

(a) North-west: carried by refugees from Meroe in about A.D. 350 to Kordofan and from there south-eastwards.
(b) North-east: carried from Meroe at about the same time to Fazoqli, along the Blue Nile and the River Omo to Lake Rudolf.
(c) East: carried from Meroë along the River Omo to the south-east Abyssinian Highlands and from there to the east of Lake Rudolf.

On the first two routes lip studs and circular bracelets fastened on the wrist for fighting are found. The word Bachwezi may be derived from the Amharic word, *Chewa,* a soldier. Nevertheless the tribes which today live in eastern Uganda do not have an iron industry but are dependent either on immigrant smiths or iron working neighbours. Possibly at an earlier period than their arrival the iron industry may have been brought to Kitara from the north-east by the Bachwezi, the ancestors of the Bahima and the Batutsi.[17] The north-east route appears the most likely.

Wright suggests that the Hamites moved westwards from Abyssinia to Uganda and that these Hamites brought with them the elaborate kingship ritual which shows traces of the cultural influence of Meroë. He also thinks that the word Bachwezi is derived from the Bantu plural of the Amharic word *Tschewa* or *Chewa,* a soldier. He suggests that the word Kitara is derived from the Bantu prefix *Ki-* and the Meroitic word *Tar* which means a king, hence kingdom.[18] The derivation of words must be taken with caution. For instance the word *Chwa* in Ateso, Akarimojong and Lwoo means a tamarind tree.

Wright also postulates a trade route which was in existence before the Nile route was opened: Khartoum, Sennar, Fazoqli, Gambela, Lepful, Farajok, Palaro (Falaro), Masindi.[19]


MAP 2
KNOWLEDGE OF IRON WORKING
POSSIBLE DIFFUSION ROUTES
N
W
E
S
EGYPT
RED SEA
MEROË
SUDAN
ERITREA
KHARTOUM
SENNAR
BLUE NILE
WHITE NILE
ABYSSINIA
KORDOFAN
FAZOQLI
GAMBELA
R. OMO
LEPFUL
FARAJOK
L. RUDOLF
PALARO
CONGO
MASINDI
KITARA
KENYA
BUGANDA
500 MILES

Until archaeological evidence is obtained it is not possible to say who the Bachwezi were or from whence they came. The writer's guess is that they were one of the last bands of Bahima who came from the north-east but entered Uganda from the west and were destroyed by some calamity. They brought with them a better material culture than their predecessors and in spite of being few in number they were able to maintain their hold over a large population and over a large area of land.

The Bachwezi are remembered throughout western Uganda as the originators of a pattern of social organization and religion which were imitated by successor dynasties. They are believed to have left behind the following:

(a) regalia,
(b) slave artisans,
(c) palace women,
(d) administrative officials accustomed to ruling small areas as the local representatives of a centralized monarchy,
(e) a system by which young men were conscripted into the king's service and maintained by peasants who occupied and cultivated land assigned for the support of the army,
(f) religion regulated by the phases of the moon.

They are credited with the following:

(a) re-conquest of the Kitara empire,
(b) barkcloth manufacture,
(c) cultivation of coffee,
(d) iron working,
(e) distinctive variation of the board game as played in Uganda and Rwanda,
(f) sinking of well shafts through rocks,
(g) earthwork fortifications,
(h) reed palaces.[20]

The Bachwezi were a ruling clan, a tiny minority who were held in awe by the local people because of their apparently super-human knowledge and skill. As their subject peoples became better acquainted with them their prestige waned. The traditions as recounted by Mrs. Fisher describe how the Bachwezi, wearied by the disobedience of the people over whom they ruled, left the country.[21]

The collapse of their great kingdom may have been caused by civil war, revolt of subject peoples, smallpox or cattle disease.[22] One hypothesis is smallpox. As they may have lived apart from the people over whom they ruled the Bachwezi may have died while their subjects did not.[23] The collapse may also have been accentuated by the appearance of the Lwoo invaders on the northern frontier which coincided with a decline in their prestige. Apathy and disobedience among their subjects prevented them from making use of their earthwork fortifications and the Bachwezi clan after gathering for self-defence were forced to make an ignominious escape either to the south or to the west.[24]

The Crazzolara version is that the main group of the Lwoo Bachwezi retired northwards leaving the Babito clan behind.[25]

The Kinyoro version is of a voluntary migration southwards by the dynasty who had previously occupied the country. This dynasty deliberately left people behind who knew the royal magic for the safeguarding of the country in order to make matters easier for the new occupiers.[26]

Several authorities have endeavoured to give a date for the departure of the Bachwezi. Their conclusions are summarized by Sykes who favours the earlier rather than the later dating for the arrival and departure of the Bachwezi.[27]

Table IV

Dates of the Bachwezi

Authority	*Dates*
K.W.	A.D. 1300-1400
Sir John Gray	pre 1462 or pre 1492
Cox	pre 1399
Lanning	1350-1550
Crazzolara	1600-1650
Ingham	1550
Haddon	pre 1575 or pre 1478[28]

In 1960 archaeological work by the Curator of the Uganda Museum and a band of helpers suggests that the heyday of Bigo, and thus of the Bachwezi, probably dates to the middle of the present millennium.[29]

Mrs. Fisher says that the Bachwezi went further south, although an inconsistency appears in her account for she says later that the Bachwezi went first to Bukidi, to the east, and then disappeared either in Lake Victoria or in the crater lakes.[30]

Gorju quotes various legends about their disappearance and concludes that they did not die in Kitara.[31] Bikunya says that they disappeared in the great lakes.[32] K.W. says that the Bachwezi disappeared to the south but denies that they vanished into the lakes.[33]

Nyakatura confirms a southward movement, Bugoma, Lake Albert, Mboga, Busongora, Ankole, Rwanda, Buzinza and Burundi.[34]

Crazzolara introduces a contrary note by saying that the Lwoo Bachwezi mingled with the surrounding Bantu tribes, adopting their language and taking different names, such as Bahinda or Batutsi. They lost contact with each other and their Lwoo kin to the north but all claim to be Bahima.[35]

The Bachwezi left behind them certain intangible and tangible legacies.

It is said that the Bachwezi were wearied by the strife between men and left the country, but that in order to be revenged they brought disease and misfortune. The Banyoro attribute to them supernatural power and so they are dreaded and worshipped. The Bachwezi have to be propitiated by offerings and sacrifices.[36] They have also been deified and their return is anxiously awaited.[37]

Mrs. Fisher, Bikunya and Nyakatura give different lists of the regalia left by the Bachwezi but since K.W. has been most intimately concerned his list may be taken to be the most authoritative:

Drums,	Kajumba and Nyalebe
Spears,	
Arrows,	Nyapogo
Quiver,	Ndayampunu
Crown,	Rwahusungu
Stool,	Kaizirokwera
Stick.[38]	

Known earthworks are found scattered between the Bugoma forest and the south side of the River Katonga. Of these Bigo is the most extensive, the best preserved and the most fascinating, consisting of deep, wide trenches covered with thick vegetation, creepers and trees. The trenches lie on a flat-topped hill looking north to the ford across the Katonga. Three other earthworks, Kagago, Kasonko and Ntusi, lie within eight miles, and all four sites are bound by legend to the north bank of the river.

Perimeter earthworks of various sizes lie in Mubende district and one lies in Bunyoro. Two shafts cut in the rock have been found at Bigo. A great extension of the trenches took place after an interval of many centuries and other trenches may have been dug at this time. Possibly the Bachwezi dug the trenches and occupied Bigo, Kagago and Ntusi. Then a further migratory movement, probably the early Babito, brought another culture from the north. Having found the ford across the Katonga they made the most of the trenches on the south bank which are traditionally associated with the Bachwezi.

The trenches further north are associated with Kateboha Mutesiba who has been called the last of the Bachwezi and who possibly ordered the digging of perimeter earthworks to protect cattle and men when the power of the Bachwezi was on the wane. In the Bugoma forest lies a trench known as *Ensa za Kateboha,* literally 'the trenches of a man whom people were unable to tie up', i.e., he was too powerful. It is completely covered by forest and huge trees are growing out of the sides and bottom of the trench.[39]

It is thought that in the last 200-300 years the forests in Bunyoro have extended at the expense of grassland. Thus when this trench was excavated the area was covered by grass and the Bugoma and Budongo forests were much smaller than they are today. An exception is the area to the north and east of the Budongo forest where the trees have receded in the last century probably due to the destruction wrought by elephant.[40]

A flaw in the argument associating these trenches with the Bachwezi is that none have been reported from the other areas where the Bachwezi are believed to have been.[41] Yet the building of earthwork fortifications is not unknown in Uganda and the remains of moated villages, *olukoba,* with a circular ditch and earth wall some hundreds of yards in circumference may be seen near Dabani and Masaba in Samia-Bugwe county of Bukedi district. These were built by the Bagwe who have no known connection

with the Bachwezi.[42] The Bagwe belong to the Baluyia or Bantu Kavirondo group of tribes.

Father Mathew says that the Bigo-Ntusi culture with its elliptical fortifications, isolated guard-posts and great middens within settlements presupposes an evolved conception of kingship because the extent of the fortifications, irrigation works and mines indicates the labour resources available to the Bachwezi kings. The date may be put somewhere in the millennium between A.D. 400 and 1400.[43]

There are several theories of origin for the earthworks in Bunyoro, Masaka and Mubende districts:

(a) a bridgehead prior to a movement south,
(b) a defence against attack from the north,
(c) developed in a northward movement from the south as marshalling points,
(d) evidence of the existence of people whose custom it was to live behind or around a defensive position.[44]

Ankole tradition indicates that the Bachwezi were a royal clan amongst the Batutsi aristocracy which subjugated Karagwe, Ndorwa, Mpororo, Rwanda, Ankole and Bunyoro. This advance was checked by the arrival of the Lwoo.[45]

An opinion in support of a theory of movement from south to north is given by Sir John Gray who says that it is an axiom of military strategy in both ancient and modern warfare that a river crossing should be defended from the far bank to deny to the enemy the use of the crossing until the last moment. So the constructors of Bigo and its flanking strong points designed the fortifications to defend the country on the north bank of the Katonga from invasion. He concludes that the entrenchments are older than the present Babito dynasty and that the short-lived Bachwezi dynasty was the last wave of a Hamitic invasion.[46]

Recent excavations at Bigo would tend to confirm the shortness of occupation at Bigo.[47]

It is obvious that the theory that they were built to thwart the Lwoo invasion is untenable.

If the Bachwezi were the last wave of a Hamitic invasion they might well have found, like other conquerors, that it was easy to over-run a country but more difficult to hold what they had won. The outlying counties would be exposed to raids by either the earlier inhabitants or by tribes who had made their way inland from Lake Victoria or even by earlier Hamitic invaders who had penetrated further west or south. These raids would eventually become so persistent that the Bachwezi would be forced to take organized measures for the protection of themselves and their cattle. The defences never really stemmed the tide of invasion and they were never effectively used for the purpose for which they were designed.[48]

It may well be that the Lwoo invasion from the north coincided with the attacks from the south. The surviving Bachwezi then made a voluntary migration southwards.

References

[1]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 84-98.
Gorju. op. cit., pp. 43-49.
Roscoe. op. cit., pp. 88, 325-326.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 15-25.
K.W. (1935). op. cit. K.W. says that Nyabiryo was of the Bachwezi Clan.
Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 30-44.
All the authorities are remarkably unanimous in their accounts of Ndahura, the first of the Bachwezi, although they disagree when Karumbi's name was changed to Ndahura and whether Wamara succeeded with, or without, his father's permission.
[2]Bihogo is a dark red beast.
Mackintosh, W. L. S. (1938). *Some notes on the Abahima and the Cattle Industry of Ankole*, p. 11, Entebbe: Government Printer.
[3]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 99-102, 105-110.
Gorju. op. cit., pp. 47-49. Gorju includes a number of the household of the Bachwezi in the legends, confirms the tale of Mulindwa and Mugenyi except that Nyangoro becomes Nyagoro.
Roscoe. op. cit., p. 22. Roscoe lists 19 Bachwezi.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 25-31, 34. Bikunya gives Ndahura other children. He gives an account of Wamara's administrative arrangements and a different version of the Mulindwa-Nyangoro story. He calls Nyangoro Nyamgoma. He says that the stranger was Karongo from Madi and Nyakwoka was his son.
K.W. (1935). op. cit. K.W. writes that Karongo was a soothsayer and that the Bachwezi departed southwards.
Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 42-60. Nyakatura calls Nyangoro Nyangoma but confirms the substance of the Mulindwa-Nyangoro story. He gives Nyakoko a son Karongo. He says that the Bachwezi departed southwards and he lists 12 of them.
[4]Speke. op. cit., pp. 246-249.
[5]E. von Hippel, personal communication. E. von Hippel has lived in Uganda for over 25 years and knows the languages and customs of the western kingdoms. Etymologically this theory is dubious.
[6]Fisher. op. cit., p. 39.
[7]Gorju. op. cit., pp. 50-57.
[8]Ingham, K. (1957). Some Aspects of the History of Western Uganda. *Uganda J. 21*, 131-149.
[9]Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 28-29, 63-65.
[10]Wrigley (1958). op. cit.
[11]Lanning, E. C. (1958). Correspondence: The Identity of the Bachwezi. *Uganda J.* 22, 188.
[12]Crazzolara (1959). op. cit.
[13]Crazzolara (1961). op. cit.
[14]Wright, A. C. A. (1953). Lwoo Traditions: a Review. *Uganda J. 17*, 86-90.
[15]Wright, A. C. A. (1952). Lwoo Migrations: a Review. *Uganda J. 16*, 82-88.
[16]Crazzolara (1950). op. cit., pp. 91-104.
[17]Wainwright, G. A. (1954). The Diffusion of -uma as a name for Iron. *Uganda J. 18*, 113-136.
[18]Wright (1952). op. cit.
[19]Wright, A. C. A. (1949). Maize names as indicators of economic contacts. *Uganda J. 13*, 61-81.
[20] Oliver, R. (1953). A Question about the Bachwezi. *Uganda J. 17*, 135-137.
Oliver (1955). op. cit.
Gorju. op. cit., pp. 52-53.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 33-34.

K.W. (1935). op. cit. K.W. writes that Ndahura reorganized Kitara into the following counties:

Bwera	Bulega
Buiru (Buddu)	Muhwahwa (Buganda)
Karokarungi (Ankole)	Sese
Buruli	Bugoma
Mwenge	Toro
Kitara (Kyaka)	Busongora
Bunyara (Bugerere)	Bugahya
Bugungu	Chope

He ruled from Kavirondo to the borders of Abyssinia and his kingdom extended into the Congo and Tanganyika because the language of Kitara is spoken in parts of these territories.

Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 45, 59, 74.

[21]Fisher. op. cit., p. 40.

[22]Gorju. op. cit., pp. 54-55.

[23]E. von Hippel, personal communication. This is unlikely, since the virulent epidemic variety of smallpox was not known until the late 19th century.

[24]Oliver (1953). op. cit.

[25]Crazzolara, J. P. (1937). The Lwoo People. *Uganda J. 5*, 1-21.

[26]Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 66-76.

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[27]Sykes, J. (1959). The Eclipse at Biharwe. *Uganda J. 23*, 44-50.

[28]K.W. (1936). op. cit.

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[30]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 40, 109.

[31]Gorju. op. cit., p. 49.

[32]Bikunya. op. cit., p. 32.

[33]K.W. (1935). op. cit.

[34]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 60.

[35]Crazzolara (1950). op. cit., p. 103.

[36]Fisher. op. cit., p. 40.

[37]Gorju. op. cit., p. 157.

[38]K.W. (1935). op. cit.

Fisher. op. cit., p. 109.

Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 33-34.

Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 59, 74.

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[41]Lanning (1953). op. cit.
[42]Persse, E. M. (1936). The Bagwe. *Uganda J. 3*, 282-302.
[43]Mathew. op. cit.
[44]Lanning, E. C. (1955). The Munsa Earthworks. *Uganda J. 19*, 177-182.
[45]Oliver (1953). op. cit.
[46]Gray, J. M. (1935). The Riddle of Biggo. *Uganda J. 2*, 226-233.
[47]Posnansky M. (1961). Pottery Types from Archaeological Sites in East Africa. *J. African History 2*, 177-198.
[48]Gray (1935). op. cit.

BABITO: THE REIGN OF THE KINGS

THE Babito are linked with the Bachwezi and the Batembuzi in legend. The historian of the Babito is K.W., whose ancestors they are, and the relationship between the three dynasties is given by him in a diagram.

Table V

Relationship between the Batembuzi, Bachwezi and Babito

Batembuzi
from whom is descended
Isaza

Nyabiryo (of the Bachwezi clan) = Isimbwa = Nyinamwiru (daughter of Bukuku, gate-guard to Isaza)

Kyomya = Nyatworo (daughter of Labongo)

BACHWEZI

Ndahura

Wamara

BABITO
Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi from whom is descended R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara.

BAKABAKA
Kato Kimera ancestor of the royal line of Buganda.

He says that the present royal family of Ankole, Bahinda, trace descent from Ruhinda, the gate-guard to Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi who gave him Ankole.[1]

It is believed that the Babito are descended from Isimbwa whose wife Nyabiryo bore him a son, Kyompa. Kyomya is associated with the Bachwezi in tradition. Kyomya married Nyatworo, daughter of Labongo, a man from Bukidi or Lango (these names do not refer to the present districts of Bukedi and Lango but to the country north and east of the Nile). Tradition says that the people whom the Bachwezi saw sitting under a barkcloth tree in Bukidi were their twin sons, Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi and Kato Kimera,

and their other children, who had been left behind with their mother when Kyomya had joined Ndahura in Kitara.[2]

Whilst Wamara, the last king of the Bachwezi, was on his journey southwards the throne was left vacant. He consulted his counsellors and decided to send messengers, one of whom was Nyakoko, a character in the legend of Mugenyi and the cow Bihogo, to fetch one of his uncle Kyomya's twins who would succeed him.[3]

Mrs. Fisher refers to the twins as the illegitimate sons of the Muchwezi Isimbwa.[4]

According to legend the elder twin Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi was chosen. He longed to possess and to rule the land described to him but he feared to do so because he was ignorant and savage. Nyakoko saw a chance to advance his own interests by guiding Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi to Kitara and by initiating him into the customs of the country himself. So the Babito prepared for their journey. Nyakoko warned Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi that the country was full of falsehood and treachery, that the women were faithless and unchaste, and he asked Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi whom the Babito would marry. Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi replied that if this was so, they would marry their own womenfolk.[5]

Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi took the totem of his mother, *engabi*, bushbuck, and as a result the Babito have this totem today. Isingoma means the elder of twins, literally 'the father of the drum'. Mpuga means patchy, because he had patches on his skin and this is thought to indicate his descent from the Bachwezi. Rukidi means the naked one, because he came from Bukidi, the land of nakedness.

The Babito are said to have crossed the Nile by canoe, landing in Buruli. They were accompanied by retainers and the keepers of the spears *Gotigoti* and *Kaitantahi*. They passed through Buruli, Rugonjo (Bulemezi and Singo) and Bugangaizi and arrived at Wamara's capital in Bwera, where they found an old man, Kasooro, left behind by the Bachwezi.[6]

The earlier accounts are more fanciful. Mrs. Fisher says that the Babito reached the Nile but found that the ferry was not there. Once a little girl had been sacrificed a ferry appeared. At the crossing of the Kafu the river was in flood and impassable. A similar sacrifice proved efficacious.[7] Gorju, perhaps because of the parallels drawn by his informants from the Bible, tells how the waters of the Nile and the Kafu were separated to allow the Babito to pass.[8]

When the Babito arrived at Wamara's capital the people looked at them with suspicion and at Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi with contempt because his skin was patchy, his head was unshaven, his hair was long, greasy and matted, and he was dressed in a sheepskin. Nevertheless he entered Wamara's palace and sat himself upon the throne. He questioned Kasooro who demanded a present of tobacco before he would answer.[9]

Kasooro replied that the Bachwezi had abdicated and had disappeared towards Lake Victoria because of the machinations of Kantu, the spirit of evil. This was confirmed by Bunona and Iremera, two old women left

by the Bachwezi to instruct Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi in court etiquette.[10] Perhaps these women were not so old because Gorju says that Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi married Iremera and learned from her how to drink milk.[11] K.W. calls them the wives of Wamara.[12]

When Bunona and Iremera had prepared Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi for his accession the royal drum could not be found because it was in the hands of the Basita clan, its guardians. A messenger found two drums in the house of Mubimba who gave him one drum *Nyalebe* in exchange for some finger millet. The other drum *Kajumba* was left behind but it is believed to have followed of its own accord and to have sat down in the capital alongside its companion *Nyalebe*. Other items of the regalia were found.[13]

Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi gave instructions that his palace should be built in the same way as had been Wamara's with its complicated system of courtyards and apartments. The Babito accepted much of the culture of their predecessors but they brought certain features of their own, the use of *empako*, pet names:

Amoti	Abwoli	Apuli
Akiki	Adyeri	Acali
Aboki	Atenyi	Bala
Atwoki	Arali	Okali (Mukama only).[14]

and regalia:

Throne	Nyamyarro,
Drums	Tibamulinde and Nyakangubi,
Spears	Gotigoti and Kaitantahi,
Shield	Bisegege,
Sandals	Bijanja,
Horn	Nyamara,
Small drum	Mutengesa,

the Rake, the Fire and the Bag of Millet.[15]

The Babito may have been Nilotes, one of the offshoots of the Lwoo movement southwards. They had to learn much of the kingship ritual from instructors left behind by the Bachwezi. This may account for the admitted dynastic relationship between the last of the Bachwezi and the first of the Babito.

Gorju gives various different versions of the tradition outlined in the preceding paragraphs to account for the connection of the Babito to the Bachwezi. Whatever the version constant care has been taken to link successive dynasties so that the new arrivals obtain the respect and confidence given to their predecessors.[16]

Bikunya calls Nyatoro, Nyaraki and says that she bore three sons, Mpuga Isingoma, Kato Kimera and Kiiza, to Isimbwa, brother of Isaza.[17] Bikunya has become confused at this point in his book.

Crazzolara says that there is a common tradition in Kitara that the mother of Isingoma was an Acholi girl from the country of Toro (Acholi) hence her name Nyatoro or Nyatworo, that is, a Toro girl. Her father is described as of the Bakwonga clan or as an unknown man from Bukidi or as Labongo

from Lango. Nyatworo had a lover, either an unknown man or Kyomya, whom she met under a *Bito* tree, and later gave birth to twins. The twins then accompanied their mother to Bunyoro.[18] Crazzolara draws a number of conclusions from this tradition in order to strengthen his argument that the Bachwezi and the Babito were one people. He is puzzled by the complete disappearance of the Bachwezi ruling dynasty. Naturally he is puzzled because he confuses them with the Lwoo and the Babito. He concludes that the Babito occupied Bunyoro and to confirm their status made use of Kyomya's marriage to a Lwoo girl. The Babito were one of the Lwoo royal clan groups and this is known throughout Acholi and the country of the Alur.[19]

A contrary view has been expressed. The Babito who succeeded to the throne of Kitara after the Bachwezi were not Lwoo though they were connected with them on the maternal side. They were the descendants of Kyomya, a Muchwezi, and Nyatworo, daughter of Labongo of the Lwoo. Social, cultural and physical features distinguish the Babito from the Lwoo. Furthermore, the Lwoo never invaded or over-ran Kitara because good relations have always existed between Kitara and the northern peoples. If there was an occupation, it was voluntary.[20]

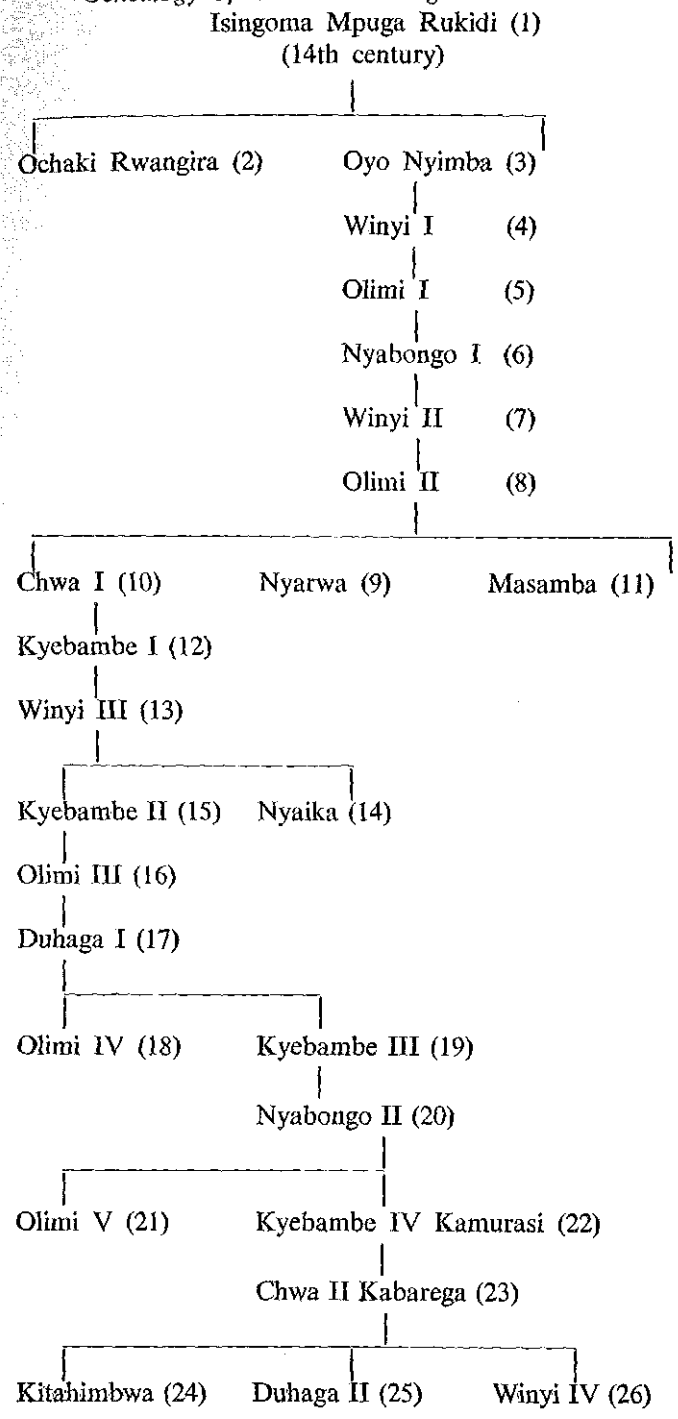
Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi once he had been enthroned made himself absolute monarch over the kingdom held by Wamara; the boundaries of which stretched east to Kavirondo, north to Abyssinia, west to the mid-Congo and south to Lake Tanganyika. He organized a similar pattern of administration by counties ruled by his brothers and relations. His twin brother Kato Kimera was given the county of Muhwahwa. Kato Kimera rebelled and formed an independent kingdom later to be known as Buganda. Buganda was confined to the nuclear counties of Mawokota, Busiro, Kyadondo and Kyagwe. The word *omubaka* means an emissary. Kabaka now means king of Buganda. Tradition says that not wishing to fight against Kato Kimera, Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi left him in peace. Karo-karungi (Ankole) was given to Ruhinda, Wamara's gate-guard, in whose care all the cattle belonging to the Bachwezi had been left, because that country had been set aside for grazing. Ruhinda obtained the royal insignia of a drum (*Bagendarwa*) and Ankole eventually became a separate kingdom. Busoga was given to Kiiza the next born after the twins. Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi gave the *obutaka,* clan lands, to the clans and their descendants are still living on the land. He was the first to start the dual system of jaw-bone temple and body tomb. He developed the salt and iron industries and he is remembered for having brought peace to the land. He died in old age sometime between A.D. 1300 and 1400,[21] or possibly about a century later.

K.W. has given a short account of the reign of each of the Babito kings.[22] This account is closely followed by Nyakatura.[23]

K.W. gives a genealogy of the Babito kings showing that there have been 26 kings in 18 generations.

Table VI

Genealogy of the Babito Kings



	Generations
Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi (1) (14th century)	1
Ochaki Rwangira (2) / Oyo Nyimba (3)	2
Winyi I (4)	3
Olimi I (5)	4
Nyabongo I (6)	5
Winyi II (7)	6
Olimi II (8)	7
Chwa I (10) / Nyarwa (9) / Masamba (11)	8
Kyebambe I (12)	9
Winyi III (13)	10
Kyebambe II (15) / Nyaika (14)	11
Olimi III (16)	12
Duhaga I (17)	13
Olimi IV (18) / Kyebambe III (19)	14
Nyabongo II (20)	15
Olimi V (21) / Kyebambe IV Kamurasi (22)	16
Chwa II Kabarega (23)	17
Kitahimbwa (24) / Duhaga II (25) / Winyi IV (26)	18[24]

This genealogy has the support of Oliver.[25]

The interlacustrine Bantu are differentiated from the non-centralized Bantu by their organization into kingly states which were either kingdoms like Kitara and Buganda or clusters of principalities like Ankole and Busoga. The kings had secular and ritual power and a reign had elements of continuity with those that preceded or succeeded it.

The non-centralized Bantu formed the basic population of their own and the interlacustrine societies. They did not have kings and were organized into patrilineal clans but where they were in contact with Nilo-Hamitic societies organization by age-groups also occurred.

The monarchs of the interlacustrine kingdoms did not impose their rule by force over their peoples who were in many ways complementary to them but did so by the establishment of authority on such grounds as prestige and religion. In this lay the weakness of the system for eventually the kings were seen to be the same as other men. The reigns of the Babito Bakama may be analysed to see what the reign of a Mukama was and what happened when he died. The organization of a kingdom suffered a severe setback when the Mukama died. The state was only constituted when he was alive and was re-constituted when the next Mukama ascended the throne. Sometimes the sons or brothers at the death of the Mukama, or even during the reign of a weak Mukama, disputed the succession. They were able to do so because they had been made chiefs of particular counties in the kingdom and so possessed power and were at times assisted by neighbouring states. Their object was either to secede to form an independent kingdom or to succeed to the throne. If a kingdom is large enough secession may occur; if it is not, then succession is more likely. The early Babito Bakama of Kitara were thus confronted with problems of secession which caused the disintegration of the kingdom, and in turn led to further disintegration. As a result the later Babito Bakama were confronted with problems of succession.

An uncontested succession occurred more frequently than is usually assumed. Succession wars normally follow the weakening of the monarchy by rebellion of the princes in the outlying counties which cause the kingdom to disintegrate. A succession war may be defined as a revolt against the acknowledged successor or against the claimant to the succession by one or more of the late Mukama's sons or brothers. Such a revolt is either successful or unsuccessful and sometimes if unsuccessful leads to secession. After the death of Nyabongo I who had a large number of children and had dissipated the strength of the kingdom in maintaining its boundaries, the first succession war was fought between two brothers and it lasted for three years until the elder was killed and Winyi II, Rubagirasega ascended the throne. He was unpopular because of the succession war, because of his reputation as a killer and because of the loss of four counties to Buganda. These counties were taken without a fight because the inhabitants did not resist. Ankole, Karagwe, Rwanda and Busoga rebelled during his reign and began to rule themselves. Finally he consolidated what remained of

his kingdom and it was at peace for the rest of his reign and that of his successor.

An analysis of the Babito dynasty is given below:

Table VII

Analysis of Babito Dynasty

Mukama	*Generation*	1	2	3	4	5	*Notes*
1 Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi	1		SeB			D	Buganda lost
2 Ochaki Rwangira	2	Su				D	
3 Oyo Nyimba	2	Su				D	
4 Winyi I, Rubembekantara	3	Su		B		D	
5 Olimi I, Rukidi Rwitamahanga	4	Su	R	B		D	
6 Nyabongo I, Chwa Rulema	5	Su	R			D	
7 Winyi II, Rubagirasega	6	W	Se	B		D	Ankole, Busoga Karagwe, Rwanda lost
8 Olimi II, Ruhundwangeye	7	Su				D	
9 Nyarwa Nyamlirahaiguru	8	W			A	M	
10 Chwa I, Rumomamahanga	8	Su			A	K	
(11 Masamba Omubitokati)	8	U				M	
12 Kyebambe I, Winyi Omuzikya	9	Su				D	
13 Winyi III, Rugurukamacholya	10	Su				D	
14 Nyaika	11	W				M	
15 Kyebambe II, Bikaju	11	Su		B		M	
16 Olimi III, Isansa	12	Su		B	A	D	Start of historical record
17 Duhaga I, Chwa Mujuiga	13	Su	Se	B		K	Koki lost
18 Olimi IV, Kasoma	14	W				M	
19 Kyebambe III, Nyamutukura	14	Su	SeS R	B		D	Toro lost
20 Nyabongo II, Mugenyi	15	W				D	
21 Olimi V, Rwakabale	16	W				M	
22 Kyebambe IV, Kamurasi	16	W				D	Speke, Grant, Baker
23 Chwa II, Kabarega	17	W		B	A	Dp	Egyptians, British
24 Kitahimbwa, Y. Karukara	18	Su				Dp	
25 Duhaga II, A. Biscreko	18	Su				D	
26 Winyi IV, T. G. K.	18	Su					

Notes:-
1 Su uncontested succession; W succession war; U upstart.
2 R rebellion; Se secession; Se S secession by son; Se B secession by brother.
3 B war with Buganda.
4 A war with Ankole.
5 D died on throne; M murdered; K killed in battle; Dp deposed.

Each reign is judged on five counts.

The second succession war was after the death of Olimi II. His son Nyarwa succeeded his father but while he was fighting in Ankole his brother Chwa instigated his murder and succeeded to the throne. Chwa was slain fighting in Ankole and an upstart, husband of Masamba Omubitokati, Princess Regent, seized the throne and made himself Mukama together with his wife. Both were murdered and succeeded by the son of the previous Mukama.[26]

The third succession war was caused by the succession of a minor, the youngest son Nyaika, in accordance with the will of his father. The chiefs formed a regency but the other sons who had been given by their father counties to rule rebelled and put their brother Kyebambe II, Bikaju, upon the throne. In spite of a series of wars with Buganda and Ankole and the secession of Koki, the succession was undisputed until the fourth succession war when Olimi IV's succession was contested by his brother Nyamutukura who ascended the throne as Kyebambe III. In the fifth succession war Nyabongo II fought against his brothers who governed Chope. In the sixth succession war Olimi V was attacked by his brothers and was eventually killed by them. In the seventh succession war Kyebambe IV Kamurasi was attacked by the princes of Chope but defeated them: all were killed except for Ruyonga and Mpuhuka who escaped. In the eighth succession war Chwa II Kabarega had to fight his brother Kabigumire for the throne.

Rebellions of the princes may be confused with succession wars. Rebellions are directed against an established Mukama and have been frequent in the traditions of the Babito. Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi suffered the defection of Buganda. Rebellions often occurred during wars with Buganda and may well have been instigated by the enemy. Rebellions occurred in the reigns of Olimi I, Nyabongo I and Winyi II, when Ankole, Karagwe, Rwanda and Busoga were lost. These were followed by a long period of stable rule, only interrupted by wars with Buganda and Ankole until the reign of Duhaga I when the prince in charge of Koki defied the Mukama. By this time the kingdom of Kitara was beginning to disintegrate to the benefit of Buganda. Toro was lost in the 1830s during the reign of Kyebambe III. In the later stages of his reign his other sons rebelled.

The wars with Buganda, of which there were eight, may be divided into two series. The first series consisted of five wars which were fought when Kitara was more powerful than Buganda, although Buganda at times achieved some successes. The second series comprised the last three wars and saw the situation reversed with Buganda in the ascendant. Although Kitara under Kabarega practically re-conquered all the territories which had been lost, the coming of the British saved Buganda and permitted these territories to remain under Kiganda domination.

The first five wars are characterized by the attempts of the Baganda to test the strength of Kitara by opportunist raiding into the frontier counties. The first raid into Buddu and the second into Bulemezi were beaten back

but the third was more successful when Butambala, Busuju, Gomba, south Singo and south Bulemezi were taken and held.[27]

Kitara had been weakened by three years of succession war until the succession of Winyi II.

Peace lasted until Kyebambe II came to the throne. Kitara had been concentrating its efforts on fighting Ankole. The Baganda had been busy fighting amongst themselves out of which conflict emerged the strong centralized monarchy of the Kabaka. The people of the territories which had been lost to Buganda in the reign of Winyi II returned to Kitara in the reign of Winyi III, probably because of the cruelty of the Kabaka at that time which prevented them from living at peace. Kyebambe II after his succession war wanted a breathing space in order to establish his rule and so returned these territories to Buganda. Once he felt secure he made war against Buganda and re-conquered the territories. His successor Olimi III was fighting in Ankole and in his absence the Baganda established themselves in Buhekura (Buwekula) and Singo. After Ankole had been defeated Olimi III drove the Baganda from these areas in the fifth and last war of the first series.

By the next reign, that of Duhaga I, the balance of power had moved in favour of Buganda and the Baganda succeeded in conquering and holding Buddu and Koki. Duhaga I was a contemporary of the Kabaka Junju in the mid-eighteenth century. Junju's successor started long distance trading with the country to the south of Lake Victoria and so indirectly with the east coast,[28] thus obtaining arms and ammunition from the Arabs. From this time can be dated the ascendancy of the Baganda because they controlled most of the routes from the coast to Bunyoro-Kitara.

Weaknesses in the régime of Kitara, typified by the loss of Toro, made further losses inevitable and in the seventh war the Baganda were able to extend their territory. This was during the reign of Kyebambe III. The eighth and last war was long and intermittent, victory first going to the Baganda who were better armed with muskets obtained from the Arabs. Once Kabarega had obtained muskets he succeeded in driving the Baganda back only to find that their final defeat was frustrated by the arrival of the British who protected them with rifles and Maxim guns.

The Ankole wars were fought not so much for territory as for cattle and grazing. Ankole had been given to Ruhinda and remained for the first four reigns under the hegemony of Kitara. In the reign of Olimi I, the Mugabe of Ankole rebelled but was subdued. The succession war at the start of Winyi II's reign allowed Ankole to break away and to rule itself. Nyarwa shortly after his succession invaded Ankole to capture cattle but during the fighting was betrayed and murdered at his brother Chwa's instigation. During Chwa I's reign a cattle epidemic, *Kyeyo*, (from *okweya*, to sweep; possibly rinderpest) destroyed his herds and he invaded Ankole to replenish them. He was successful and having subdued Ankole invaded Rwanda where he was killed in battle. His leaderless army sustained defeat

by Mugabe Ntale Kitabanyoro, the killer of the Banyoro, on its way back through Ankole.

Then followed peace during the reigns of Kyebambe I and Winyi III. The succession war after the death of Winyi III weakened Kitara but Kyebambe II re-established its hegemony.

In the reign of Olimi III shortage of grazing in Ankole forced the people to pasture their herds in Kyaka but they did not obtain the Mukama's permission so he attacked them, seized the cattle and drove the Mugabe from the throne. He sited his capital in Ankole and re-united the country with Kitara. K.W. does not mention any other wars with Ankole after this, so it must be presumed that in the gradual disintegration of Kitara Ankole once again became independent.

The causes of death of the Bakama were either as a result of battle, or murder as a result of dynastic intrigues by rival princes or at the instigation of rivals. Chwa I presumably died of wounds and Duhaga I took poison after being wounded in battle. Nyarwa, Masamba, Nyaika, Kyebambe II, Olimi IV and Olimi V were murdered. The murder of Kyebambe II was instigated by his uncle as a domestic intrigue. The remainder died usually in old age on the throne with the exception of Chwa II, Kabarega and Kitahimbwa who were deposed by the British. Fifteen Bakama died on the throne, which includes those who took poison through old age or incapacity, and this is a surprisingly high number out of twenty-six for the time and circumstances.[29]

The weaknesses of the Babito dynasty must be examined to account for the decline and disintegration of Kitara. In many ways the weaknesses were the same as those which had caused the downfall of the Bachwezi, but since the Babito ruled longer the weaknesses became more apparent.

The traditional system of government of Kitara is said to have been as follows:

The Mukama was head of the kingdom and ruled his people indirectly through a hierarchy of chiefs. The chiefs of the territorial administration were in three grades. The first grade were *Abakama b'Obuhanga*, county chiefs, who were appointed by the Mukama to rule over the different counties which often differed in people, custom, dialect and environment. These chiefs had *Endabaraba*, deputies, who acted in their name either at the palace or in the counties. The second grade were *Abakuru b'Ebitongole*, sub-county chiefs, who were appointed by the Mukama to rule the divisions of the counties. The third grade were *Abakungu*, headmen, who administered the villages and estates of the chiefs.

A separate administration existed for the royal estates. The Mukama appointed chiefs, *Amacumu g'Omukama*, royal stewards, to rule the lands and estates that belonged to the *Abago*, royal consorts, and *Ababitokati*, princesses, who were nominally in charge of the areas concerned. For instance Buruli county was traditionally governed by *Nyangoma*, a princess. These lands and estates were scattered over the kingdom and their administration and defence was the direct responsibility of the royal stewards on

behalf of the Mukama. The royal stewards were the equivalent of the sub-county chiefs. They may have provided a counterpoise to the sub-county chiefs of the territorial administration in the event of rebellion or succession war. Below them were *Abakungu*, headmen, who administered the villages and estates of the royal consorts and princesses. The headmen in both the territorial administration and the royal estates were the link between the people and the chiefs or the royal stewards.

Within this system of government were the *Abakuru b'Enganda*, clan heads. Each and every clan has always had its own head elected by all its members. All matters pertaining to inheritance fell within their jurisdiction and they advised the Mukama accordingly. When a county chief died it was the duty of the clan head to bring the heir before the Mukama for confirmation in his appointment.

The Mukama had *Abakuru b'emirwa*, advisers on the ritual and regalia of the kingdom. The clan heads selected the advisers on ritual because many clans had hereditary duties in the palace. The association of the clans with the territorial and palace administration contributed to stable and orderly government in the kingdom.

The Mukama had *Abakuru b'Ebitebe*, counsellors, members of the *Abajwarakondo*, the crowned order called by Roscoe the Sacred Guild.[30] They were invested by the Mukama for distinguished services rendered to the kingdom. Their offices were hereditary if the Mukama wished.

At the palace the Mukama had a number of courts and councils through which he administered his kingdom. *Orukurato Orukuru rw'Ihanga*, parliament, was an assembly of all the senior chiefs and officials from all over the kingdom who met three or four times a year, according to necessity and at the discretion of the Mukama. It was composed of the Mukama, the county chiefs, the counsellors and other officials of high rank. Before parliament was summoned the *Orukurato rw'Omubananu*, cabinet, met to decide in secret all matters of policy and the agenda for discussion by parliament. The members of the cabinet were the Mukama, the county chiefs, *Mugema*, the head of the counsellors, *Bamuroga*, the principal chief, who acted as regent when the Mukama died and until another Mukama was enthroned and who had charge of the royal tombs, and a few other people of importance.

The Mukama was also chairman of a number of courts and tribunals to settle public, private and domestic affairs.

In *Orukurato rw'Omurugo*, the Court of the Royal Enclosure, the Mukama settled disputes between members of the royal family or between the royal family and the commoners. In *Orukurato rwa Barwara*, the Court of the Kingdom, the Mukama settled disputes between any of the people who lived in Kitara whether they were chiefs, freemen or commoners. He was assisted by his principal counsellors. Trials were held in public and witnesses were called to give evidence. Sometimes if the Mukama was ill or busy elsewhere the head of the counsellors or a county chief took his place. In *Orukurato rwa Bamwenagaho*, the Court of the Eastern Tribes,

the Mukama gave audience to the Baganda, Basoga, Iteso, Bagisu and other tribes from the east. In *Orukurato rwa Kyakato*, the Court of the Pastoralists, the Mukama gave audience to the Bahima of Ankole, Karagwe, Kiziba, Rwanda, Burundi and other peoples from the south. In *Orukurato rwa Binyonyi*, the Court of the Northern and Western Tribes, the Mukama gave audience to the Lango, Acholi, Alur, Madi, Lugbara, Lendu and Balega. In *Orukurato rwa Hamusanga*, the Court of the Royal Herdsmen, held early in the morning at milking time, the Mukama settled the disputes of his herdsmen before undertaking the main ceremonies of the day. The Mukama ordered other tribunals whenever and wherever necessary to settle domestic and private matters.[31]

The effectiveness of this traditional system of government depended entirely upon the ability and the personality of the reigning monarch. If he was incompetent orderly administration ceased. If he was competent he had to contend with other difficulties which made his task harder.

The wideness of the boundaries prevented the development of an efficient government. Becoming fundamentally cattle people the Babito Bakama were not interested in the administration of a static agricultural society; their interests lay in raiding and not in ruling. The ruling classes were pastoralists and their mobility together with that of their herds made them more difficult to administer and to control than the ruling classes of an agricultural state like Buganda who were tied to the land which they controlled and from which their wealth and prestige were derived. Mortality of cattle due to disease had a severe psychological effect upon the Babito.

The maintenance of the kingdom depended upon the ability and character of the Mukama at any one time and his energies were expended in efforts to enforce his kingship. He had too much to do and in the delegation of authority ran the risk of rebellion. The constant rebellions against the later Babito Bakama weakened the country. The loyalty of the people in the outlying counties waned.

To the south-east grew the compact agricultural power of Buganda. The loss of Ankole and the defection of Toro in the 1830s completed the decline and disintegration of Kitara. Yet in 1869 there came to the throne Kabarega who, by virtue of the magnitude of his personality and his ability as a leader, succeeded in re-conquering Toro and the areas surrendered to Buganda.[32] Until the advent of Kabarega Buganda had secured the monopoly of the Arab trade and had been able to obtain muskets and gunpowder. Kabarega encouraged the Arabs to trade directly with him and so his armies were no longer at a disadvantage when fighting the Baganda.[33]

To a kingdom which had once been the predominating power in the country between the great lakes and whose rulers were descended from the gods, the avaricious attacks of these upstart kingdoms on their parent were regarded as sacrilege. Kabarega infused into his people an overwhelming desire to fight desperately to retain their liberty and to re-unite the kingdom of their ancestors.[34]

Table VIII

Babito

Fisher	*Gorju*	*Torelli**	*Roscoe*	*Bikunya*	*K.W. and Nyakatura*
I.M.R.	I.M.R.	I.M.R.	I.M.R.	I.M.R.	Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi
Ocaki	Ocaki				Ochaki Rwangira
Oyo	Oyo		Oyo	Oyo	Oyo Nyimba
			Nyimba		
					Winyi I, Rubembekantara
		Olimi			Olimi I, Rukidi Rwitamahanga
		Nyabongo			Nyabongo I, Chwa Rulemu
		Winyi I	Winyi	Winyi I	Winyi II, Rubagirasega
			Olimi		Olimi II, Ruhundwangeye
				Nyarwa	Nyarwa Nyamulirahaiguru
Cwa	Cwa	Chwamali I	Chwa I	Cwa I	Chwa I, Rumomamahanga
Dunego	Dunego				Masamba Omubitokati
		Kyebambe I			Kyebambe I, Winyi Omuzikya
Winyi	Winyi	Winyi II		Winyi II	Winyi III, Rugurukamacholya
		Nyaika		Rukidi II	Nyaika
		Kyebambe II	Bikaju	Winyi III	Kyebambe II, Bikaju
Olimi	Olimi	Olimi II	Isaza†	Olimi II	Olimi III, Isansa
Isansa	Isansa				
Duhaga	Duhaga	Duhaga	Duhaga I	Duhaga I	Duhaga I, Chwa Mujuiga
	Kasoma	Kasoma			Olimi IV, Kasoma
Dubongeza	Dubongeza	Kyebambe III	Kyebambe II	Kyebambe II	Kyebambe III, Nyamutukura
Mugenyi	Mugenyi	Nyabongo II	Nyabongo II	Nyabongo	Nyabongo II, Mugenyi
					Olimi V, Rwakabale
Kamurasi	Kamurasi	Kamurasi	Kamurasi	Kyebambe III	Kyebambe IV, Kam[illegible]
		Kabagungu			
Kabarega	Kabarega	Kabarega	Kabarega	Chwa II	
Kitahimbwa	Kitahimbwa	Kitahimbwa	Kitahimbwa	[illegible]	
Duhaga	Duhaga	Duhaga	Duha[illegible]		

**Gorju p. 64.*
†*Isansa*
N.B. *Gorju's and Torelli's* [illegible]

[1]K. W. (1935). op. cit.
[2]Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 56, 67-t
[3]K. W. (1935). op. cit.
[4]Fisher. op. cit., p. 111. The Ban[illegible] illegitimate children.
[5]Ibid. pp. 111-112.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 36-39.

[6]K. W. (1936). op. cit.
[7]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 113-114.
[8]Gorju. op. cit., p. 60.
[9]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 114-115.
Gorju. op. cit., pp. 59-61.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 40-41.
Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 72.
[10]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 115-116, 123.
[11]Gorju. op. cit., p. 61.
Morris. op. cit., p. 23. Iremera was a Murisa from Buhweju.
[12]K.W. (1935). op. cit.
[13]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 117-118.
Bikunya. op. cit., p. 43. Bikunya confirms the drums *Kajumba* and *Nyalebe.*
K.W. (1935). op. cit. K.W. confirms that the drums were left in the hands of Mubimba of the Basita clan.
[14]Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 76, 82-83.
[15]Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 55-56.
K.W. (1936). op. cit.
[16]Gorju. op. cit., pp. 58-60.
[17]Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 37-38.
[18]Crazzolara (1950). op. cit., p. 106.
[19]Ibid. pp. 107-112.
[20]R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication.
[21]K.W. (1936). op. cit.
Fisher. op. cit., p. 121. Mrs. Fisher confirms the administrative arrangements.
[22] K.W. (1936). op. cit.
K.W. (1937). op. cit.
[23]Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 82-128.
[24]K.W. (1937). op. cit.
[25]Oliver (1955). op. cit.
[26] Masamba is called Dunego by Mrs. Fisher and by Gorju.
Fisher. op. cit., pp. 134-137.
Gorju. op. cit., p. 61.
[27]Cox. op. cit.
[28]Oliver (1955). op. cit.
[29]K.W. (1936). op. cit.
K.W. (1937). op. cit.
Nyakatura. op. cit. p. 95.
Other accounts of this period are given by:
Fisher. op. cit., pp. 127-171.
Gorju. op. cit., pp. 61-62.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 62.76.
but they are somewhat confused and telescoping of personalities and events occur.
[30]Roscoe. op. cit., pp. 8, 51.
[31]R. A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication. The Runyoro titles of chiefs and courts have not been directly translated but given their equivalents in English.
[32]Ingham (1957). op. cit.
[33]Dunbar, A. R. (1960). Emin Pasha and Bunyoro-Kitara. *Uganda J. 24,* 71-83.
[34]Fisher. op. cit., p. 172.

CONCLUSION

FOR what they are worth these traditions have been handed down to posterity and it seems fair enough to infer that they must have been based upon something. The Bachwezi must have had some meaning for the people of Kitara because the first European travellers were thought to be the Bachwezi who had returned. They appeared to know the country, to require no direction and to show no fear. They had no respect even for the greatest chief. The complications of their way of life: guns, lamps, maroons: made them seem mysterious. Their desire for geographical exploration was incomprehensible.[1]

The Batembuzi were probably the early Bahima originating from the north-east. They were a ruling minority who mixed little with the indigenous Bantu population. The Bachwezi were probably not different in origin from the other Bahima and were most likely to have been the most recent wave of invaders possibly bringing with them the fruits of a culture ultimately deriving from Meroë. They were certainly pastoralists and their downfall was possibly due to internecine strife, sickness or cattle disease. The Babito were partly Nilotes and part of the Lwoo invasion which populated Acholi and caught up with the last stages of the southern advance of the Bahima.[2]

Wright suggests that the culture of the kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara owes its origin to people of Hamitic extraction who preserved in the religious rites surrounding the king much of the myth and custom ultimately derived from the decadent Egyptian culture of Meroë. The series of Hamitic movements from western Abyssinia were interrupted by the subsequent migrations of the Nilotic Lwoo from the Sudan which followed immediately after the move of the Hamites southwards from Kitara to Rwanda. His hypothesis is that the Hamites brought cultural elements derived from Meroë by way of Abyssinia and that the Lwoo brought cultural elements derived from Meroë by way of Kordofan.[3]

The traditions of Bunyoro-Kitara as recorded do not indicate the origins of the culture of the kingdom and much archaeological work will have to be done before an answer can be given.

All that can be said is that the traditions of Bunyoro-Kitara are remembered by the people and have to be appreciated by the historian if the subsequent history of the kingdom is to be understood.

References

[1]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 157, 163.
[2]Ingham (1957). op. cit.
[3]Wright, A. C. A. (1950). The Zimbabwe-Monomotapa Culture in South East Africa: a Review. *Uganda J. 14*, 109-114.

Part II

EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

1862-1899

INTRODUCTION

THE contacts that the early Europeans had with Bunyoro-Kitara in the second half of the nineteenth century may be conveniently treated in three chapters. The first period, described in chapter 8, from September 1862, when the first Europeans reached Bunyoro to June 1877, when the River Semliki was discovered, is that of the scientific explorers urged on by a desire to know, to map and to classify. These men were drawn to the region of the great lakes to discover the source of the Nile. So far as Bunyoro-Kitara is concerned this period is dominated by Samuel Baker who made two expeditions to Bunyoro and spent several months in the country on each occasion. He recorded his opinion of the country, the people and the Bakama, Kamurasi and Kabarega, in no uncertain terms, typical of the vigour of his tremendous personality, which is remembered to this day.

The Khedive of Egypt wished to found an equatorial empire based on the Nile and the great lakes and perhaps stretching as far as the Indian Ocean. In his service Gordon, who had achieved fame in China, led a cosmopolitan band of subordinates who were not only explorers and geographers but also soldiers and administrators, to establish Equatoria province. In so doing the question of the Nile sources was solved, and a series of forts linked by river and track was built in north Bunyoro. Gordon himself, though he created much impression elsewhere, left little mark on Bunyoro, mainly because the intransigent Kabarega, who was re-conquering the empire of his forebears, had no desire to put it at the disposal of Egypt or of any other power. Moreover he did not deal with Kabarega but only with Ruyonga, Baker's puppet appointee.

The first period of scientific exploration thus merged naturally into the second period of Egyptian attempts at domination, of which an account is given in chapter 9. From July 1877, to May 1889, the central figure was Emin Pasha, who for the greater part of the time was Governor of Equatoria, which included north Bunyoro. He saw Equatoria's decline and fall caused by the Mahdist revolt which severed communications with Egypt. Though Emin with his lack of personality has been unsympathetically depicted by many authors, he is esteemed in Bunyoro as the only European who understood Kabarega. His intuitive appreciation of the African way of life resulted in valuable notes on the Banyoro and their customs. Emin was 'rescued' against his will by Stanley, and Equatoria was abandoned in 1889.

Kabarega was not, however, left in peace for long. Until the Mahdist revolt in the Sudan European influence entered Bunyoro-Kitara by way of the Nile because communications were less hazardous than those from the Indian Ocean. Once the Nile communications were cut, use was increasingly made of the route from the east coast, and so the third and last period from June 1889, to April 1899, is that of the British, who came from the south-east by way of Buganda, and is described in chapter 10. This fact had far-reaching effects because in the supreme arrogance and confidence of the late Victorian era the British officers made little attempt to learn local languages or to understand the people whom they met. As a result they were impressed, influenced and misled by the Baganda, who were only too anxious to obtain an ally to protect them from the resurgent Kabarega. So the predominance of Buganda in the Uganda Protectorate was achieved at the expense of Bunyoro-Kitara. It was an unhappy time for the kingdom, riddled by wars, pestilence and famine until the indomitable Kabarega was finally captured after a guerrilla campaign of nearly six years' duration.

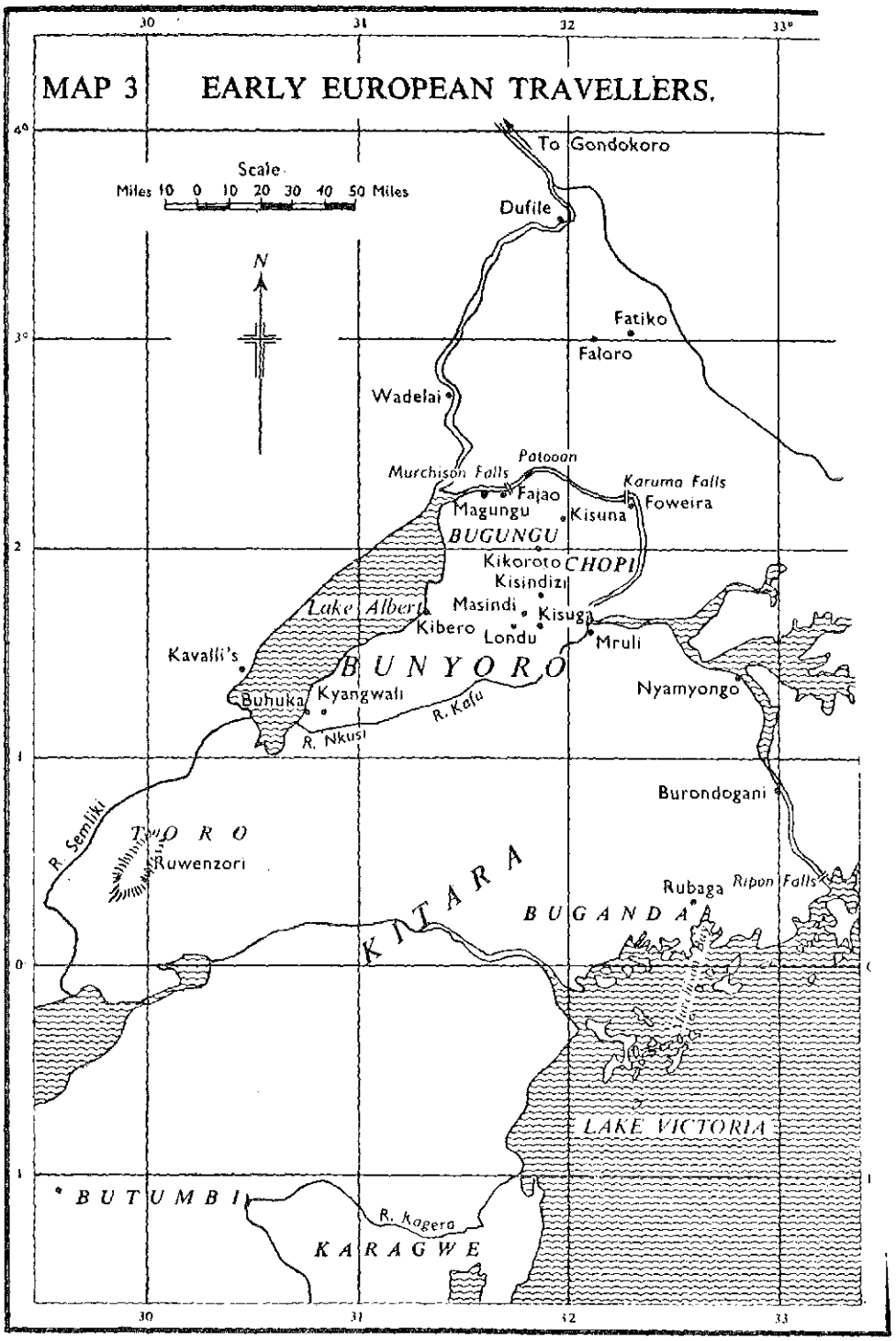
The outbreak of the Mahdist revolt had severe effects upon Bunyoro-Kitara. If it had not occurred, Masindi might well have been the capital of Uganda, Kampala might have been a district headquarters and Entebbe just an obscure peninsula projecting into Lake Victoria.

EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

THIS chapter is concerned only with the first period of scientific exploration, motivated by a desire to discover the source of the Nile. It was this desire which brought Speke and Grant to Bunyoro-Kitara, and a determination to complete Speke's unfinished task which brought Baker on his first journey. He returned a second time in the employment of the Khedive to secure for Egypt the domination of the headwaters of the Nile. Gordon after him established an Egyptian administration, and successive officers in the service of the Egyptian goverment, Chaillé-Long, Gessi and Mason, succeeded in proving the correctness of Speke's inspired guess: each had a share in proving that it was one and the same river that flowed from the Ripon Falls to Gondokoro.

Speke and Grant were both captains in the Indian Army. Speke had been associated with Burton in two expeditions and was an experienced explorer. Grant was a competent naturalist. According to Speke the purpose of his expedition with Grant was to establish the truth of his assertion that the Victoria Nyanza, which he discovered on 30 July 1858, would eventually prove to be the source of the Nile.[1] He planned to journey to the source by way of Zanzibar and to descend rather than to ascend the river, all attempts at which had ended in failure. Petherick, British Consul for the Sudan, and an ivory merchant, who had spent many years on the Nile, had offered to make boats ready at Gondokoro, to send a party of men up the White Nile to collect ivory in the meantime, and to assist the two travellers on their journey down-stream. Gondokoro was a station of the ivory traders, occupied for about two months in the year when the annual boats arrived from and then departed for Khartoum. The ostensible purpose of trade was ivory; in reality it was slaves. This may account for the delays and difficulties that Speke encountered on entering and leaving Kitara, for he was thought to be in league with the ivory and slave traders who were menacing the northern marches of the kingdom.

Speke and Grant travelled through Karagwe and Buganda. Speke found the Nile at Burondogani about four miles north-west of Mbulamuti[2] and marched up-stream to discover the Ripon Falls on 28 July 1862. He then wished to follow the river northwards, while Grant was to march direct to Bunyoro, but this plan did not commend itself to Kamurasi, Mukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, who was doubtful of their intentions. Speke was therefore obliged to rejoin Grant and to enter the kingdom by the


MAP 3 EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS.
30
31
32
33°
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2
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Scale
Miles 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
N
To Gondokoro
Dufile
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Murchison Falls
Patooan
Karuma Falls
Fajao
Foweira
Magungu
Kisuna
BUGUNGU
CHOPI
Kikoroto
Kisindizi
Lake Albert
Masindi
Kisuga
Kibero
Londu
Mruli
Kavalli's
BUNYORO
Nyamyongo
Buhuka
Kyangwali
R. Kafu
R. Nkusi
Burondogani
R. Semliki
TORO
Ruwenzori
KITARA
Rubaga
Ripon Falls
BUGANDA
LAKE VICTORIA
BUTUMBI
R. Kagera
KARAGWE
30
31
32
33

conventional route, north-west to the mouth of the River Kafu. Grant noted that: 'nothing marked the boundary between Buganda and Bunyoro . . . the country waved in gentle long swells of land covered with tall grass and thin forest, with a few low conical hills.'[3]

On 9 September 1862, they arrived at Kamurasi's residence, which was in a naturally strong position on low flat land between the Nile and the south bank of the Kafu,[4] sited to guard against the attacks of his rebel cousin Ruyonga. 'Nothing could be more desolate' wrote Grant of Mruli, Bunyoro's capital. 'I can only compare it to a bare and dreary common—not a tree nor a garden to relieve the eye or to afford shade from the equatorial sun. The vast plain was covered with tall grass, through which at this season we could not walk without wading, so that we were completely hemmed in by water.'[5]

Nine days elapsed before the suspicions and pride of the Mukama permitted him to see them. Speke, who would not believe that Kamurasi was to prove less avaricious than either Rumanika of Karagwe or Mutesa of Buganda, found him seated upon his throne: 'like a pope in state—calm and actionless'.[6] 'In appearance the King was fair for an African, of slender figure, nearly six feet high, and about forty years of age. His features were good, with soft gentle eyes . . . a barkcloth covering, tied round his body tightly from above his waist to his heels, was his only raiment. It was the usual salmon colour, but had small pieces of black barkcloth, sewn very neatly with a looping stitch, dotting it all over . . . Our presents of beads, boxes, guns, cloth, etc., were received by Kamurasi very coolly, with no sign of pleasure, only an occasional remark . . . all was affected indifference . . . he had seen all, except the double-barrelled rifle, and the watch which he saw Speke take out of his pocket . . . At the other interviews it was constant begging. . . . With all his apparent rudeness, Kamurasi was not unkindly. Though his neighbour, Mutesa, ordered his subjects to be butchered, no such savage custom prevailed in Bunyoro: men were admonished, and were told how fortunate they were under the King's lenient rule. . . . Kamurasi was constantly visited by men of far countries coming to trade with him for cattle, slaves and ivory.'[7]

During October inquiries were made about the route north and messages were sent to reassure Petherick that they were on their way. Kamurasi wished to delay the departure, but on 9 November 1862, Speke and Grant went by canoe down the Nile for four days, making the rest of the journey to the Karuma Falls by land, along the west bank. According to Speke, Kamurasi's 'conduct throughout was most unjustifiable and anything but friendly. . . . He would not allow me to go to the Little Luta Nzige. . . .[8] This was for the purpose of making us tools in his conflict with his brothers.'[9] In Kitara at this time the succession was decided by the brothers fighting for the throne: the winner gained the crown. Speke had found Mutesa, though cruel and quick of temper, an amusing companion, anxious for sport and pleasure. Rumanika had been able to speak Swahili and became a great friend, a good adviser, and an interesting

informant. Speke liked him because he never begged. In comparison, Kamurasi was prevaricating, wheedling, covetous, and his palace was in uncongenial surroundings. Grant appears to have been more tolerant. Doubtless Kamurasi was worried by the activities of the slavers to the north and the possibility of their alliance with Ruyonga. He also thought that Speke and Grant were associated with the slavers. The two explorers, on the other hand, were wearied by travel and fever, and were anxious to complete the last stage of their journey.

From the Karuma Falls they marched north to Petherick's outpost at Falaro, where they met a party of Nubians, Egyptians, Arabs and slaves in the employment of the Maltese trader, De Bono. They accompanied these men to Gondokoro, where they found Samuel Baker, who asked Speke if there was anything left undone that might be of importance for him to complete. Speke told him of his disappointment in not seeing the lake, how he had seen the Nile bending westward where he had crossed near Karuma, and then after walking down the chord of an arc described by the river, had found it again in Madi, coming from the west, whence to the south, and as far at least as Koshi,[10] it was said to be navigable, probably continuing to be so right into the lake.[11]

Baker came from a prosperous family of Bristol merchants and plantation owners. Imbued with a great love of sport, he had already tropical experience in Mauritius and Ceylon. On this occasion, he had undertaken a private expedition to discover the sources of the Nile in the hope of meeting his friend Speke. Accompanied by his Hungarian-born second wife, he had already spent some months exploring the tributaries of the Blue Nile and did not arrive at Gondokoro until 1863, where he met Speke and Grant on 15 February. Speke expressed to Baker his conviction that the Luta Nzige must be the second source of the Nile,[12] and Baker determined to confirm this.

Held up at Abbo by rains until the River Aswa fell, he did not approach the Karuma Falls until 22 January 1864. He was then hindered from entering Bunyoro because Kamurasi was suspicious of his motives, lest he was in league with De Bono's slave traders or with Ruyonga. De Bono's men had at first been welcomed as the friends of Speke and Grant, but with atrocious treachery, had repaid hospitality by plundering and massacring their hosts.

On 10 February, after further procrastination by Kamurasi, the Bakers arrived at Mruli and were lodged on the east bank of the Kafu, only to find that Kamurasi was on the opposite bank. It must be remembered that the first Europeans were thought to be the mythical Bachwezi, who had returned to their former dominions, because they appeared to know the country, to require no direction, and to show no fear. The complications of their mode of life were mysterious and incomprehensible. The fact of Mrs. Baker being a woman caused further suspicion because she could bear sons to succeed. Baker was so ill with fever that when the Mukama arrived he was carried and laid on a mat before him. Presents were exchanged

and Baker requested guides to lead him to the lake, which Kamurasi told him was called M'-wootan N'zige. The Mukama, however, asked that he should become his ally to attack Ruyonga. Baker replied by saying that his only object was to find the lake. More presents were requested and Baker finally expostulated: 'It is the rapacity of the chiefs of the various tribes that renders African exploration so difficult.'[13] Eventually it was agreed that porters were to be provided to the lake, canoes to Bugungu, and porters to Shooa.[14]

Baker then requested Kamurasi to allow him and his wife to depart, but Kamurasi replied: 'You must leave your wife with me' . . . 'drawing my revolver quietly I held it within two feet of his chest . . . I explained to him that in my country such insolence would entail bloodshed . . . my wife made him a little speech in Arabic with a countenance almost as amiable as the head of Medusa.'[15]

The Mukama was completely astonished at his giving offence. It was his custom to give his visitors pretty wives, and he thought that Baker might like to exchange.

Despite all these difficulties Baker was entranced with the country. 'After the disgusting naked tribes that we had been travelling amongst for more than twelve months, it was a delightful change to find ourselves in comparative civilization; this was evinced not only in the decency of the clothing, but also in the manufactures of the country. The blacksmiths were exceedingly clever and used iron hammers instead of stone . . . they make a fine quality of jet black earthenware, producing excellent tobacco-pipes . . . extremely pretty bowls, and also bottles. The huts are very large, about twenty feet in diameter, made entirely of reeds and straw, and very lofty, looking in the interior like huge inverted baskets, bee-hived shaped . . . the country thickly populated, and much cultivated' with simsim, sweet potatoes, beans, finger millet, sorghum, maize and plantains.[16]

On 23 February the Bakers left Mruli, made a detour around a great swamp and eventually reached the Kafu. While crossing by a natural floating bridge of papyrus, Baker looked back to see his wife: 'standing in one spot, and sinking gradually through the weeds . . . her face distorted and perfectly purple, she fell, as though shot dead.'[17] He thought that it was sunstroke, but it may have been cerebral malaria. She was carried in a litter unconscious for three days, and having regained consciousness was in delirium for seven days, which ended in convulsions. Then she recovered, rested for two days, and continued the journey. Lack of provisions made it impossible to remain for long in one spot.

On 14 March 1864, near Kyangwali, Baker first saw the lake: 'the glory of our prize burst suddenly upon me! There, like a sea of quicksilver, lay far beneath the grand expanse of water—a boundless sea horizon on the south and south-west, glittering in the noon-day sun; and on the west, at fifty or sixty miles' distance, blue mountains rose from the bosom of the lake to a height of 7,000 feet above its level. . . . I called this great lake "The Albert Nyanza." The Victoria and Albert lakes are the two sources

of the Nile . . . after a toilsome descent of about two hours . . . we gained the level plain below the cliff . . . a walk of about a mile . . . brought us to the water's edge. The waves were rolling upon a white pebbly beach: I rushed into the lake, and thirsty with heat and fatigue, with a heart full of gratitude, I drank deeply from the sources of the Nile.'[18] This was near a fishing village called Vacovia.[19] From descriptions given by the local inhabitants and as a result of the dry season haze, he thought that the lake stretched further south than it actually did.

When canoes had been acquired, the Bakers travelled northwards along the east shore of the lake, enduring storms, mosquitoes and absconding boat-men, until they reached Bugungu to find the same river that they had crossed at Karuma boiling and tearing along its rocky course, now entering the lake as a sluggish stream. Baker could not understand this phenomenon, though the chiefs assured him that it was indeed the same river. He could follow by eye the course of the Albert Nile as it made its way northwards, but his guides refused to take him downstream from the lake exit because they feared that they would be killed by hostile tribes on the return journey. Since he could not travel downstream, he determined to fulfil his promise to Speke to explore the doubtful portion of river between the Karuma Falls and Lake Albert, even though this meant missing the boats at Gondokoro in which they had arranged to travel north.

The Bakers travelled up the Victoria Nile and about eighteen miles east of Bugungu noticed a slight current: 'when the paddles ceased working we could distinctly hear the roar of water . . . upon rounding the corner a magnificent sight burst suddenly upon us . . . on either side of the river were beautifully wooded cliffs rising abruptly to a height of about three hundred feet; rocks were jutting out from the intensely green foliage; and rushing through a gap that cleft the rock exactly before us, the river, contracted from a grand stream, was pent up in a narrow gorge of scarcely fifty yards in width; roaring furiously through the rock-bound pass, it plunged in one leap of about one hundred and twenty feet perpendicular into a dark abyss below . . . in honour of the distinguished President of the Royal Geographical Society I named it the Murchison Falls.'[20] Baker appears not to have climbed to the top of the falls because the gorge is there, at its narrowest place, only nineteen feet wide.

The Bakers left the canoes at Fajao and marched eastwards parallel to the Nile. One night they camped upon an island in the river, Patooan, a place of refuge for people driven from their homes by the war between Kamurasi and Ruyonga. The islands to the east to within a march of the Karuma Falls were in the possession of Ruyonga and his half brother Fowooka[21] the deadly enemies of Kamurasi. Owing to the war the Bakers could not proceed further, porters were unobtainable, and the country was deserted. They subsisted on finger millet and local spinach for two months.

Kamurasi was in the vicinity, but presumably to put pressure upon Baker to join with him to attack his enemies, did not help him. Eventually Baker

sent messages to Kamurasi that if he desired an alliance he must treat in person. The bait was taken, they were given supplies and were transported to Kamurasi's camp at Kisuna near Rabongo Hill. There they were greeted by the man whom they had always thought to be Kamurasi but who really was Mgambi.[22] Baker commented: 'the deceit of this country was incredible—I had positively never seen the real Kamurasi up to this moment, and this man Mgambi now confessed to having impersonated the king his brother, as Kamurasi was afraid that I might be in league with De Bono's people to murder him.'[23] As a result of this deception Baker had no further wish to see Kamurasi, in case he should be fooled a second time, but he was eventually persuaded to do so and decided: 'to present myself to the king in as favourable a light as possible. I happened to possess a full-dress Highland suit . . . accordingly I was quickly attired in kilt, sporran and Glengarry bonnet . . . with plaid and kilt . . . I found myself in the presence of the actual king of Bunyoro, Kamurasi . . . not a word passed between us for about five minutes . . . Kamurasi was a remarkably fine man, tall and well-proportioned, with a handsome face of dark brown colour, but a peculiarly sinister expression; he was beautifully clean, and instead of wearing the barkcloth common among the people, he was dressed in a fine mantle of black and white goat-skins, as soft as chamois leather. His people sat on the ground at some distance from his throne; when they approached to address him on any subject they crawled upon their hands and knees to his feet, and touched the ground with their foreheads. True to his natural instincts the king started begging . . . disgusted with his importunity I rose to depart, telling him that I should not return to visit him, as I did not believe he was the real Kamurasi. I had heard that Kamurasi was a great king, but that he was a mere beggar, and was doubtless an impostor, like Mgambi. At this he seemed highly amused. . . .'[24]

Although Baker had learnt to hide as many of his possessions as possible, the Mukama nevertheless coveted those that were there, and to change the subject Baker asked him about the history of his kingdom. Kamurasi replied: 'it had formerly been a very extensive kingdom . . . and that Buganda and Butumbi (near Lake Edward) had been comprised in the country of Kitara with Bunyoro and Chope. The kingdom of Kitara extended from the frontier of Karagwe to the Victoria Nile at Bugungu and Karuma, bounded on all sides but the south by that river and the Victoria and Albert Lakes.'[25]

During the whole time that Baker was in contact with Kamurasi at Kisuna he was pestered by the Mukama to provide military assistance against Ruyonga and Mpuhuka. Baker had no wish to be embroiled in his family squabble and made his poor health an excuse. Kamurasi eventually left in anger, and did not send any more supplies. Action was, however, forced on Baker by the advance on Kisuna of Mpuhuka's people, accompanied by De Bono's men. Although Kamurasi was ready to retreat, Baker ran up the Union Jack and explained that Kamurasi and his country were under

British protection; De Bono's men thereupon withdrew much to Kamurasi's astonishment.

After this incident Baker moved to Foweira. It was there that he made *waragi*: 'the idea struck me that I could manufacture spirit from this source (sweet potatoes) . . . I constructed my still . . . I found an extraordinary change in my health from the time that I commenced drinking the potato whisky. I became strong and from that time to the present day my fever left me . . . he (Kamurasi) expressed his great regret that he had never sufficiently appreciated their (sweet potatoes) value, and he expressed a determination to cultivate whole districts . . . and to establish . . . a company.'[26] The Bakers left Bunyoro on 16 November 1864, and eventually arrived safely at Gondokoro.

No European travellers penetrated into Bunyoro until the return of Baker, now knighted, as Governor-General of Equatoria in 1872. On 22 March of that year a lavishly equipped and well-organized expedition reached the Victoria Nile from Fatiko. Baker was accompanied by his wife and his nephew, Lieutenant Baker, R.N. His instructions were to suppress the slave trade by annexing the countries south of Gondokoro, by bringing the region under permanent administration, and by encouraging legitimate commerce, thereby severing the slave trade at its roots. He wrote on arrival: 'it is impossible to describe the change that had taken place since I last visited this country. It was then a perfect garden, thickly populated, and producing all that man could desire . . . all is wilderness! The population has fled! Not a village is to be seen! This is the certain result of the settlement of the Khartoum traders. They kidnap the women and children for slaves, and plunder and destroy wherever they set foot.'[27]

Kamurasi had died some two years before. His sons had fought for the succession, as was the custom, and each aspirant sought the aid of the slave traders. Kabarega, Kabka Miro,[28] and Ruyonga, were the chief contestants. Baker believed that the armed bands of the slaver Abou Saud supported all three, eventually installing Kabarega after killing Kabigumire, but keeping Ruyonga alive in case it was necessary to depose Kabarega.[29] Another version does not mention Ruyonga and the Arabs, but only Kabarega and Kabigumire who fought two campaigns before Kabigumire was defeated and killed.[30] It has been suggested that Kabarega's name was derived as follows: his mother was a girl from Bulega thus her child by Kamurasi was called *akana ka Balega,* eventually shortened to Kabarega.[31]

Baker left a garrison of former slavers at Foweira to maintain communications with Fatiko and marched to Kisuna, and thence to Masindi where he arrived on 25 April. The next day he had an interview with Kabarega near the cairn built to mark the spot, half a mile west of the East African Railways and Harbours' depot. Kabarega's residence at Kijura was near the former tobacco factory, now the timber yard of Budongo Sawmills. Baker described his official visit: 'Kabarega was very well clad, in a beautifully made barkcloth striped with black: he was excessively neat,

and appeared to be about twenty years of age . . . I explained the intentions of the Khedive of Egypt . . . that I was determined to suppress the slave trade. . . . Kabarega was about five feet ten inches in height, and of extremely light complexion. His eyes were very large, but projected in a disagreeable manner. A broad but low forehead and high cheek bones, added to a large mouth, with rather prominent but exceedingly white teeth, complete the description of his face. His hands were beautifully shaped. . . .'[32] Baker went on to emphasize the importance of agriculture, commerce and good government, but Kabarega replied that it was wasting breath to talk of these until Ruyonga had been destroyed. Baker wrote: 'I had studiously avoided meddling in native politics . . . I was, therefore, determined not to attack Ruyonga, unless he should presume to defy the government. . . . Kabarega replied: "My father is dead; but Ruyonga is still alive. Now you are my father, and your wife is my mother, will you allow your son's enemy to live?" '[33] Baker was unmoved but promised to send a detachment to release Banyoro stolen as slaves by the traders.

It is probable that Kabarega even welcomed Baker's arrival. He had succeeded to the throne after hard fighting and was still opposed by Ruyonga. He saw in Baker an ally, strong enough to assist him against his rival. Moreover for some time he had been harassed by the operations of the slave traders in the country north of Bunyoro and once this was occupied by the Egyptian administration he felt able to turn southwards to recapture the dominions of his forebears in Toro.

After his meeting with Kabarega Baker started to cultivate a tract of ground behind the present East African Railways and Harbours' Inspector of Works' Office, both to give a field of fire and to provide food for the troops. 'On the third day after sowing, the cucumbers, melons, pumpkins and cotton seeds showed themselves above ground.'[34] He was the first person to plant cotton in Bunyoro. On 14 May 1872, he took formal possession of Bunyoro in the name of the Khedive of Egypt.[35] For a while trade flourished, cheap manufactured goods being exchanged for ivory, but gradually Baker became suspicious of foul play. Kabarega was outflanking and observing his position; food was obtained with difficulty; a show of hostility was made when the troops were at their daily drill. As a result, Baker started to build a fort.

On 7 June, Baker claimed that poisoned plantain beer had been sent to the troops, and next morning an attack was made upon the encampment. 'Thousands of armed natives now rushed from all directions upon the station . . . the troops were now in open order, completely around the station, and were pouring heavy fire into the masses of the enemy within the high grass, which had been left purposely uncleared by Kabarega, in order to favour his treacherous attack. The natives kept up a steady fire upon the front behind the castor-oil bushes and the densely thronged houses.'[36] Baker gave orders for the firing of the town and pursued the enemy through the flames. The attack had been repulsed, but Baker could not understand why it had occurred: 'Since we have been in the country,

my men have been models of virtue. Nothing has been stolen . . . neither have the natives been interfered with. . . . I have driven the slave hunters from the country and my troops from Fatiko are ordered to restore to Bunyoro all the slaves that have been stolen by the traders.'[37] Other writers have, however, suggested that the bad habits of Baker's troops did not endear them to the Banyoro.[38]

It is easy to imagine that these men behaved as undisciplined troops do everywhere, demanding excessive quantities of food and beer and troubling the women. Baker naturally could not admit to these excesses since they reflected upon him as a commanding officer. In any case Baker must have been naïve to have thought that the king and people of a proud and ancient kingdom would willingly have endured the protection of Egypt from whose subjects' excesses they had already suffered. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the case the battle of Masindi confirmed in Kabarega his hatred of Europeans.

After the incident Kabarega sent messages that the attack had not been instigated by him, but Baker found this hard to believe.[39] Baker was worried that, if he should be unable to bring the enemy to terms, it would be impossible to transport his baggage; he was also concerned about the fate of the detachment sent to Fatiko to release the enslaved Banyoro. It seemed to him that there was only one move, to march to the Victoria Nile and to make an alliance with Ruyonga, who would be proclaimed the representative of the Egyptian government in the place of Kabarega. Even so, this would be difficult, for it was the height of the rainy season and the grass was nine or ten feet high in a country of dense, tangled bush. Kabarega then made further overtures of peace, to which Baker replied by sending a porcelain pot and a musical box.

On 11 June there was an attempt to assassinate Baker as he was walking peaceably about the ruins of Masindi. As a result the soldiers that night withdrew into the fort, and the Banyoro fired the abandoned camp. The following night incendiarism was renewed, and the next day an attack was made upon the station. Baker retaliated by firing all the villages in the neighbourhood, but decided to abandon Masindi and to march to Foweira; strict discipline would be maintained; the minimum of stores would be carried; the remainder would be burnt.

On 14 June the retreat started in light drizzling rain, and ten miles from Masindi an attack was made upon the column. Next day further attacks were made, so the cattle and some baggage were abandoned. Ambushes were laid by the Banyoro in the swamps, but by firing a few rounds into the reeds before attempting to cross, the Banyoro were induced to throw their spears at extreme range. Every day was the same, but fortunately there were no night attacks. This was the mistake in Kinyoro tactics; if the Banyoro had attacked by night, Baker's troops would soon have become exhausted and would have expended all their ammunition. Even without the night attacks, they were so nervous that the waste was prodigious. Eventually Baker reached Kisuna, made a defensive position and

rested. On 24 June he reached Foweira to find that everything had been destroyed by fire. He at once set to work to build a new station and to make canoes so that the Nile could be crossed.

Ruyonga had been so cheated and deceived by the slavers that he was afraid to trust himself to Baker, and contact could not be made. However, Ruyonga's messenger did arrive and later Baker visited Ruyonga and described him: 'He was a handsome man of about fifty, with exceedingly good manners. He had none of the stiffness of Kamurasi nor the gauche bearing of Kabarega, but he was perfectly at his ease. . . . He declared that he would always remain the faithful representative of the Khedive's government, but at the same time we must immediately exchange blood.'[40] Blood was duly exchanged to give the neighbouring tribes confidence in the alliance, and Ruyonga was proclaimed as the representative of the Egyptian government. Baker did not wish to take the field against Kabarega until the grass should be fit to burn, which would be about the end of November. He therefore planned to leave Abd-el-Kader with sixty-five men in a strong stockade to support Ruyonga, and to organize the native forces, whilst he would march to Fatiko with the remainder.

On 27 July Baker accordingly returned to Foweira from Ruyonga's and on the next day prepared to cross the river. He learnt that he must hurry to Fatiko lest his detachment there be attacked by the slavers, whom he believed had instigated Kabarega's attack on Masindi.[41] On 2 August he arrived at Fatiko and soon afterwards the slavers attacked Baker and his men but were defeated. Baker feared, however, that if he exterminated them completely the local people would rise against him as Kabarega had done when the slavers had left Bunyoro.

Baker found that his forces were too small to restore order amongst the slavers north of the Nile and Abd-el-Kader's men had to be recalled to Fatiko, but were replaced by another detachment of 60 or 65 men to support Ruyonga. The offensive against Kabarega had to be postponed until reinforcements from Gondokoro arrived. Meanwhile Ruyonga's men assisted by the Langi and an army sent by Mutesa of Buganda succeeded in driving Kabarega from north Bunyoro. When Baker's reinforcements finally arrived it was too late for him to take his revenge upon Kabarega, for his term of office expired on 1 April 1873.

On his part Kabarega had inflicted a noteworthy defeat on Baker and though the Egyptians were later to occupy stations in north Bunyoro, they were never able to penetrate farther south in force for long periods. Exploration was also made difficult. Baker had achieved little during his tenure of office, but he appeared to have gripped the imagination of the Africans with whom he came in contact as no European has done since. He was an advocate of firm but paternal government and though he had the intolerance, the complacency of a superior class and race, and the belief in force of his generation, these were defects which would impress, rather than repel Africans. He even induced affection, being nick-named *Muleju*, the moustached, or bearded one, and his wife was called *Kanyunyuzi*, 'little star'.[42]

Baker was succeeded in office by Colonel Gordon to whom the Khedive's final instructions, dated 16 February 1874, were to establish a separate government in Equatoria because the Governor of the Sudan had been unable to enforce his authority upon the lawless traders in ivory and slaves, to secure to the state a monopoly of all trade with the outside world, to see that the troops grew their own food and did not exact it from the people, to build a line of forts along the banks of the Nile to bring the province into direct communication with Khartoum, and to destroy the slave trade.[43]

Gordon had to rely on a cosmopolitan band of assistants, among whom were an American, Chaillé-Long, a Frenchman, Linant de Bellefonds, Italians, Gessi and Piaggia, a German, Emin, and an Englishman, Chippindall, all of whom contributed to the opening up of communications from the Sudan, through Bunyoro-Kitara to Buganda.

Gordon reached Gondokoro in April, accompanied by Chaillé-Long, a former colonel in the Federal Army during the Civil War. Both Mutesa of Buganda and Ruyonga had sent messengers expressing their desire to be on friendly terms with the Egyptian government, and so Gordon sent Chaillé-Long, who was accompanied by his Alsatian servant, Kellermann, to them with presents to secure their goodwill and respect. Gordon meanwhile returned to Khartoum to hasten the delivery of supplies for further operations in Equatoria.[44] From Gondokoro Chaillé-Long travelled by way of Fatiko to Foweira where he arrived on 17 May, crossed the Nile, and met Ruyonga, who impressed him favourably. From there he marched to Mruli, crossed the Kafu on 31 May, and made his way to Mutesa's capital.[45] He was frustrated in an attempt to travel from Murchison Bay to the Ripon Falls by way of the lake, so he marched to Burondogani, travelled down the Nile by canoe, passed Nyamyongo,[46] which appeared to be recognized by Mutesa's officers as being within the territory of Kabarega, discovered Lake Kioga, which he named Lake Ibrahim, and near Mruli on 17 August was opposed by a fleet of Kinyoro canoes. He and his escort killed eighty-two of Kabarega's men, the remainder withdrawing at nightfall. He was able to escape unmolested by the river route to Foweira which he reached three days later. He arrived back at Gondokoro on 18 October, having traversed the unexplored section of the Nile from Burondogani to Mruli, and thence to the Karuma Falls.[47]

It was during Gordon's régime that a chain of posts was established on the west bank of the Nile from Gondokoro to Dufile, and thus Fatiko and Foweira, held by Egyptian troops, were linked to the north. The two steel life-boats, named *Magungo* and *Dufile*, and a fifty-ton steamer, *Nyanza*, originally brought by Baker to Gondokoro, were moved in sections to Dufile and assembled.[48] The steamer, *Khedive*, was not launched at Dufile until 1878.

In February 1875, Ernest Linant de Bellefonds was sent by Gordon to persuade Mutesa to abandon the slave trade and to start trade with the north. From Foweira to Mruli he took the west-bank road which had become the established route between Buganda and the north. At Rubaga

in April, Linant met Stanley, who was on his journey across Africa. Gordon had the idea that communications between Equatoria and the civilized world could be made easier if there was a route westwards from the Indian Ocean to the region of the great lakes. The hostility of Britain and Zanzibar prevented this.[49] It was suggested later that Linant de Bellefonds 'had come to see whether Buganda was worth the conquering and whether it was too tough a job to tackle.'[50] On his return northwards he was fiercely attacked on 5 July at the Mruli crossing of the Kafu by eight or ten thousand of Kabarega's warriors.[51] He travelled through Bunyoro to Fatiko rejoining Gordon at Muggi, but was killed soon afterwards by the Bari in a punitive raid.

Stanley by this time had completed the circumnavigation of Lake Victoria,[52] and early in 1876 travelled westwards from Buganda to strike the shores of a lake, later to be called Lake George.[53] Kabarega did not wish Stanley to advance further because his Baganda followers ruined the country, but in order to be rid of them as soon as possible, he did not oppose their withdrawal to Karagwe.[54] This expedition by Stanley was an additional anxiety for Kabarega because at the same time Gordon was engaged in establishing posts at Mruli and Masindi. Although Kabarega opposed this move, he nevertheless sent the large musical box which had been given him by Baker to Gordon for repair.[55]

Gordon's visit was a brief one. He arrived at Mruli on 22 January from Foweira. 'I am in rags from the thorn bushes . . . the elephants uproot the trees and leave them in the path . . . not a soul or a house to be seen.'[56] On hearing of Gordon's approach, Kabarega withdrew from north Bunyoro. 'Kabarega's chief set fire to his house, and with his people left for Masindi . . . a miserable country, full of mosquitoes, is the much vaunted Mruli,'[57] wrote Gordon. While at Mruli Gordon despatched troops under Nuehr Aga to build stations at Burondogani, or failing that Nyamyongo, and at the Ripon Falls. Mutesa persuaded them to build near Rubaga with the result that the soldiers became virtual prisoners there. Only six days after his arrival at Mruli, Gordon had returned to Foweira.

Back at Dufile he sent Gessi and Piaggia southwards to Lake Albert. Gessi had been charged by Gordon with a difficult geographical mission, in which Chippindall had failed, to solve the problem of whether the Nile really flowed out of Lake Albert; if it did then Egypt could extend her influence and territory to the proximity of the equator. He left Dufile with the two life-boats on 7 March 1876, and arrived at Magungo on the 30th. He left on 12 April coasting down the east shore and circumnavigated Lake Albert in the boats, returning on the 21st to Magungo and reaching Dufile on the 23rd. Gessi was the first person to establish that the Nile issued from Lake Albert, and he also disproved Baker's contention that the lake stretched far to the south of Buhuka for he discovered that about twenty-five miles to the south the lake terminated in a mass of ambatch and papyrus.[58]

Meanwhile Piaggia had left Magungo on 12 April in an attempt to reach the Ripon Falls: he dismantled his collapsible boat at the Murchison Falls, arrived at Foweira ten days later, re-assembled the boat, sailed to Mruli, where he arrived on 3 May, and penetrated into Lake Kioga, but was unable to ascend the Nile because of floating islands and fever. He returned to Mruli on the 22nd and thence downstream to Foweira and by land to Fatiko.[59]

It was at this juncture that Gordon sent Emin, a German doctor in the Egyptian service, later Governor of Equatoria, on his first journey through Bunyoro. He went by way of Foweira to Buganda with presents for Mutesa, but Gordon subsequently sent him instructions to negotiate the withdrawal of the troops from Rubaga; Nuehr Aga having concentrated his troops there in spite of orders to the contrary. Emin left Mruli on 10 July and arrived back with Nuehr Aga and the soldiers on 9 September, giving evidence of the ability to undertake political missions to African rulers which he displayed during the final years of Egyptian rule in Equatoria. There he found Gordon, who had arrived at Mruli in August, having surveyed the Nile from Magungo to Foweira. In September Gordon marched eastwards with the troops withdrawn from Rubaga to Nyamyongo. He returned to Mruli by canoe.

Shortly afterwards, on 20 September, accompanied by Emin, he decided to march direct to Magungo. Two days later they camped at Kisuga, on a hill near Katagarukwa, some eight miles east of the present Masindi. Earlier in the year Gordon had sent some troops to establish a post at 'Masindi', and for this he was now heading, only to learn that it had been built many miles north at Keroto.[60] It took four days marching through jungle, lost in forest and bush, and threatened by hostile attacks, before they gained the shelter of the Kikoroto stockade. Magungo was reached on the 29th, and in the steamer *Nyanza*, Gordon inspected Kibero on 2 October 1876, before leaving to return to Khartoum and Europe.

Before he left he had made plans for an attack on Kabarega. When the grass was dry enough to burn, three columns were to advance upon him, one from Mruli to Kisuga, a second from Kikoroto to Masindi[61] and a force from the steamer was to land at Buhuka. These columns caused Kabarega to retreat, captured cattle, and established posts at Kisindizi and at Londu, on Kabiama Hill, some four miles south-west of the present Masindi, but when they retired, Kabarega re-occupied the country.[62] Gordon had, meanwhile, resigned his appointment but was induced by the Khedive Ismail to accept the Governor-Generalship of the whole Sudan. By May 1877, he was once more at Khartoum. Through he never re-visited Equatoria, it remained under his authority for another three years.

For these three years Equatoria was administered by Gordon's lieutenants. The first was an American, Colonel Prout, who took over in November, 1876, and who visited Mruli and Magungo.[63] He governed the province with great ability until his health broke down in May 1877. He was followed by another American, Mason Bey, who in 1877 surveyed from

Dufile to Lake Albert. He left Magungo in the steamer *Nyanza* on 14 June, steamed along the west shore of the lake to Kavalli's, discovered and steamed up the River Semliki, and returned along the east shore. In August Gordon withdrew Mason from Equatoria, which was then administered by Egyptian governors. It was their incompetence that led to the appointment of Emin in July 1878.

So ended the first period of scientific exploration. As a result of Mason's and his predecessors' activity the whole course of the White Nile had been mapped and Speke's guess had been shown to be correct. It only remained to demonstrate the connection of Lakes Edward and George with the River Semliki and Lake Albert. Nevertheless, it was amazing that neither Baker, Gessi, Stanley, nor Mason had seen Ruwenzori, which still remained undiscovered.

The influence of these early travellers on Bunyoro-Kitara was slight. The hostility of Kabarega soon isolated the forts, which had been established in north Bunyoro, and prevented any intercourse between their garrisons and his people; and in time he was left free to re-conquer and consolidate the kingdom of his ancestors.

References

[1]Speke. op. cit., p. 1.
[2]Thomas & Scott. op. cit., p. 10.
[3]Grant, J. A. (1864). *A Walk Across Africa,* pp. 251, 270. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons.
[4]Thomas, H. B. (1932). MS., *Chronological Notes on the Historical Geography of the Present Bunyoro* (Provisionally Revised). District Commissioner, Hoima; File entitled, Bunyoro — Historical Places.
[5]Grant. op. cit., p. 277.
[6]Speke. op. cit., p. 511.
[7]Grant. op. cit., pp. 285-289.
[8]Later named Lake Albert.
[9]Speke. op. cit., p. 547.
[10]Near Wadelai.
[11]Speke. op. cit., pp. 603-604.
[12]Baker, S. W. (1866). *Albert Nyanza,* vol. i. p. 103. London: Macmillan & Co.
[13]Ibid. vol. ii, p. 73.
[14]North of Fatiko.
[15]Baker (1866). op. cit., p. 77.
[16]Ibid. pp. 48-55.
[17]Ibid. p. 85.
[18]Ibid. pp. 94-96.
[19]Bukobya. Buhuka is the present fishing village at which the path from Kyangwali terminates.
[20]Baker (1866). op. cit., pp. 141-143.
[21]Mpuhuka.
[22]Mgambi is a corruption of Mugema, one of the great chiefs of Kitara, whom Kamurasi sent to negotiate on his behalf with Baker. Baker may have been misled by his interpreters and so gained the erroneous impression that Mgambi was the Mukama. R. A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication.
[23]Baker (1866). op. cit., p. 169.
[24]Ibid. pp. 173-179.
[25]Ibid. p. 187.
[26]Ibid. pp. 244-246.

[27]Baker, S. W. (1874). *Ismailia,* vol. ii, p. 136. London: Macmillan & Co.
[28]Kabka Miro appears to be a corruption by Baker of a Kinyoro name. Baker was referring to Kabigumire. Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 143.
[29]Baker (1874). op. cit., p. 138.
[30]K.W. (1937). op. cit.
[31] E. von Hippel, personal communication.
Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 213. Kabarega's mother was called Kanyange Nyamutahingurwa.
[32]Baker (1874). op. cit., pp. 181-186.
[33]Ibid. pp. 192-193.
[34]Ibid. p. 224.
[35]Ibid. p. 242.
[36]Ibid. p. 295.
[37]Ibid. p. 300.
[38] K.W. (1937). op. cit.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 71-72.
Baker's troops are alleged to have introduced sodomy to Bunyoro.
[39]K.W. (1937). op. cit. The messenger, owing to a misunderstanding, was killed and hostilities flared up again.
[40]Baker (1874). op. cit., pp. 372-373.
[41]It must be remembered that the European travellers in Bunyoro-Kitara at this time were unable to understand Runyoro and depended upon interpreters for their information. These interpreters from personal, clan or tribal reasons, may have, at times, intentionally misled their employers, or at other times may have unintentionally misinformed them, through lack of proficiency. This may account for discrepancies in the accounts of Bikunya, K.W., and Nyakatura when compared with the narratives of the European travellers.
[42]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 131.
[43]Birkbeck Hill, G. (1881). *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa,* pp. xxxi-xxxii. London: de la Rue & Co.
[44]Stone, C. (1877). *Provinces of the Equator, Part I,* pp. 5-6 Cairo: Egyptian General Staff.
[45]This seems to have been at Banda if the evidence of the map in Chaillé-Long's book is accepted. See Chaillé-Long, C. (1876), *Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People,* p.1. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.
[46]In north Bugerere, opposite Pegi Hill. Thomas & Scott. op. cit., p. 17.
[47]Stone. op. cit., pp. 37-79.
[48]Birkbeck Hill. op. cit., p. xli.
[49]Allen, B. M. (1931). *Gordon and the Sudan,* pp. 37-40. London: Macmillan & Co.
[50]Johnston op. cit., vol. i, p. 222.
[51]Thomas (1932). op. cit.
[52]Thomas & Scott. op. cit., pp. 13-14.
[53]Stanley, H. M. (1878). *Through the Dark Continent,* vol. ii, p. 438, London: Sampson, Low & Co.
[54]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 154.
[55]Birkbeck Hill. op. cit., p. 66.
[56]Ibid. p. 150.
[57]Ibid. p. 153.
[58]Gessi, R. (1892). *Seven Years in the Soudan,* pp. 99-136. London: Sampson, Low & Co.
[59]Ibid. pp. 136-138.
[60]Kikoroto.
[61]Kisindizi, some nine miles north of the present Masindi (Baker's Masindi).
[62]Birkbeck Hill. op. cit., pp. 177-179. The name Londu is probably derived from Lendu since some of the Egyptian troops were recruited from Lendu.
[63]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 154.

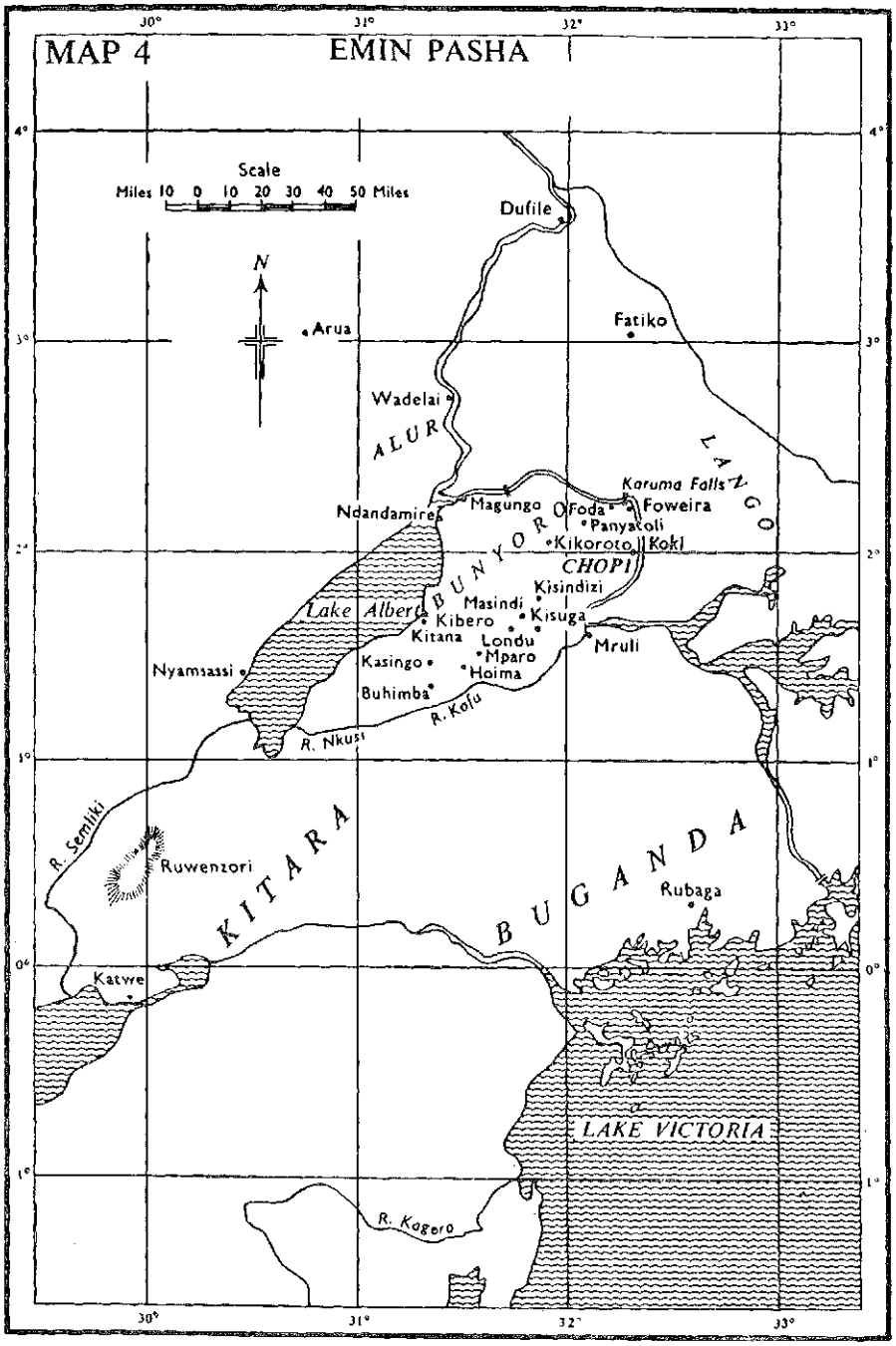
EMIN PASHA

THIS chapter is concerned with the period of Egyptian influence on Bunyoro-Kitara in which the central figure was Eduard Schnitzer, better known as Emin Pasha. The son of a Jewish merchant, he was born at Oppeln in Prussia on 28 March 1840. After working as a doctor in Turkey, Armenia, Syria and Albania he went in 1875 to Khartoum, entered the Egyptian service under Gordon, the Governor of Equatoria, as a medical officer, being known as Emin. His flair for foreign languages made Muhammadans readily accept both him and his work.[1] While still a medical officer he was sent on three political missions, the first in 1876 to extricate Nuehr Aga and his troops from Rubaga, the second in 1877 to Kabarega, Mukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, to bring about a peaceful solution of existing difficulties, and the third from November 1877 to April 1878, to assure Mutesa, Kabaka of Buganda, that Egypt had abandoned her plans for a new route to Equatoria by way of the Indian Ocean and Buganda.

Prout, an American, who succeeded Gordon as Governor of Equatoria in November 1876, was followed in May 1877, by another American, Mason Bey. Meanwhile Gordon had in February 1877, become Governor-General of the whole Sudan from Wadi Halfa to Lake Albert. Mason Bey, having been withdrawn in August 1877, was replaced by Egyptian governors, whose incompetence led Gordon to appoint Emin as Governor of Equatoria in July 1878. Emin remained as Governor until May 1889, when he was reluctantly 'relieved' by Stanley, and the province thereupon relapsed into anarchy.

It was during Mason's brief régime that Emin received orders to undertake his second political mission, and to come to terms with Kabarega whose hostility was hindering the Egyptian administration in the south of Equatoria. He travelled through north Bunyoro by the paths linking the posts held by small Sudanese garrisons under Egyptian officers. Early in August 1877, he reached Mruli on the east bank of the Kafu where it joins the Nile.

Lengthy negotiations were necessary in order to obtain Kabarega's permission to enter Bunyoro. Mindful of the description given by Baker of Kabarega's begging propensities, Emin went in September to Kisuga where he left everything that could be dispensed with, including even his rifle. He then marched to Londu, the farthest Egyptian outpost in Kabarega's country. From there he marched to Mparo[2] near Hoima.[3]


MAP 4
EMIN PASHA
30°
31°
32°
33°
4°
3°
2°
1°
0°
Scale
Miles 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
N
Dufile
Arua
Fatiko
Wadelai
ALUR
LANGO
Karuma Falls
Ndandamire
Magungo
Foda
Foweira
Panyatoli
Kikoroto
Koki
BUNYORO
CHOPI
Kisindizi
Masindi
Kisuga
Lake Albert
Kibero
Kitana
Londu
Mparo
Hoima
Mruli
Nyamsassi
Kasingo
Buhimba
R. Kafu
R. Nkusi
R. Semliki
Ruwenzori
KITARA
BUGANDA
Rubaga
Katwe
LAKE VICTORIA
R. Kagera

On his way he gave a description of what he saw: 'the people are clothed in soft ox-hides, from which the hair has been removed, except at the borders, where a strip of hair of two fingers' breadth has been left as an ornament; their costume is completed by arm-rings and anklets made of brass and necklets composed of roots. The head is not shaved—shaving is a sign of mourning. . . . The people impressed me favourably; they were modest and unpretentious, and satisfied with anything that was given them. . . . We then once more arrived at clearings, where bananas, sweet potatoes, and cow-peas intermingled, and here and there the green stalks of maize were seen, or the broad leaves of Virginian tobacco. . . . Probably in order to impress the stranger with the immense size of the land, and therefore with the greatness of its ruler, he is led about for days through the high grass, when the direct route would hardly occupy three marching hours. . . .

'In marked contrast to all the negro tribes inhabiting our territory . . . the Baganda and the Banyoro have brought commerce to a more advanced state of development.' The market at Mparo gave convincing proof—'the collection . . . of the most diverse products, and a concourse of types of nearly all the Eastern equatorial races. . . .'[4] It is interesting to note that there was already at this time a unit of currency in Buganda and Bunyoro created by the Arabs, the cowrie shell, five hundred shells to a Maria Theresa thaler.[5] Trade in Bunyoro depended upon Buganda because Mutesa would not allow the Arabs to go from Buganda to Bunyoro: it was much to his advantage to claim possession of all arms and ammunition brought by the Arabs as trade goods. As a result, neither Kamurasi nor Kabarega had been in a position to retaliate for the raids made upon them by the Baganda. Mutesa was also jealous of Kabarega whom he liked to represent to strangers and others unacquainted with the real state of affairs as his vassal. Despite the ban, two enterprising Arabs had reached Bunyoro in 1872 and, in return for presenting half their trade goods to the king, they obtained accommodation, food and five times the value of the goods in ivory. There was an export trade in coffee, bark cloth, hides, salt, pottery, iron, mats, fruits, resins, wood and female slaves.[6]

At Mparo Emin came face to face with Kabarega. 'This, then, was Kabarega. The graceful folds of a piece of fine salmon-coloured bark-cloth covered his body up to the breast, above which it was perfectly bare, except the left shoulder, over which was thrown like a plaid, a piece of darker-coloured barkcloth. Two burnt scars were visible on the temples of his well-formed, smoothly shorn head . . . his four lower incisor teeth were wanting . . . and the upper incisors projected slightly, and were brilliantly white. . . . A necklace of hairs from a giraffe's tail, upon the middle of which was strung a single blue glass bead, encircled his neck. A root amulet and an iron bracelet were the only ornaments on his strong muscular arms; his hands were small and well kept. He is strikingly fair, probably in consequence of his pure Kihuma blood. He made, upon the whole, a very favourable impression on me, but there was a decidedly voluptuous

expression on his face. . . . I next gave him the presents I had brought with me and much enjoyed his pleasure in receiving them. . . . My soldier had a small revolver in his girdle; Kabarega requested permission to view it, and comprehended at once its mechanism. He took it to pieces, put it together again, and then gave it back to me. He then asked me to inform him how I had enjoyed myself last year in Buganda, and what I had seen there, and he was highly amused with my description of the court ceremonials which obtain in that country. Threatening rain brought our conference to an end before either of us wished its conclusion. . . .

'I have often visited Kabarega subsequently and cannot say that I ever heard him speak an improper word or make an indecent gesture, or that he was ever rude. . . . Kabarega is cheerful, laughs readily and much, talks a great deal, and does not appear to care to be bound by ceremony. . . . I certainly cannot charge Kabarega with begging; on the contrary he sent me daily, in the most hospitable manner, stores of corn, meal, *mwenge*,[7] etc., which although they were intended to supply the wants of one day, could easily have been made to last us a fortnight. During my repeated visits Kabarega gave me the impression of being a thoroughly hospitable and intelligent man . . . he proved this in a very noteworthy manner in connection with an incident which might have brought me into a very awkward position. Notwithstanding my strict orders that no hostile action should be taken by the Egyptians during my visit to Bunyoro, the soldiers in our nearest station, led by stupid, jealous officers, made a raid upon the country, and killed several of Kabarega's people. Katagrua[8] was sent by the king to give me this information, and to assure me at the same time, that, although this occurrence was highly displeasing to him, it should in no way affect our personal relations! . . . I received a detailed account of all the events that happened during Baker's visit, a curiously different account from that given in *Ismailia*.'[9] [10]

Emin wrote: 'I had to listen to a long recital of the doings of the Danaglas,[11] of Rionga, Anfina, and his deceased brother Tovoka,[12] the sum and substance of all being that he had been continually provoked and attacked by them, although he, as occupant of the throne, was entitled to rule over them. I thereupon told him that we quite understood this, but that the others had made friends with the Government and rendered many services, while he had always remained hostile. He replied very plausibly that they had made friends with the Government solely because they were compelled to do so for their own safety. As for his own acts of hostility, it was true that he had killed some Danaglas and fought with Baker Pasha, but only in self-defence. He now begged of me to tell him what were the Government's desires, as he would like to live at peace with us. "You do not know me; you say to each other far away from here: 'Kabarega is a robber, a murderer!' Has anyone of you ever come to me? Has anyone ever satisfied himself as to the truth or falsehood of these statements?" I then gave him to understand that the Government greatly desired to see all the land which he formerly possessed settled and cultivated by him.'[13] Emin

carried out his mission successfully and made a settlement under which Kabarega was guaranteed either an annual grant of money or presents. Emin offered to escort Kabarega's ambassadors to Cairo, or if Kabarega wished to go himself, to remain in Bunyoro as a hostage for him. In addition, he agreed to withdraw Egyptian support from Ruyonga and Mupina. 'All this seemed to please him', wrote Emin, 'and he thought at any rate I was the most reasonable of all whom he had seen . . . and said "We are brothers!" '[14]

Emin's success compared with the experience of many other Europeans in dealing with Africans can be attributed to his gift of estimating them at their right value. His knowledge of languages was a great help and he never lost his personal ascendancy.[15] It is a tribute to his diplomacy that no other European ever achieved such cordial relations with Kabarega.[16]

At the end of his political mission Emin wrote 'My official business was brought to an end to our mutual satisfaction. . . . I shall always remember with pleasure the days I spent here.'[17] Kabarega appeared to accept that there had been mutual provocation and was prepared to let bygones be bygones. That Emin's hopes of a reasonable *modus vivendi* between Bunyoro and Egypt failed to materialize was perhaps due to the Egyptian administration's continued support of Ruyonga and Mupina contrary to the terms of agreement and to the lack of effective supervision over the isolated garrisons in north Bunyoro. Emin left Kabarega's court on 25 October and returned by way of Londu and Kisuga to Mruli. Almost immediately afterwards he left for Buganda to assure Mutesa that Egypt had abandoned her plans of a new route to Equatoria by way of the Indian Ocean and Buganda. On his return journey in April 1878, he travelled between Mruli and Magungo, taking canoe to Foweira and thereafter by land through north Bunyoro. Mupina's zeriba at Panyatoli was one of the halting places. 'We there met Mupina himself,' wrote Emin, 'who again confirmed the good impression which he has always made. . . . He is the only negro "gentleman" with whom I have become acquainted in my wandering in these regions.' Mupina was chief of the semi-independent districts of Magungo, Chope and a part of Lango.[18]

In July 1878, Emin was appointed Governor of Equatoria. The following eighteen months saw the twilight of the Egyptian occupation of north Bunyoro which for a period facilitated access by European travellers to this remote region. This occupation consisted of little more than the maintenance of the Egyptian forts and—under strong escort—of routes converging on Mruli from Magungo via Kikoroto, and from Foweira either by road or river. Movement across country was possible through Mupina's territories between Kikoroto and Foweira, whilst on Lake Albert, Emin's steamers, *Khedive* and *Nyanza*, could visit Magungo and Kibero. In December the Rev. C. T. Wilson, a member of the first Church Missionary Society party to reach Buganda from Zanzibar in 1877, journeyed from Rubaga to Mruli and thence down the Nile to Foweira to meet another party coming from the north by the Nile route to Magungo. This party, which he

met at Panyatoli, comprised Pearson, Litchfield and Felkin, who recorded that Magungo had been removed from its old site, since the land at the north-east corner of Lake Albert was gradually being washed away, making the station damp and unhealthy. The new Magungo was a clean and well-built town, surrounded by a strong earthwork fortification and a moat ten feet in depth. Kabarega forbade his people to act as porters and, on their march towards Foweira, attacks and alarms were frequent. The party were, therefore, glad to reach the protection of Kikoroto's strong stockade which was situated in a large clearing in an immense forest.[19] Led by Wilson, they travelled to Buganda by way of Mruli in January 1879. In June of that year, Wilson and Felkin escorted the Baganda ambassadors to Queen Victoria by way of the Nile, Foweira, Fatiko and Dufile. During these journeys, Felkin made the acquaintance of Emin and subsequently translated and edited his letters and became the advocate of his cause in Great Britain.

The missionaries of the Church Missionary Society were followed early in 1879 by Richard Buchta, an Austrian photographer, who coming by way of Fatiko crossed the Nile at Foweira into north Bunyoro, visited the Murchison Falls and left Fort Magungo by steamer northwards. His photographs must be the earliest taken in Bunyoro.[20]

Towards the end of 1878 Gordon decided to evacuate the stations south of Dufile, since the commanders persisted in raiding Kabarega, and this induced retaliation.[21] Emin was opposed to this policy and delayed active steps since he had kept the Danaglas in check, had established friendly relations with tribal chiefs and had interested himself in the development of agriculture, so that under his rule his province was attaining some measure of prosperity.

But Emin found it prudent to comply with Gordon's directives. In November 1879, the *Khedive* took him from Dufile to Magungo, where he remained for some weeks, superintending the withdrawals from the Bunyoro stations; and it was doubtless at this time that the more distant outposts, Mruli, Koki (Kodj),[22] Kisuga and Kisindizi as well as Foweira were abandoned. The last to be withdrawn was seemingly the garrison from Kikoroto which came into Magungo early in December.

Emin spent a few days in the steamer visiting Mahagi on the west shore of Lake Albert where a station was to be maintained among the Alur, and the steamer took him back to Dufile by the middle of December 1879.

A responsible messenger from Pearson, the missionary in Buganda, with mails for Europe reached Mruli towards the end of December but found the place deserted and devastated, and had perforce to return. In March 1880, Litchfield and Père Barbot of the White Fathers Mission, both hoping to obtain medical aid from Emin tried again, but having collided with Kabarega's people near Mruli they also returned to Rubaga.

Meanwhile in Egypt, the Khedive Ismail, who had brought his régime to bankruptcy, was in 1879 deposed and was succeeded by his son, Tewfik. Shortly afterwards, there was a military revolt in Egypt and troops were

withdrawn from the Sudan, thus leaving the way clear for the Mahdi to seize power and defeat the few troops that remained.

Gordon had resigned at the end of 1879 and so from 1880 onwards, Emin was free to re-establish stations south of Dufile. In October he toured the Latuka country and was present at the re-occupation of Foweira, whence in November 1880, he visited Mupina in north Bunyoro, and it was probably about this time that the post of Foda on the Nile west of Foweira was built. Foweira and Foda continued to be occupied until April 1884.

Emin's administration eventually covered fifty stations in Equatoria, three having been established by Baker, and twelve by Gordon. The subordinate officials at these stations were under strict orders to stop the slave trade and to prevent inter-tribal fighting. They were, however, unreliable and morally deficient for such work. The troops were little to be trusted, being harsh with the people and insubordinate to their officers. The Governor could not see everything, and despite the most stringent orders in his absence, slave dealing and forced labour were connived at.[23]

In spite of this Emin's energy produced results in the form of a budget surplus and the cultivation of wheat, coffee, rice, tobacco, nutmegs, indigo and cotton. His attempts to achieve order out of chaos were not matched in other provinces of the Sudan, as one by one the European administrators died or retired. Their Egyptian successors failed to prevent a return to anarchy, and discontent and unrest increased. A religious fanatic, Muhammad Ahmed, formerly a carpenter, proclaimed that he was the Mahdi, whose coming was foretold, and established himself on an island in the Nile south of Khartoum. Government troops were unable to dislodge him, and thousands, inspired by religious zeal, rallied around him.

The last steamer communication with Khartoum left Lado in March 1883. The British government advised the Egyptian government to abandon the Sudan and Gordon arrived in Khartoum in February 1884, to evacuate the non-Sudanese. He was not able to accomplish this and on 26 January 1885, Khartoum fell and Gordon was killed. The Sudan was abandoned and Emin, now completely isolated, alone remained to uphold Egyptian authority in Equatoria. The approach of the Mahdists compelled Dr. Junker, a Russo-German explorer, who had been continuing Schweinfurth's work on the course of the Welle[24] and the water parting between the Congo and the Nile, to join Emin at Lado in 1884, and he was followed early in 1885 by Casati, an Italian, who had also been exploring the Welle some four hundred miles west of Arua.

Casati alleged that Emin said 'We, white men, shall escape—I answer for it. We will give our black soldiers to my good friend Kabarega, king of Bunyoro, and he will permit us to cross his boundaries.'[25] These words may have been remembered by the troops and may account for the difficulties Emin had later in persuading them to accept Stanley's proposals. Gradually the Egyptian administration, threatened by the Mahdists from the Bahr el Ghazal province, retreated to Wadelai. Emin arrived there on 10 July 1885. Junker stayed at Foda close to Mupina's headquarters

from March to December of that year, attempting to gain contact with the Europeans in Buganda and the south. He was hindered by the hostility of Kabarega, who had entered into trade with the Zanzibar merchants from whom he obtained arms and ammunition in exchange for ivory and slaves. Consequently he had no desire for 'the augmentation of his sovereign authority, or even the maintenance of it, from the Egyptians. Kabarega . . . put pressure on Kamisoa[26] . . . not to let them re-enter his territory.'[27] In December, however, Kabarega asked that an Egyptian government representative should reside in Bunyoro and he let it be known that he would permit the transit of correspondence.

As a result, in January 1886, having left Foda, Junker set out from Wadelai, landed at Kibero and obtained an audience with Kabarega at Mparo after a delay because of the new moon. He described the king as follows: 'Kabarega was seated on a raised bench, clothed in the national costume, a neatly worked cowhide, with the ends gathered on his left shoulder. He was in the full vigour of manhood, of stately presence, unadorned with any ornament, and with his hair cropped short, as worn by all these people. His bright penetrating gaze betrayed nothing of the tyrant that he really was.'[28] At Mparo, Junker encountered a Tripoli-Turkish merchant, Mohammed Biri[29] and from him received first hand news of the course of events in Buganda. Biri returned almost at once to Buganda. Because of the outbreak of hostilities between Bunyoro and Buganda, which probably prompted Kabarega's request for a representative, it was difficult to take advantage of the permission to pass through Buganda given by Mwanga, Mutesa's successor as Kabaka of Buganda; but Kabarega finally permitted Junker to travel on to Rubaga. On 26 February 1886, a quantity of letters from Zanzibar and Buganda which Kabarega had allowed to pass through his country was delivered to Emin at Wadelai. Among them was an official notification of Egypt's abandonment of the Equatoria province, which suggested a retreat to Egypt via Zanzibar. Later Junker arrived at Zanzibar and announced Emin's survival to the world.

Emin was now seriously threatened by a Mahdist force from the Bahr el Ghazal province. He began to think of a further retreat and he felt that his most secure refuge would be with Kabarega.[30] In May 1886, therefore, he sent Casati as an ambassador to Bunyoro to come to terms with Kabarega. From 31 May to 6 June, Emin toured Lake Albert arriving at Kibero on 2 June, where he spent some days. In his usual thorough manner he noted the vegetation and the method of salt extraction.[31]

On 2 June Casati was publicly received by Kabarega at Bujwahya near Kasingo, and he gives the following description of the Mukama: 'he wore a dress of elegant woollen cloth, finely worked and ornamented; his head was covered with a red tarboosh . . . he was of colossal form, of gigantic stature, with a smile more sarcastic than amiable.'[32] Kabarega coveted the ivory and ammunition of Equatoria and, now that Emin was in difficulties, was disposed to feign friendship, especially as Bunyoro had been devastated by the Kiganda invasion, smallpox and famine. Kabarega agreed

to the carrying of correspondence through his territory and the transit of small parties of troops, but at once the letters went astray and the troops were delayed. Then began a period of protracted negotiations with the neighbouring rulers to the south, whose friendship and alliance Emin sought to gain, for he considered that should there be a determined Mahdist advance from the north his only possible course would be to retreat to the south via Lake Albert and Lake Tanganyika.[33]

On his arrival at Rubaga Junker, with the help of Mackay, had arranged for Mohammed Biri to take goods to Emin; and Biri, conveyed by Emin's steamer from Kibero, reached Wadelai in October 1886. With another caravan he arrived at Wadelai again in July 1887, remaining for two months before returning to Bunyoro.

Meanwhile Casati was ostracized and was virtually a prisoner at Kabarega's court. Here he learnt of plans to attack Wadelai and to invite Emin to Bunyoro, preparatory to murdering him. Casati was able to warn Emin, and the steamer shelled the invading canoes. Casati commented: 'Emin did not come, and I did not move. Our dignity and interests required us to keep a footing in Bunyoro.'[34] An uneasy peace resulted. War again broke out between Buganda and Bunyoro. Kabarega eventually drove the Baganda out of his kingdom but when harassed by them became increasingly hostile towards Casati.[35]

In March 1887, Kabarega moved to Buhimba, while Casati remained at Bujwahya. In May he was accused of conspiring against Kabarega. Kabarega's perfidy and persuasive charm exasperated him. Nevertheless, because it was essential to maintain communications with Buganda, Casati remained and entered into further negotiations, either for an alliance confirmed by exchange of blood or for a concession to occupy Kibero and Kitana.[36] This suited Kabarega who desired an ally because he wished to occupy the lands of his enemies, Mupina and Komwiswa. As soon as he had defeated them, Casati was of no further use to him, so there was an attempt to murder him. In November Casati was joined by Biri who had returned from Wadelai and was hoping to travel on to Buganda with a large quantity of his own and Emin's ivory. On 3 January 1888, rumours of the arrival of Europeans, whom they correctly assumed to be Stanley's Relief Expedition, to the west of Lake Albert reached them. This caused Kabarega to break off negotiations. Casati and Biri were seized and their possessions rifled. Casati was permitted to escape to Kitana and then Kibero. But Mohammed Biri was not immediately released, and some months later was killed by the Banyoro.[37]

On 16 January Casati was rescued near Ndandamire by Emin in the steamer. Casati was blamed for the failure of his mission, but Emin added: 'that the matter would have no serious consequences, that Kabarega had acted only from personal aversion, that intercourse with him was about to be resumed by the despatch of a more acceptable ambassador.' This never happened and after Casati no European set eyes upon Kabarega until his capture in south Lango in April 1899. Casati wished to retaliate but Emin

told him: 'he ought to be quite satisfied with having got out of the scrape alive, and the most urgent matter was to resume friendly intercourse with Bunyoro' to ensure 'the transit of correspondence through Buganda.'[38]

Emin had, in fact, been somewhat anxious about Casati. He wrote: 'I have seldom met so true and loyal a man. But to judge from his last letters, he seems to be rather at variance with Kabarega. The cause appears to me to be that Casati is too candid with the king, and expects that Kabarega will renounce his dodges and subterfuge, and treat him honestly and straightforwardly . . . I apprehend that some day serious misunderstanding may arise.'[39]

As Equatoria became self-supporting it became isolated. Junker, arriving at Zanzibar in 1886, gave authentic news to Europe that Emin was still at his post. He immediately became a hero who must be rescued whatever the cost. Public opinion was to change later. When the rescue had been achieved and his story told for him by others, his name became associated with ingratitude and incompetence.

The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition was under the command of H. M. Stanley who decided to travel by way of the Congo; his ostensible reasons were political, for his passage through East Africa was opposed by both the French and Germans who were at that time suspicious of British intentions in that part of Africa. It is also possible that he had personal or private reasons for travelling by this route. Whatever the cause, he was criticized for it.[40] Casati wrote: 'if the Expedition had followed the route (from the East Coast) proposed by Felkin, and approved by Junker, as more feasible, shorter and less perilous, it would have gained the lake in a shorter time, and with forces nearly intact. The return journey to Bagamoyo of the column under Stanley affected by this itinerary proves the truth of this assertion.'[41] On 29 April 1888, at Nyamsassi on the west shore of Lake Albert there was an anti-climax; the rescuer and his officers, in stained, shabby clothes and broken boots, with virtually naked followers, were greeted by a slim neat man in a well fitting white cotton suit, and accompanied by a bodyguard as well turned out as himself. Stanley described the scene: 'I expected to see a tall thin military-looking figure, in faded Egyptian uniform, but instead of it I saw a small spare figure in a well-kept fez and a clean suit of snowy cotton drilling, well-ironed and of perfect fit. A dark grizzled beard bordered a face of a Magyar cast, though a pair of spectacles lent it somewhat an Italian or Spanish appearance.'[42] Casati wrote: 'Emin did his best to supply shoes, linen, tobacco, salt, honey, grain and simsim to the Expedition, equipped and sent out from England to his aid.'[43]

The Khedive's instructions, presented by Stanley, unmistakably renounced the province, ordered the withdrawal of the Governor and his followers, but did permit them to remain in isolated independence without help from Egypt. But Stanley's Expedition had only brought thirty-four cases of ammunition, two bales of half-spoilt clothes, and the Khedive's letter.[44] The remainder of the relief stores had either been lost or left with the rear

party. To Stanley's proposal that the province should be attached to the Congo Free State, Emin replied that it would be impracticable to maintain communications through an area that had nearly destroyed the Relief Expedition. Stanley then put forward another proposition that a British Protectorate should be established near Lake Victoria within reach of Zanzibar. Emin had himself suggested a similar plan to Egypt on a previous occasion and the proposal seemed to afford a possibility of preserving what he had accomplished for civilization, and of resuming and furthering that work in his province from a secure base well connected with the outer world.[45] He felt that it would be criminal to abandon the tribes who had submitted to his government and who had helped it so much. Before he met Stanley he had written: 'if a relief expedition comes to us, I will on no account leave my people. We have passed through troublous times together, and I consider it would be a shameful act on my part were I to desert them.'[46] Stanley then went back to the Congo to fetch his rear column, while Emin returned to his province accompanied by Mounteney-Jephson, one of Stanley's officers, to sound his men about the withdrawal. Emin's soldiers were already out of hand and in a rebellious mood. On 30 May Sudanese troops crossed Lake Albert to sack Kibero. This foray was practically the last intercourse between Egypt and Bunyoro.[47]

Emin's soldiers had no wish to be rescued. They had households of women, children and slaves, and were virtually immobile. They had heard of the losses which the Relief Expedition had endured. There was little in Stanley's offer to attract men born and bred in the southern Sudan. Mutiny broke out in August, and Emin and Jephson, while trying to persuade them to retreat, were made prisoners at Dufile and were only released and sent to Wadelai when the Mahdists attacked the fort. Emin's influence was lost but fear of the Mahdists made some of the rebellious troops think that it might be better to withdraw. After weeks of delay, evacuation began, but since Emin had lost his army the proposed Protectorate near Lake Victoria could not now be established.

Faced with Emin's inability to persuade his troops to evacuate, all Stanley could do was to confess failure or to rescue Emin against his will; and rescue him he did. Emin was too oriental and too polite to explain that he had never asked to be rescued; that all he had wanted was to maintain his post; and that now he had to relinquish it because Stanley, through choosing the wrong route, had been forced to abandon the stores that would have permitted him to remain in Equatoria. Stanley and Emin represented two opposite extremes. Stanley was bluff, coercive, practical, self-reliant and tactless: Emin was conciliatory, pliable, scientific and reticent. Before the stronger personality Emin gave way.

On 10 April 1889, the retreat began and civilized rule in Equatoria ceased. The journey was not a happy one and was only noteworthy for the discovery of Ruwenzori, the Mountains of the Moon. The route was west of Ruwenzori, across the Semliki to Katwe, thence to Lake Victoria and Zanzibar from whence Stanley returned to Europe alone, leaving Emin

in the German service in East Africa. Emin had received many offers of employment but he accepted that of the Germans because it gave him a chance to remain in the Africa that he loved.

During the ten years of his rule, Emin had governed a country 375 miles from east to west, and 275 miles from north to south, with little help save that of a band of Egyptian officers, half of whom were felons sent to Equatoria instead of to prison. Emin's temperament and these circumstances made him rule by conciliation rather than by coercion, and his subjects acknowledged his patriarchal authority which was the one authority, apart from force of arms, that they understood. 'His kindly disposition and sense of justice, no less than his ardour as an explorer and his diplomacy, impelled him to keep everything in view, and above all, to make a close study of the natives . . . their feelings and their thoughts, their habits and tribal laws.'[48] It was as the father of his people that he cured the sick and instructed the sound in scientific, agricultural, and practical matters. His spare time was spent in scientific research.[49] Strangely enough, Emin wrote little about the health of the peoples over whom he ruled. Perhaps his scientific studies were a means of relaxation and escape from his daily practice of medicine.

Controversy continued in Europe and all concerned rushed into print with the exception of Emin, who was already hastening back to the province from which he had been so expensively detached. But Emin found service with the German authorities uncongenial. In February 1891, he left his station at Bukoba on Lake Victoria, planning to regain touch with his old province and to cross Africa to the west coast as a freelance scientist. On nearing Equatoria, he learnt that, though the bulk of the Sudanese remained loyal, disorder and chaos prevailed, and his party was too small to attempt anything. In any case the territory was now within the British sphere of influence. Sickness and famine dogged the party and when smallpox struck Emin ordered Stuhlmann, his second-in-command, to retreat to safety with the stores and the healthy people, while he remained with the sick. Continuing westwards, he was murdered on 23 October 1892, by some Arab slave traders. The motive was, apparently, by the murder of a European to commit wavering Arabs to resist approaching Belgian forces.

So died the one man who might have been able to persuade Kabarega, Mukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, to come to terms with western civilization and thus preserve the dominion and the hegemony of Kitara in Uganda. Emin was remarkable amongst Europeans for his compassion towards, and understanding of, Africans, and the circumstances outside his control which prevented him from achieving his ideals have had far reaching results on the development of Bunyoro-Kitara and Uganda.

References

[1]Schweinfurth, G., Ratzel, F., Felkin R. & Hartlaub, G. (1888). *Emin Pasha in Central Africa,* Introduction, p. xii. London: George Philip & Son.

[2]Emin refers to Mparo as Mpara-Nyamoga. There is only one Mparo in Bunyoro, the burial place of Kabarega near Hoima. Nyamoga is part of the Mparo area. R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication. Another theory is that Mpara Nyamoga and Mparo are different places. See Thomas (1932). op. cit.

[4]Schweitzer, G. (1898). *Emin Pasha: His Life and Work,* vol. i, pp. 43-44. London: Constable & Co.

[4]Schweinfurth, et al. op. cit., pp. 52-59 and 111-112.

[6]Thomas, H. B. (1952). The Maria Theresa Dollar. *Uganda J. 16,* 96-98. The exchange value of the thaler in 1877 against the pound sterling was 44⅝ pence. The Manager, The British Linen Bank, London, personal communication.

[6]Schweinfurth, et al. op. cit., pp. 114-123.

[7]Beer.

[8]Katama, R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication.

[9]Baker was unable to speak Runyoro and depended upon interpreters for information. These interpreters may have misled him from personal, clan or tribal reasons and sometimes have unintentionally misinformed him through lack of proficiency. Emin was able to speak Arabic which Kabarega also spoke.

[10]Schweinfurth, et al. op. cit., pp. 60-63.

[11]Natives of Dongola, that is Sudanese irregular troops, or Nubians. Nubians became a name for the Sudanese troops, even though they were composed of men recruited from within Uganda, the southern Sudan, or the Congo.

[12]Should read Ruyonga, Mupina, and his deceased father Mpuhuka.

[13]Schweitzer. op. cit. vol. i, pp. 48-49.

[14]Ibid. p. 49.

[15]Ibid. p. 56. Emin is remembered in Bunyoro as the only European who really understood Kabarega. There was mutual confidence between them. R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication.

[16]It is noteworthy that in a letter to Dr. Schweinfurth, written from Wadelai on 1 December 1885, Emin stated that in October some messengers arrived from Kabarega with instructions to see if the Governor really was Emin Effendi and, if so, to put themselves under his orders; if not, to return at once because Kabarega would have nothing to do with the Egyptian administration. Schweinfurth, et al. op. cit., p. 488.

[17]Ibid. p. 68.

[18]Schweitzer. op. cit., p. 63.

[19]Wilson, C. & Felkin, R. (1882). *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan,* vol. i, pp. 307, 312, 324. London: Sampson, Low & Co.

[20]Buchta, R. (1881). *Die Oberen Nil-Länder,* vol. ii, plates 60-73. Berlin: J. F. Stiehm. A copy of this album of photographs is in the British Museum. Reproductions of Buchta's photographs of Bunyoro-Kitara or of drawings from them can be seen in the following books:— Casati, G. (1891). *Ten Years in Equatoria,* vol. ii. London: Warne & Co.; Junker, W. (1890-1892). *Travels in Africa,* 1875-1886, vol. iii. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd.; Wilson and Felkin. op. cit., vol. i. Many of the photographs in Casati's book are direct reproductions from Buchta's originals, though no acknowledgement has been made. Communicated by H. B. Thomas, Esq., O.B.E., see his article (1960). Richard Buchta and Early Photography in Uganda. *Uganda J. 24,* 114-119.

[21]Schweitzer. op. cit., vol. i, pp. 66-67.

[22]On the Bunyoro bank near Ruyonga's island south of Foweira.

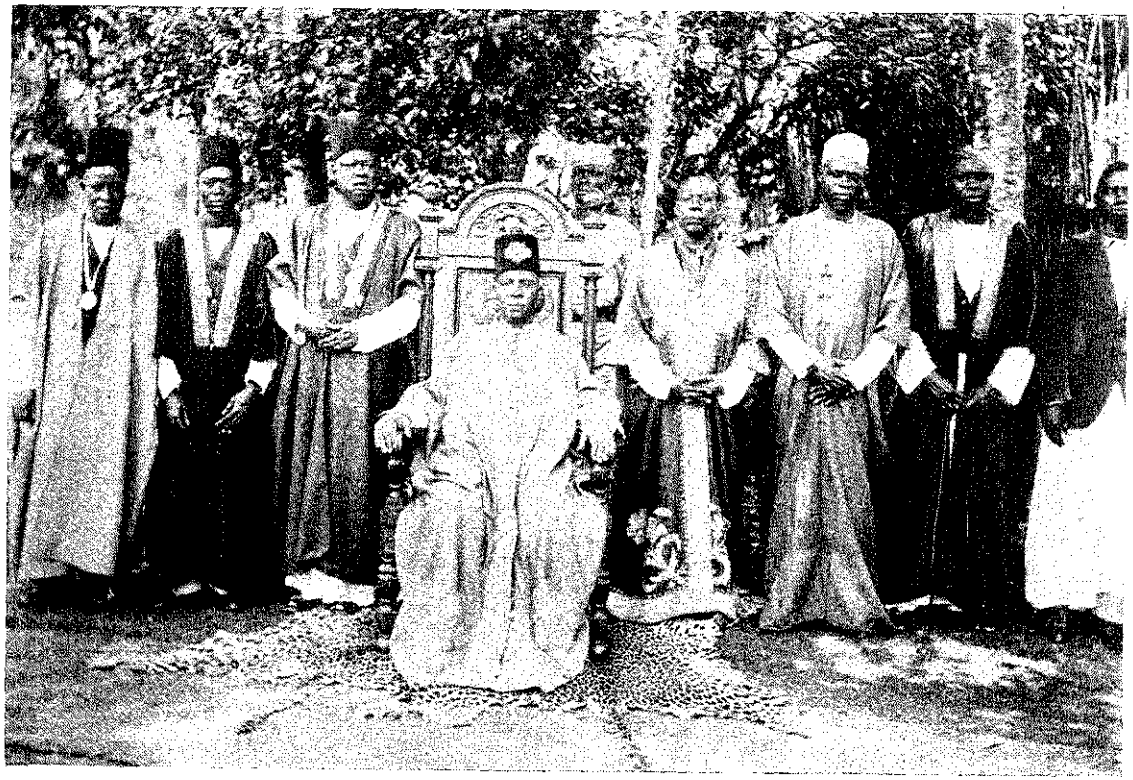
[23]Schweitzer. op. cit., vol. i, pp. 127-128.

[24]Uele.

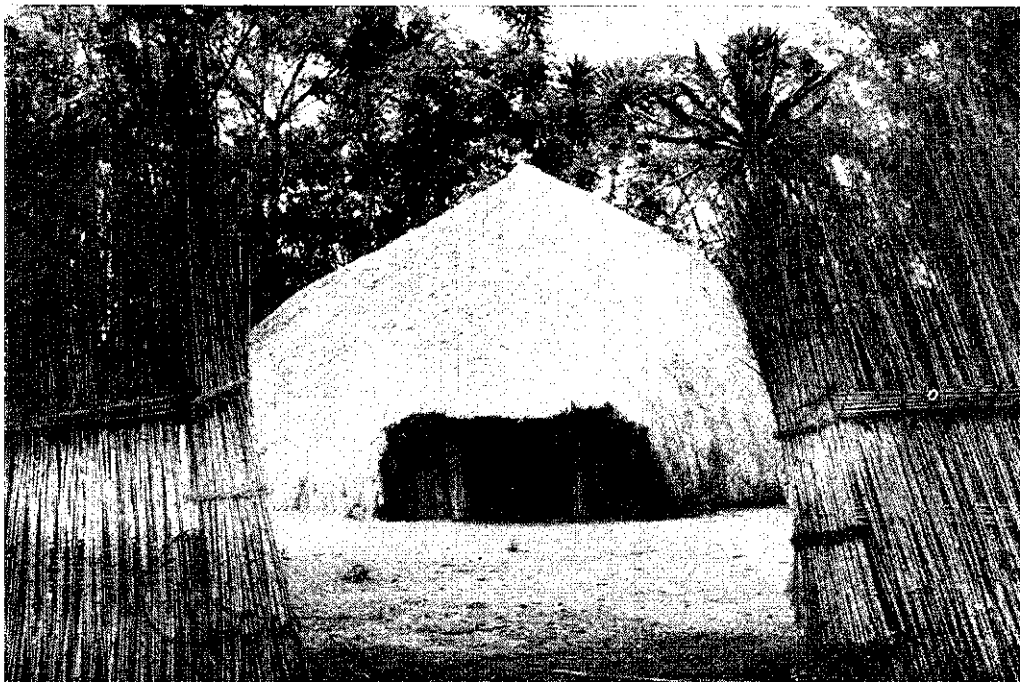
[25]Casati. op. cit., vol. i, p. 294.

[26]Komiswa, son of Ruyonga.

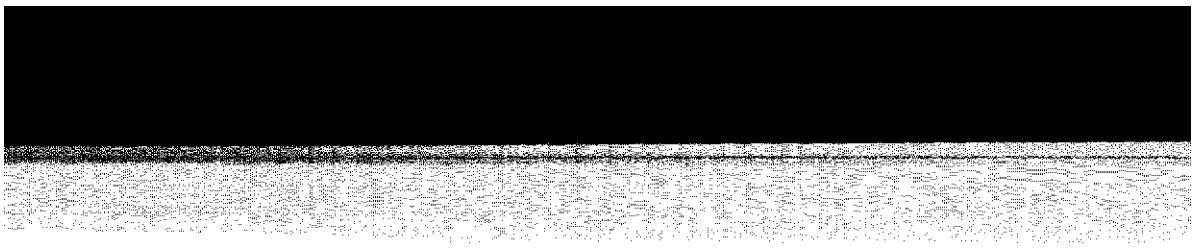
[27]Junker, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 482-483.
[28]Ibid. pp. 530-531.
[29]See Thomas, H. B. (1960). Mohammed Biri. *Uganda J. 24*, 123-126.
[30]Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. i, p. 194.
[31]Stuhlmann, F. (1916-1927). *Die Tagebücher von Dr. Emin Pascha*, vol. iii, pp. 215-233. Brunswick: Georg Westermann, Schweinfurth, et al., op. cit., p. 178. The process described differs from that practised in 1962 which was as follows; the sulphuretic liquid from the hot springs in the bed of the river at Kibero contains more salt in solution when it is hot and as it cools the excess salt is deposited in the earth on the lower side of the springs. The salt-impregnated soil is collected, dried in the sun, and the surface layers on which the salt has crystallized are scraped with crescent shaped pieces of iron. The mixture of salt and soil is put into a container which has a hole in the bottom and which is raised on three stones. Water is added and the solution of salt and water is collected in another vessel beneath. This solution is boiled over a fire until all the water has been evaporated and the salt only remains. Metalled pots and pans have largely taken the place of the traditional earthenware ones.
[32]Casati, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 20.
[33]Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. i, p. 220.
[34]Casati, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 28.
[35]Kabarega thought that Casati was a friend of the Baganda. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication.
[36]Casati, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 81.
[37]Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 116-117.
[38]Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 140-141.
[39]Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 210-211.
[40]Stanley, H. M. (1890). *In Darkest Africa*, vol. i, pp. 34, 45. London: Sampson, Low and Co.
[41]Casati, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 157.
[42]Stanley, op. cit., vol. i, p. 374.
[43]Casati, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 158.
[44]Schweitzer, op. ct., vol. i, p. 272.
[45]Ibid. vol. i, p. 283.
[46]Schweinfurth, et al., op. cit., pp. 510-511.
[47]Thomas (1932), op. cit.
[48]Schweitzer, op. cit., vol. i, p. 124.
[49]The extent of his correspondence with scientists, scientific and geographical societies in Western Europe can be measured by the lists of letters, 'safari' notes, ornithological, zoological, ethnological and cartographical articles, which appear in Stuhlmann, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 61-65, and vol. vi.



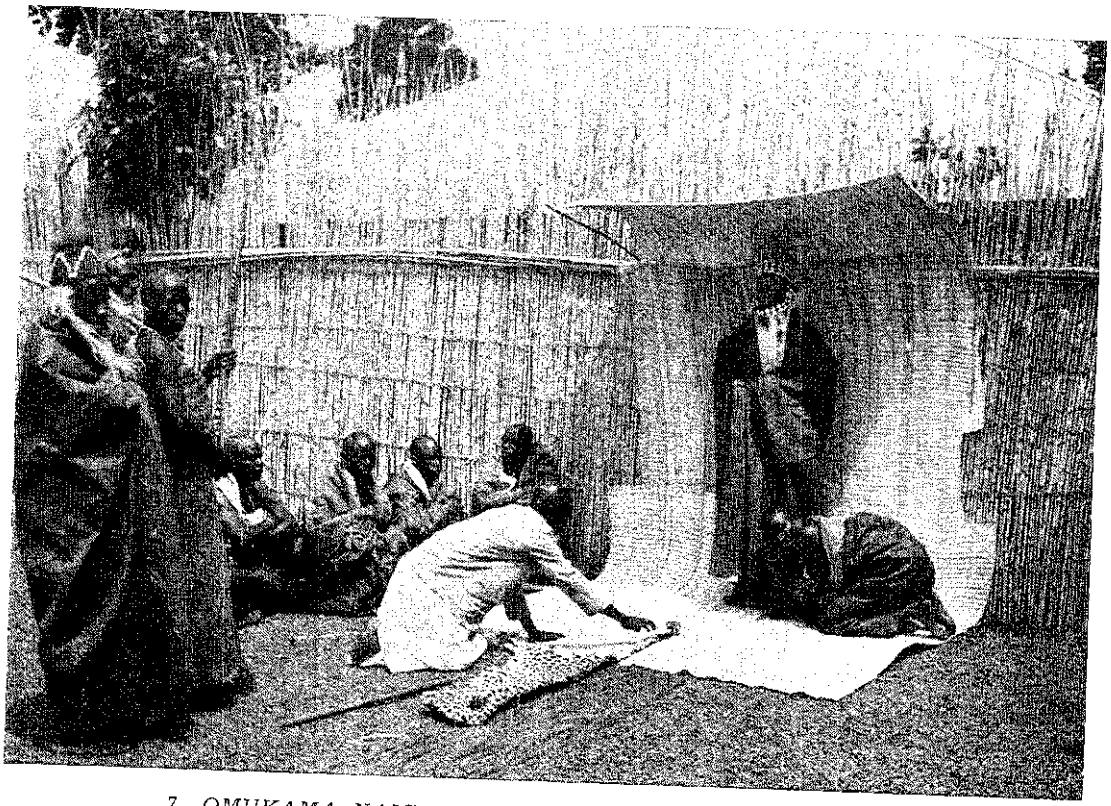
2. Mukama and his Chiefs 1931.



4. *The Personal Arms and Drums of Mukama Kabarega.*



5. EMPANGO HA KASWA: The Royal Drummers announce the ceremonial beginning of the Empango ha Kaswa



7. *OMUKAMA NAIGURA: Crown Wearers, ABAJWARAKONDO, paying homage to the Mukama at the Sacred Shelter*

10

KABAREGA AND THE BRITISH

THIS chapter contains an account of the campaign by the British against Kabarega during the years 1891-1899. This period opens with Kabarega again in control of the territories of the Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom which had been lost by a succession of weak Bakama earlier in the nineteenth century, mainly to the emergent agricultural state of Buganda, whose cohesion enabled her to expand at the expense of the pastoral dynasties of her western neighbours. The Egyptian occupation of Bunyoro north of the line from Mruli to Magungo, so far from preventing the growth of Kabarega's rule, had actually helped him, by curbing and ultimately destroying the power of the Gondokoro slave traders, thereby leaving him free to concentrate on the reconquest of his predecessors' former domains in the south. His resurgent power had already forced the Baganda back to their original boundaries, and the Mahdist victories in the Sudan in 1883 effectively protected him from further threats of Egyptian penetration from the north.

Almost immediately, however, he was faced with perils from a new direction. The partition of Africa among the European powers brought Uganda into the British sphere of influence. Although Britain was not anxious to become involved in the administration of these remote areas, she was loath for political and strategic reasons to see any other European power with influence there.[1] With the spread of British authority in Uganda, a conflict between Kabarega and the British military administration became inevitable.[2] As will be shown, this conflict was a long one, but ultimately Kabarega's inability to come to terms with a stronger power proved his downfall and the ruin of his country.

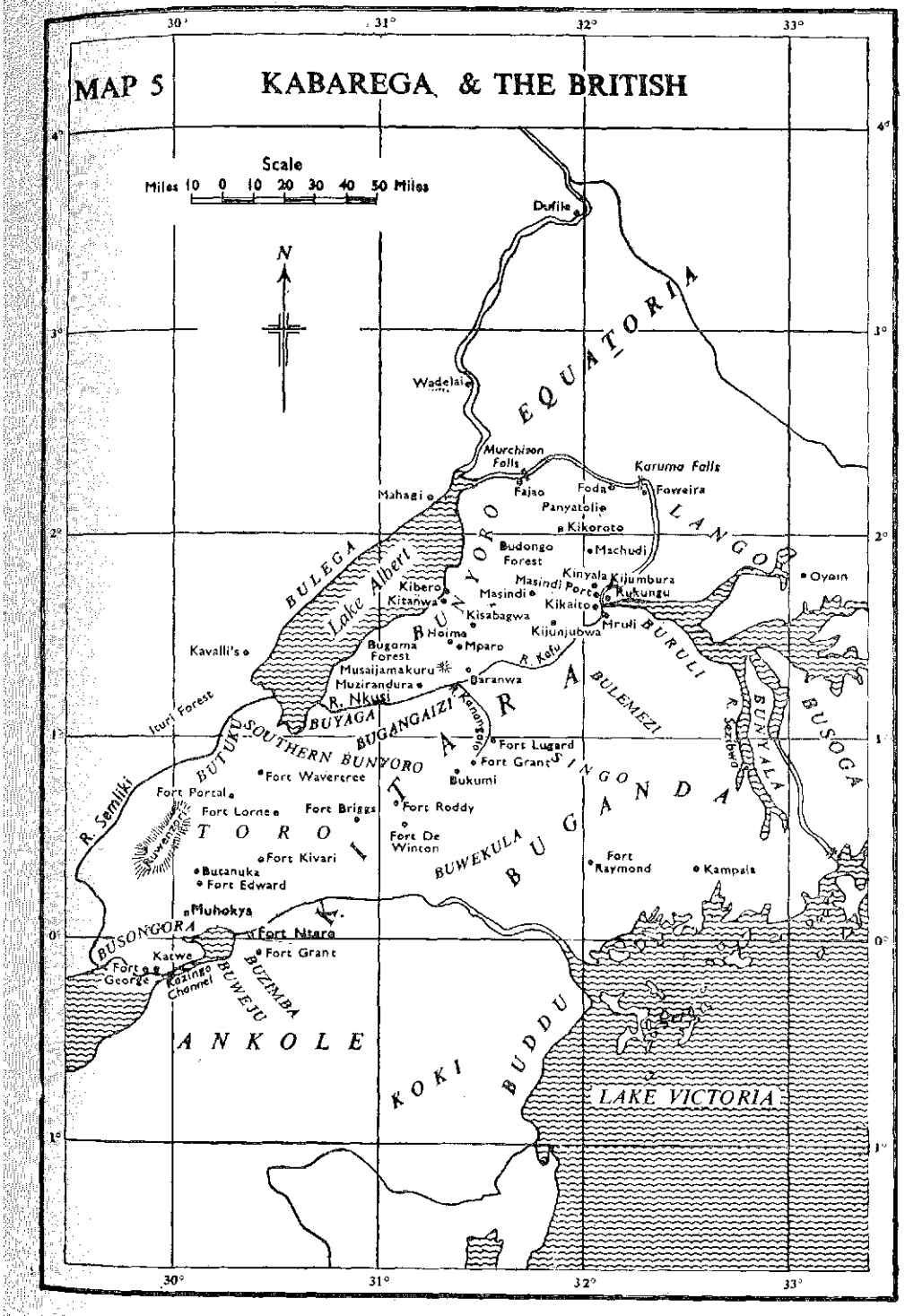
The campaigns started when Lugard made his celebrated march to western Uganda. By the Anglo-German agreement of July 1890, Uganda had been recognized as a British sphere of influence and the Imperial British East Africa Company whose rights and responsibilities now extended to Uganda, despatched Captain F. D. Lugard as its representative. He arrived at Kampala in December 1890, and having established his base there, travelled west in the following year in order to divert trade from German to British channels, to prevent the illegal importation of arms and ammunition, to gain access to the Katwe salt deposits, to obtain ivory, and to enlist in the Company's service the Sudanese troops left by Emin Pasha. He hoped by this journey to obtain much-needed revenue and disciplined manpower with which to control the religious and political factions in Buganda.

He set out from Kampala in April 1891, and passing through Singo first contacted the Banyoro in an engagement with a force commanded by Jasi, Kabarega's son, on the River Kanangalo in Bugangaizi. In spite of the defeat of this force he found that the northern route to Toro and the west was still obstructed by hostile Baganda Muhammadans. He therefore decided to alter the direction of his march and to approach Toro through Ankole.

Kabarega's Busongora garrison, guarding the Katwe salt works and the western frontier of the kingdom, did not offer serious opposition to Lugard at the Kazinga channel and was easily brushed aside. Withdrawing northwards to the foothills of Ruwenzori, this force stood and opposed Lugard's advance at Muhokya on the River Nyamwamba and at Butanuka, near Bugoye, but was defeated on both occasions. From then onwards, only token opposition was offered to Lugard's advance.[3] Nevertheless Lugard's description of these incidents is somewhat complacent: 'We had, with our comparatively small force, crossed hostile Bunyoro, and defeated Kabarega, and crumpled up his armies!'[4]

On 16 August 1891, Lugard restored Kasagama, who claimed to be the rightful ruler of Toro, to his father's throne. Kasagama had fled some years previously when Kabarega had re-conquered the south-western part of Kitara. In order to protect Toro, Lugard placed the Sudanese troops along the frontier of Bunyoro-Kitara in a north-south line of forts[5] George (Katwe), Edward, Wavertree, Lorne, Kivari, Ntare (Kitaturi) and Grant. A British officer was left in charge of Toro but with no direct authority, which Lugard himself retained, over the Sudanese.

Despite these precautions Kabarega was still able to trade ivory and slaves obtained from the north for arms and ammunition from the Banyamwezi in German East Africa. In mid-1892 the north-south line of forts was therefore wheeled round to run east-west from Fort Wavertree, via Forts Lorne and Briggs (No. 3 or Nderi) to Fort de Winton, twenty miles west of Mubende.[6] Kabarega more than once attacked these forts, interrupting communications and cutting off supplies.[7] These attacks were not without provocation, for the Sudanese, who were allowed to ravage Bunyoro-Kitara in lieu of pay, committed many excesses. Despite these attacks Kabarega on two occasions made attempts to open friendly relations with Lugard, but each time his approaches were rejected:[8] firstly in March 1891, his envoys called upon Lugard and presented a request for peace terms, which was refused: secondly in March 1892, on Lugard's return from Kavalli's, another delegation was sent by Kabarega offering friendly relations, but it too was rebuffed. Lugard was perhaps misled by the Baganda,[9] for it has been suggested that he too readily believed what the Baganda and the Batoro told him about Kabarega. If he had entered Bunyoro from the north, he might well have found himself the ally of Bunyoro against Ankole, Buganda and Toro.[10] As it was, the Baganda chiefs, greedy for territory and spoil, probably threw difficulties in the way of Kabarega coming to terms with the British authorities.[11] On three occasions, Mwanga, Kabaka


MAP 5
KABAREGA & THE BRITISH
Scale
Miles 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
N
30°
31°
32°
33°
4°
3°
2°
1°
0°
Dufile
Wadelai
Murchison Falls
Karuma Falls
Fajao
Foda
Foweira
Mahagi
Panyatolie
Kikorote
Budongo Forest
Machudi
Kinyala
Kijumbura
Masindi Port
Rukungu
Oyam
Kibero
Kitanwa
Masindi
Kikaito
Kisabagwa
Hoima
Kijunjubwa
Mruli
Kavalli's
Bugoma Forest
Mparo
R. Kafu
Musaijamakuru
Muzirandura
Baranwa
R. Nkusi
Ituri Forest
Kanonga
Fort Lugard
Fort Grant
Fort Waverenee
Bukumi
Fort Portal
Fort Lorne
Fort Briggs
Fort Roddy
Fort De Winton
Fort Kivari
Bucanuka
Fort Edward
Fort Raymond
Kampala
Muhokya
Fort Nsara
Fort Grant
Katwe
Fort George
Kazinga Channel
R. Semliki
Ruwenzori
BULEGA
Lake Albert
BUNYORO
EQUATORIA
LANGO
BULEMEZI
BUGANGAIZI
BUYAGA
BUTUKA
SOUTHERN BUNYORO
TORO
ANKOLE
BUSONGORA
BUZIMBA
BUWEJU
BUWEKULA
BUGANDA
SINGO
BUNYALA
BUSOGA
BURULI
KOKI
BUDDU
LAKE VICTORIA

of Buganda, sent messengers to Kabarega saying that Mwanga would intercede on his behalf with the British. Kabarega, however, maintained that Mwanga should plead for himself, and that he, Kabarega, had no need to plead.[12] Kabarega believed that Mwanga was endeavouring to betray him to the British, but this belief did not prevent him subsequently be-friending Mwanga when he was in difficulties.[13]

Early in 1893 Sir Gerald Portal, the first Commissioner appointed by the British Government, contemplated withdrawing the Sudanese garrisons, although this would have left Toro at the mercy of the 'powerful and jealous kingdom of Bunyoro.'[14] In spite of this objection Portal sent Owen, one of his lieutenants, to concentrate the Sudanese in the forts towards Buganda. Fort George, however, was retained to control the ivory traffic and to watch the frontiers of the Congo Free State.[15] It also had to face the strong and hostile Banyema tribe, west of the River Semliki. Fort Gerry, later known as Fort Portal, was built to protect Kasagama.

Portal's policy was essentially a mark-time one in order to discover the minimum cost for which Buganda could be held. In furtherance of this policy sufficient Sudanese were enlisted to defend Kampala and to hold the balance of power between the three Kiganda politico-religious factions, the Catholics, Protestants and Muhammadans. There was to be no interference in the internal administration of Buganda except to prevent gross injustice, cruelty or renewal of civil war and no act of aggression against neighbouring states.[16]

In June 1893, there occurred the Muhammadan revolt in Buganda, which was quickly suppressed before the Sudanese troops and the Muhammadan Baganda could combine. As the Baganda Christians pursued the Muhammadans westwards, the position of Owen in the unevacuated forts depended on the loyalty of his Sudanese troops. The Banyema, Banyamwezi and Banyoro also threatened his isolated garrisons. Fortunately the troops remained loyal. Kabarega did not seize the opportunity to ally himself with the Baganda Muhammadans, probably because all Baganda, whether pagan or otherwise, were the sworn enemies of the Banyoro. Owen wrote in his diary: 'I can then withdraw from fort to fort, commencing from Salt Lake (Fort George), and taking what people like to follow me and dare not remain. . . . The Banyema and Kabarega's people will then race for the dead carcass.'[17] Kabarega did so, driving Kasagama into the foothills of Ruwenzori.

Portal's policy was abandoned by his successors, Macdonald and Colvile. Macdonald, acting as British Commissioner in charge of Uganda upon the departure of Portal, eventually agreed with Owen that a full-scale campaign should be launched against Kabarega. He had come to the conclusion that since Lugard had refused Kabarega's proffered friendship, Kabarega had become an inveterate enemy, embittered by the location of the irresponsible Sudanese troops in his southern provinces and by the desolation that they had caused.[18] It was decided that the Sudanese should be concentrated in Singo, in forts so sited as to make communications with

Bunyoro easy and to provide suitable attacking bases if Kabarega proved hostile to the policy of expansion to Lake Albert and Wadelai, where a remnant of Emin's Sudanese troops was believed to be. A site at Buwulu (Haburu) was called Fort Grant, and another fort, Lugard, was built to the north on Lemba's Hill near Ntwetwe. Fort Raymond was built near Mityana.

In November 1893, Colvile arrived in Uganda to take Portal's place, with instructions to check a rumoured Belgian advance from the Congo and to protect British interests in the Nile basin. Macdonald's proposals suited these objectives. In addition there could be no doubt that Buganda was seriously threatened by the growing strength of Kabarega. It was perhaps fear of Kabarega that had encouraged the Baganda to sign the provisional treaty with Portal on 29 May 1893, which was the basis of the agreement of 1894. It was necessary, however, for the British to make their protectorate effective by invading Bunyoro, before Colvile could carry out his original instructions.

Kabarega had sent an army to protect his people from the Sudanese in Toro and another was permanently stationed in Bunyara. British strategy was therefore influenced by these dispositions. First, Owen was sent with troops to forestall the advance of Kabarega's army under Kikukule, one of his chiefs, into Toro. Kikukule's stronghold was captured and burnt, and he retreated to join forces with Kabarega. This was the first victory gained by the Sudanese troops under the British flag.[19]

Colvile then decided to march upon Kabarega's capital to dictate peace terms to him. He thought that the best way to prevent disturbances occurring behind his back was to take care that there was no one left to create them. This gratified the warlike inclinations of the Baganda and also satisfied Mwanga who was afraid of troubles that might deprive him of his throne.[20] Eight Europeans, four hundred Sudanese, and fifteen thousand Baganda, mainly spearmen, were concentrated on the frontier, while Owen invaded Bugangaizi to make a diversion, which was successful. The invasion of Bunyoro by the British and their Baganda allies, according to Thruston, who took part in it, was not worthy of being called a war. He refers to it in a chapter entitled *Chasse aux Nègres* based on the epigram of a French missionary 'On ne fait pas la guerre en Afrique: ce qui s'y fait c'est la chasse aux nègres'.[21]

On 18 December 1893, Colvile's force advanced into Bunyoro-Kitara and on the 29th crossed the Kafu, probably a mile or so south of the present Hoima-Kampala main road bridge, meeting some opposition from skirmishers. The reason for the lack of serious resistance was that Kabarega had divided his forces[22] into four divisions, the first to guard Toro, the second to garrison Bunyara, the third to cover the frontier posts, and the fourth to form a general reserve. This division of his forces was the only mistake made by Kabarega in strategy; thereafter he conducted his campaign on irregular lines, refused a general engagement, abandoned his capital, Mparo, and so prevented Colvile from destroying the classic primary

objective in warfare, the main body of the enemy. The loss of the secondary objective, the enemy's capital, is not likely to be so serious to a primitive people as it is to a highly developed state.

Kabarega retreated north-eastwards through the hills to the Budongo forest to gain time to re-organize his forces. He could always retire faster than the British could advance. He did not hazard a serious engagement, but a series of rearguard actions did take place. Later he slipped back towards his capital at Mparo and appeared at Kisabagwa near Kitoba where a skirmish took place with the Baganda.[23]

Colvile decided that it was necessary for the peace of Buganda that Kabarega's power be broken,[24] so the army pursued Kabarega towards Machudi, near Kiryandongo. The Baganda had, by this time, consumed all the food in their path and Colvile determined to intercept Kabarega's cattle, ivory, women and children, which were alleged to have been sent to Mruli. His army accordingly moved in that direction. Kabarega continued his evasive tactics and obstinately, but wisely, refused to give battle,[25] and eventually withdrew across the Nile.

Since he was unlikely to be defeated in open fight, Colvile abandoned the pursuit and decided to occupy the country, to build a line of forts between the Kafu and Lake Albert, to come to terms with the chiefs of Toro and that part of Bunyoro-Kitara south and east of the Rivers Kafu and Nkusi, hereafter referred to as the 'Lost Counties', to confine Kabarega to the north-east of his kingdom, and to starve him out by the simple policy of consuming all the food in other areas of the country. Forts were therefore built at Kibero, to guard the salt works, and at Kitanwa, to hold the fertile area near Kigorobya. Other forts were built at Hoima[26] and Baranwa, near the Kafu crossing. To raid into a country, to seize all the ivory and cattle that can be found and to retreat with the loot, is the traditional African system of warfare. Colvile's raid on Bunyoro appeared to the Banyoro, therefore, as part of the established order of the universe. But that a few men should be left to hold the country permanently was not part of the ordinary game.[27] From that time onwards Kabarega was given no opportunity for discussing peace terms.

Colvile was then able to undertake his original instructions to protect British interests in the Nile basin, particularly from the Belgians. By the capture of Kibero he obtained a base on Lake Albert, and Owen made a treaty with Sheik Alli of Wadelai so facilitating river communications as far as Dufile. Owen was then sent to restore confidence in Toro, to form a confederacy of the chiefs in the 'Lost Counties', and to leave garrisons at Fort Portal and Fort George. It was emphasized that any occupation of Bunyoro was to be for purely defensive purposes to protect Buganda against attack.[28] Since Britain had not annexed Bunyoro this occupation was somewhat irregular.

On 26 February 1894, Colvile returned to Buganda and decided to give his Baganda allies Bunyara, Buruli, Rugonja (Bulemezi and Singo), Buyaga, Buwekula and Bugangaizi as a reward for their services.[29]

It was upon Colvile's sole authority that the Baganda were paid in this manner and from his action the whole question of the 'Lost Counties' has arisen. He held a public meeting and informed the Kabaka and the Baganda chiefs that the northern frontier of Buganda would extend to the Rivers Kafu and Nkusi and Lake Kioga. The Catholics were given the southern part and the Protestants the eastern part. He did not report the arrangement to the Foreign Office.[30] Berkeley, Colvile's successor, only learnt of it in May 1896, and found the religious division of territory confirmed under the date 9 April 1894, in a journal kept in his office.[31]

Foreign Office instructions received after Colvile's apportionment of territory did not permit it and this is presumably why it was never reported. 'This Protectorate will extend only over the territory which is included in Buganda proper, bounded by Koki, Ankole, Bunyoro and Busoga.' Arrangements should be limited to agreements with chiefs to ensure friendly relations, commerce and the suppression of the slave trade. Every effort was to be made to establish friendly relations with Kabarega, and to prevent him entering into an alliance with the adherents of the Mahdi.[32] In 1897 Kabarega did, in fact, make an abortive attempt to obtain assistance from the Mahdists.[33]

The Baganda settled in the regions allotted to them. They killed the men and seized the women. They looted the cattle. Thruston was left in command of Bunyoro. He had with him Dr. Moffat and Forster and 660 men to administer Bunyoro. The three officers did their work as well as such work could be done.[34]

As a result of Colvile's campaign Kabarega had been hustled out of his kingdom, his followers were confined to a small north-eastern part, a boat had been placed on Lake Albert to guard against an advance by the Belgians, and a chain of forts had been established to bar Kabarega's route to the south and to prevent the importation of arms and ammunition.[35] On the other hand, Colvile had failed to capture Kabarega and to make peace, nor had he managed to recruit additional Sudanese troops. That the Banyoro were still unsubdued was emphasized by a defeat of the Baganda by a party of Banyoro raiders in late February.[36] Then, in March, smallpox struck the Baganda; many deaths occurred and they retired. Kabarega immediately re-crossed the Nile to Kinyala, two miles north of Masindi Port, and sent his men back to their own lands, where they were shocked at the desolation caused by the Baganda. A number of skirmishes occurred with the occupation forces.

In April and May 1894, an expedition from Hoima marched to Mruli to kill or capture Kabarega, or failing that, to drive him out of his kingdom, to take his ivory, and to show the flag. Kabarega evaded this force by withdrawing northwards.[37] On 20 May, however, Thruston with fifty soldiers took by storm the precipitous and almost inaccessible stronghold of Musaijamukuru, from which raiding parties had attacked the caravans from Buganda. Thruston commented: 'The Banyoro, in standing to meet us, appear to have been actuated by a misplaced confidence in the impreg-

nability of their position, and in the small numbers of their assailants.' Thruston then explored the south of Lake Albert and the Semliki River.[38]

On 27 August Kabarega concentrated his troops at Mparo under the leading Banyoro generals, Jasi, Rwabudongo, Byabachwezi and Ireta, in order to attack Fort Hoima. Thruston encountered the Banyoro near the site of the present Hoima ginnery. They were drawn up in line and were concealed in the long grass in front of a ravine. He drove them back over the ravine from the other side of which they continued to fire. With half a company he then made a flank attack, causing them to retreat. Over two hundred Banyoro were killed while Thruston lost only eight men.[39]

It was after this battle that Kabarega sent Kikukule to the White Fathers Mission at Bukumi in Bugangaizi, to ask that they might teach his people and help him find ways of negotiating with government officials. He became so friendly with the Fathers that a ceremony of blood brotherhood took place between Kikukule and Père Achte, the Superior. Later, Katama Omukumirizi, another chief, was sent to discuss peace terms with the British.[40] In November on the day that Katama was returning, Thruston attacked Kabarega at Machudi, because Colvile's wish was to force Kabarega to fight, or if that was impossible, to give him an opportunity of attacking the British.[41]. Thruston had made a forced march from Hoima and the speed of his advance surprised Kabarega, who thought that he had a day's grace before retreating. Thruston arrived at Kabarega's headquarters at 2.00 a.m., but the alarm was given before Kabarega's hut could be surrounded, and he escaped. Cattle, clothing, ammunition, stores, ivory and insignia of office were captured.[42] Kabarega fled across the Nile to Lango, a dependency of Bunyoro-Kitara. When Colvile entered Bunyoro it was one of the richest food producing countries in Eastern Equatorial Africa with considerable population and trade. The prolonged guerilla warfare which began in 1894 devastated the most fertile areas, famine was inevitable and pestilence swept the country. In the four years following the establishment of British rule over Bunyoro Gregory estimated that the population had been reduced to a fourth.

Lord Kimberley, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, once assured the House of Lords that Bunyoro had not been annexed and that the natives were not under British protection. This declaration was read at the mess table at Hoima and called forth the remark that it was not easy to understand the first part of the statement but that the natives were not under British protection was quite correct for we shoot them at sight.

The policy being carried out in Bunyoro was not approved by the British government but no effective check was possible owing to the slowness of communications. Colvile's forward policy was mildly rebuked but the message did not arrive until after he had left for England in December, 1894.[43]

In January 1895, Thruston was relieved by Captain Cunningham, who had three European assistants, a small force of Sudanese troops, and a large contingent of Baganda. Early in February, Kabarega's followers had taken

advantage of an armistice arranged by Thruston before his departure, and had entered Toro, perhaps in an attempt to obtain arms and ammunition from Arab caravans operating from the German sphere of influence. Skirmishing occurred between Forts Baranwa and Hoima.[44] Vandeleur, one of Cunningham's officers, made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the Banyoro under Rwabudongo in Muzirandura, south of Munteme.[45]

On 20 February a column under Cunningham moved from Hoima towards the Nile to attack Kabarega's position on the Lango bank. Several thousand Baganda, carrying twenty-five large canoes in sections, had been sent from Kampala to co-operate. But before their arrival Cunningham, who was impetuous, attacked Kabarega on 2 March from Kijumbura Island, downstream from Masindi Port. His attack was repulsed, Cunningham himself being shot through both hips, and Dunning died of his wounds. It was believed that Kabarega had Arabs with him.[46] This defeat caused the British forces to withdraw to Hoima.

Captain Ternan, who had meanwhile reached Kampala, re-organized the expedition. It was planned that William Grant from Busoga with about 1,200 Baganda and a Maxim gun should travel in a hundred canoes to Mruli, while Ternan himself marched overland with 120 Sudanese, two Hotchkiss guns and one Maxim, accompanied by the Baganda chiefs and their levies, about 20,000 men in all.[47] On 20 April the new forces reached Mruli. There Cunningham, who had nearly recovered from his wounds, resumed command. The troops from Hoima were already encamped on the Bunyoro bank of the Kafu at Kikaito, south of Masindi Port, while Kabarega held a strongly stockaded position at Rukungu, on the east bank of the Nile opposite to their camp.[48] Other possible landing places were barricaded. The Hotchkiss and Maxim guns were therefore mounted on timber platforms so that they could fire over the papyrus across the Nile, and on 22 April the canoe force landed on the east bank, covered by supporting fire from the guns, and carried the stockade. The Banyoro then withdrew northwards. The main British force landed on the east bank to follow them, and a second body with the guns marched along the west bank to prevent Kabarega crossing the Nile into his own territory, while the canoe flotilla kept pace on the river. Although over 1,000 head of cattle were captured in Lango by a flying column[49] scarcity of food made it impossible to keep a large force on the east bank for long. Ternan went ahead downstream to the Karuma Falls in an attempt to locate Kabarega but failed to do so. At this point Cunningham decided to abandon the chase and to withdraw to Masindi, but Ternan was permitted to follow the Nile as far as the Murchison Falls. The further he went, the more his escort of Baganda dwindled, as they returned with prisoners and loot to their own country. He was able to capture Kabarega's mother, a prince, later Mukama Yosiya Kitahimbwa, and a princess.[50] On 26 May he too arrived back at Masindi, whereupon most of the Baganda were sent back to Buganda because it was difficult to feed them.

A fort was then built which took the name Masindi because Busindi was the local name for the area. It was north-east of the present government offices. The British decided to site it at Masindi because it was near the centre of Kabarega's country and it would be a useful base for any further operations that might become necessary.[51] A post was established at Mruli[52] to maintain communications with Buganda. The results of this operation were that forts and administrative posts were established in north-east Bunyoro and along the Victoria Nile, some 250 women and children who had been captured in past raids were restored to their homes, and Kabarega, although he eluded capture, suffered a severe loss of cattle; he was driven from the country; his sphere of influence was considerably diminished;[53] and he was deprived of arms by the construction of Fort Roddy (Nakabimba) in Kyaka county, Toro, which prevented Arab gun runners from German territory reaching him.

For a period of nearly two years no major operation was undertaken against Kabarega, who remained in the Lango country north and east of the Nile. Vigorous patrolling was, however, undertaken from the half-dozen posts established in the district which were manned by some 400 soldiers.[54]

On 16 June 1895, information was received that an Arab caravan which had been trading with Kabarega was in the 'Lost Counties' returning on its way to German East Africa. A patrol under Vandeleur immediately left Hoima and ambushed this caravan, capturing its two Arab leaders. After this display of efficiency and force the chiefs in the 'Lost Counties' arrived in Hoima to make peace.[55] About this time Kabarega sent some of his chiefs back into his country to confer with the Europeans, and to report back to him. This further attempt at negotiations failed like the previous ones. Byabachwezi had come to terms with the British and was installed at Hoima. Kikukule was attacked by the Baganda in Bugangaizi, and none of the others returned to Kabarega, although they did assist in the peaceful establishment of the British administration.[56]

By the latter half of 1895 conditions had become more settled, from the military point of view, especially in the south of Bunyoro-Kitara. Nevertheless, during August, while Ternan was visiting Mahagi from Kibero, Kabarega attacked a post south of the River Kafu. This post was immediately reinforced, and a patrol set out northwards to discover where Kabarega was.[57] The patrol believed that he had his camp on an island somewhere in the Nile below the Karuma Falls. They therefore marched by way of Kikoroto and Panyatoli, but found the camp deserted, the elusive Kabarega having retreated northwards across the Nile.[58]

Some time previously Kabarega had sent messengers to the Mahdists in the Sudan to ask for assistance, and at the end of July a party of Mahdists had arrived north of Dufile, causing rumours to reach Ternan at Masindi by the end of August that Europeans had reached the Nile. As the Foreign Office naturally wished to be kept informed of such eventualities, Ternan

made a patrol to Dufile, but found that the Mahdists had already retired northwards without affording any assistance to Kabarega.[59]

Constant inspection by patrols was kept up for the rest of 1895 and the first half of 1896, although no engagements took place. Conditions for Kabarega's supporters must have begun to deteriorate, for in December 1895, Ternan met a number of deserters. Berkeley, the new Commissioner, had arrived in May 1895. The condition of Bunyoro had become steadily worse during 1895 and by the end of the year the 'Lost Counties' were in such a deplorable state that Pulteney was sent there to put matters right.[60] In a letter dated 20 November 1895, Berkeley was under the impression that the territory south and east of the Rivers Kafu and Nkusi belonged to Bunyoro-Kitara. Berkeley was of the opinion that two civilian officers could be usefully employed in Bunyoro 'even though at first it should only be in that portion of it (Bunyoro-Kitara) that lies between the northern frontier of Buganda and the River Kafu, and which is at present practically in charge of armed Baganda posts, under the superintendence of the Kango and Katikiro.' He thought that in time Kabarega could be deposed and replaced by one of his young sons: during this minority two regents would be appointed.[61] This did happen later when a rumour of Kabarega's death made the British place Yosiya Kitahimbwa upon the throne on 3 April 1898. Rwabudongo,[62] a leading chief, and two assistant chiefs were appointed and with their aid Pulteney soon restored order. The Banyoro were reinstated in the area recently allotted to the Baganda Catholics. Pulteney, who was a soldier, it has been recorded, restrained his natural instinct for fighting and worked with a single-souled devotion and untiring patience for the peaceful administration of his area. Cultivation, road making and general administration began but the Catholic Baganda objected.[63] They objected to Berkeley's proposal that Rwabudongo, a pagan Munyoro chief, should rule this area. It would mean, such were the ideas held by the Baganda at that time, that the Catholics would have to evacuate their settlements because the area had passed to another denomination. Berkeley then decided to place Rwabudongo in Bunyoro and to supersede his two assistants until he received instructions from the Foreign Office.

On 3 July 1896, Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole and Busoga were proclaimed part of the Uganda Protectorate.[64] Shortly afterwards a reply to Berkeley's request for instructions was received from the Foreign Office. Since the whole question of the 'Lost Counties' has arisen out of this decision, it is as well to quote from the letter written on 8 August 1896. 'I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge receipt of your despatch No. 57 of the 14th May, relating to the northern frontier of (B)Uganda and the arrangement said to have been made by Colonel Colvile in 1894 for the incorporation of certain territories belonging to (B)Unyoro with the Kingdom of (B)Uganda, and their apportionment to the Roman Catholics and Protestants respectively.

'The arrangement in question does not seem to have been reported to this office at the time; but subsequent events and the extension of the British Protectorate over (B)Unyoro have modified its significance and Her Majesty's Government have no wish to disturb it. . . .'[65] Berkeley then rescinded Pulteney's statesmanlike settlement but Pulteney regarded this act as a breach of faith with the Banyoro and resigned as civil officer in the 'Lost Counties'. He was succeeded by Forster, considered to be a model district administrator, who was ordered to carry out a new policy.[66] This policy was not intended to inflict the slightest practical injustice on individuals. The supremacy of the Catholic Baganda was recognized but the property and persons of the Banyoro were not to be molested as long as they kept quiet.[67]

Since Bunyoro was included in the Uganda Protectorate from 3 July 1896, it was necessary for Ternan to leave Mruli with 150 men to establish posts along the Victoria Nile, the new northern frontier. He arrived back at Kikaito on 26 September and found two British officers were awaiting him with 200 Sudanese troops, a Hotchkiss and a Maxim gun. With this force he moved northwards along the west bank of the Nile, supported from the river by the Hotchkiss which was mounted on a large canoe. Foweira was reached on 2 October and a fort was built there. Fire was opened upon Kabarega's camp on the opposite bank where he had taken refuge. On 22 October Rujumba, son of Ruyonga, who had been so loyal to the Egyptian administration, was appointed by Ternan as chief of the country between Mruli and Foweira. Kabarega still had sufficient influence in the area, however, to order all the crops to be destroyed so that Ternan's force could not obtain sufficient food supplies. As a result, it had to move westwards to the Murchison Falls where a fort was built at Fajao. Kabarega remained a standing menace on the east bank of the Nile, and most of the troops in the Protectorate were stationed in north Bunyoro to contain him there.

On 8 November Ternan decided to return to Masindi. Berkeley, the Commissioner in charge of the Protectorate, was to be invalided to the United Kingdom, and Ternan was to take over. The new acting Commissioner allowed the Catholic Baganda the full rights in the 'Lost Counties' which they had been given by Colvile. These included installation in possession of some land and villages. The Banyoro were compelled to remain as labourers. Since the pledges given by Forster to the Banyoro had been broken he resigned and was transferred elsewhere.[68] The Banyoro rebelled and a British fort and a Catholic mission were stormed and destroyed. The Baganda chiefs were chased back to their own country.[69]

Gregory attributed the causes of this disaster to the rule of the Foreign Office, which, like that of its predecessor the British East Africa Company, lacked a policy based on scientific knowledge of the country and its people, framed in accordance with the views of local administrators on what was practically and economically possible, continuously and consistently carried out despite the prejudices of philanthropists in the United Kingdom and the

ambitions of military officers serving in Uganda.[70] The work of government was seriously hindered by the quarrels of the rival missions and their interference in politics. He considered that more tolerance was required and that the crying need was for consistent administration by men who knew the country and who understood its people.[71]

The substance of Gregory's criticisms remained true throughout the period of British administration but for philanthropists read politicians and for military officers civil servants. Civil servants were usually anxious to avoid taking any action lest it should reflect adversely upon them. Ternan did not remain for long and he in turn handed over to Jackson and returned to England.[72]

Kabarega remained a thorn in the flesh of the British administration throughout 1897. Thruston, who on his return from leave took over civil and military charge of Bunyoro in April, recorded that: 'Kabarega was at his old tricks—giving every possible trouble but never standing up for a fair fight, preferring to pursue his favourite methods of assassination. . . . It is rather trying work to attempt to govern this country; everywhere lying, intrigue, and obstruction. Kabarega caused poison to be given to a friendly great chief, and he died, but I have had the poisoner killed.'[73]

Kabarega did not, however, take the opportunity of worrying the British which was afforded by Kabaka Mwanga's rebellion in July. Nor was Mwanga's revolt the most serious danger to confront the British administration in that year. After a successful campaign against Mwanga in Buddu, the Sudanese troops were immediately ordered to Eldoma Ravine where in October they mutinied.

Timely action in removing certain disaffected officers and men from the Bunyoro garrisons prevented immediate trouble there.[74] In January 1898, while British forces were once more engaged with Mwanga in Buddu, the mutineers escaped from Luba's fort in Busoga and worked their way northwest with the intention of joining forces with other Sudanese troops in Bunyoro. A flying column of Indian and Swahili troops was therefore sent ahead from Buddu to disarm the Sudanese garrisons at Mruli and Masindi before the mutineers arrived.[75] It was successful in its mission; Mruli was then garrisoned by Indian and Swahili troops, and the Sudanese at Foweira and Fajao were disarmed. After a signal defeat in north Buruli the mutineers retreated to the country north and east of the Nile, where on 26 April 1898, their stronghold opposite Mruli was attacked by British led forces, while another column attacked them near Foweira.[76]

In March 1898, the deposition of Kabarega, Mukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, was proclaimed by the British government and the recognized counties of Bunyoro were detailed, corresponding to the extent of Bunyoro district in 1962, all territory south and east of the Rivers Kafu and Nkusi being excluded.[77] George Wilson was Acting Commissioner in Uganda at the time and arrangements were made for the return of Kabarega's son Kitahimbwa, aged about ten years, to Bunyoro. A council of regency was to administer the Bunyoro Kingdom government under the guidance of a

British government representative and an amnesty was offered to fugitive chiefs.[78] The Bunyoro Kingdom government was established at Hoima under Byabachwezi.

Although with the arrival of reinforcements of Indian troops in April 1898, the mutineers no longer presented a serious threat, there were other hostile forces still in the field against the British. In addition to the Muhammadans and Kabarega's Banyoro, Mwanga had escaped from German territory in December 1897. Although defeated in Buddu he had, early in the new year, made his way northwards hoping for support from Kabarega. Despite his former scruples, Kabarega seized this opportunity and somewhat belatedly took the field in north Bunyoro, thus unwillingly providing a rallying point for the Sudanese mutineers, for whom he had no love. Kabarega and Mwanga became leaders of that section of the people who clung to the old customs; to everything, in fact, which the Europeans opposed.[79]

Mwanga's forces were split in three; the first force was dispersed in north Ankole; the second in south-west Bunyoro, and the third in the region of Kijunjubwa.[80] When Kabarega decided to take the field in north Bunyoro, Ireta deployed his force between the Budongo forest and Fajao, and Jasi moved his force from Foweira towards Masindi Port. A number of minor engagements took place.[81]

By June and July 1898, however, rigorous patrolling in which the 27th Bombay Light Infantry played a prominent part, had resulted in clearing north Bunyoro of the hostile forces led by Ireta and Kikukule. Fajao and later Foweira were re-occupied, and with the opening of communications between Fajao and Foweira, Ireta's forces were dispersed and the mutineers confined to the east bank.[82]

Kitahimbwa, the new Mukama imposed by the British, travelled to Masindi in September accompanied by Lewin of the Church Missionary Society and Tomasi Senfuma, a Muganda evangelist. They received a warm welcome from the people and a church of reeds and grass was built. Senfuma was left to continue the work when Lewin returned to Bulemezi. Bunyoro was truly in a pitiful state. War and rebellion had been followed by plague, pestilence and famine. The food supply of the country, poor at the best, was now perilously near starvation level. Cultivation had almost ceased.[83] It has been alleged that Kitahimbwa did not properly carry out the accession rites.[84] This is probably so, because the Banyoro believe that his successor Duhaga never completely performed the traditional accession rites until after the death of his father Kabarega in 1923.[85]

In September 1898, a British force moved north from Bunyoro to re-open contact with the Nile districts and to establish posts at Wadelai and Dufile. During its absence the Banyoro under Ireta and Kikukule returned to attack Hoima and succeeded in destroying the post. In October the mutineers crossed the Nile from Lango into Buganda, and ambushed a patrol in north Buruli. Reinforcements were later able to disperse the mutineers in the area and they retreated towards the Bugoma forest.[86] Columns

operated in the south-west until December when Ireta was attacked in the Budongo forest by the British.[87] By early January 1899, most of the mutineers had given themselves up and it was estimated that only about thirty remained on the west bank and seventy on the east bank of the Nile.[88]

In February 1899, Kitahimbwa was baptized Yosiya by Bishop Tucker whilst on tour in Bunyoro. Tucker has described Bunyoro at this time. Many of the Sudanese mutineers were encamped on the east bank of the River Nile and the crack of their rifles could be heard at Kisalizi as they hunted game. The British station at Mruli was on the north bank of the River Kafu but Tucker found time to visit Gordon's old fort on the south bank. Masindi was a military centre, sited on the main caravan route to the Nile stations of Wadelai, Dufile and Gondokoro. Tucker obtained a site for a permanent mission at Masindi. It was two days' march from Masindi to Hoima, or as he noted more properly Kahora, the ancient capital of the kings of Bunyoro. He described it as a charming spot located in the midst of an amphitheatre of hills: planted in the midst of fine grazing country it was regarded by most of the Banyoro chiefs as an ideal spot for their cattle and though obliged to live at Masindi, the government headquarters, their cattle remained at Hoima and needless to say their hearts were there also. Captain Hicks was in charge of the fort that was at Katesiha. Tucker secured a site for a mission station and a church, finding Byabachwezi most helpful. He decided that the Rev. A. B. Fisher should remain at Hoima for a while and then return to Masindi. Tucker left Hoima at the beginning of March on his way back to Buganda.[89]

The end was now near. In March 1899, a force under Lieutenant-Colonel Evatt moved into the area east of the Nile to break up Kabarega's and Mwanga's following, and on 7 April some Lango chiefs volunteered to lead the British force to where they were encamped. Mwanga had suggested previously that they should capitulate but Kabarega answered: 'Everything has its time appointed; a woman travailing with child reaches the time of her deliverance; so also does a cow; the banana is planted and takes root; but when it arrives at fruition it must fall; and now we have reached the hour of our fate; and, if so be that our appointed time to die has come, let us not be faint-hearted.'[90] On 9 April at Oyom near Kangai in Dokolo county of Lango district the two rulers were taken by surprise in the early morning mist, outflanked and driven into a swamp by Evatt's troops. Kabarega, although he had an infection of the eyes, resisted courageously. Bullets struck his right arm and his left thumb, so that he had to drop his gun and he was captured by Kakunguru, a Muganda general. It appears that when finally brought to bay, Kabarega told Kakunguru to kill him but this Kakunguru refused to do. He had, in fact, great difficulty in saving Kabarega from the fury of the Baganda and the Sudanese. After his capture Kabarega persuaded his son Duhaga to tear the bandages from his injured arm so that he might bleed to death in order to fulfil the Kinyoro tradition that an incapacitated Mukama should die. This attempt was frustrated. Eventually the arm had to be amputated.[91]

Both kings were taken to Kismayu and later to the Seychelles, where Mwanga died in 1903. Kabarega was permitted to return to Bunyoro in 1923, but died at Jinja before reaching his home.

The Banyoro had suffered heavily as the price of Kabarega's resistance. Their country was desolated. The British had, moreover, rewarded their Baganda allies by giving them large tracts of land that had hitherto belonged to Bunyoro-Kitara, including the 'Lost Counties' where many of the former Bakama are buried. These territories were formally included within the boundaries of Buganda by the Agreement signed the following year. The tragedy of Kabarega was that he hoped to negotiate with the British as he had with Emin Pasha at the time of Egyptian dominance, whereas the British, misled by the Baganda and influenced by other considerations outside the immediate context of Buganda, persisted in regarding him as an implacable enemy.

References

[1]For the wider implications of this, see Robinson, R. & Gallagher, J. with Denny, A. (1961). *Africa and the Victorians.* London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

[2]The more so because at that time most British army officers seconded for service in Africa regarded it as a great opportunity to achieve fame and an increase in pay, which could not be obtained in ordinary regimental or corps duty, by undertaking campaigns on their own initiative, which when completed and reported upon would result in the award of the Distinguished Service Order and promotion.

[3]Nyakatura. op. cit. p. 186. The clearest explanation of Lugard's movements is to be found in Perham, M. (ed) (1959). *The Diaries of Lord Lugard,* vol. ii, pp. 162-166, 246-249, 278-281, 301. London: Faber & Faber.

[4]Lugard, F. D. (1893). *The Rise of Our East African Empire,* vol. ii, pp. 283-284. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons.

[5]Ibid. vol. ii, p. 232. The names are given in chronological order of construction.

[6]Thomas, H. B. & Dale, I. (1953). Uganda Place Names. *Uganda J. 17,* 101-123.

[7]Macdonald, J. R. L. (1897). *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa,* p. 310. London: Edward Arnold.

[8]K.W. (1937). op. cit.

[9]Lugard. op. cit., pp. 114, 314-315.

[10]Perham, M. (1956). *Lugard, the Years of Adventure,* p. 262. London: Collins.

[11]Johnston. op. cit., vol. i, p. 235.

[12]Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 190-192.

[13]K.W. (1937). op. cit.

[14]Portal, G. (1894). *The British Mission to Uganda,* p. 180. London: Edward Arnold.

[15]Bovill, M. & Askwith, G. R. (1897). *Roddy Owen,* pp. 43-46. London: John Murray.

[16]Gregory, J. W. (1901). *The Foundation of British East Africa,* p. 212. London: Horace Marshall & Son.

J. W. Gregory was a geologist who visited East Africa at the turn of the century in connection with his work on the rift valleys. He probably picked up unofficial gossip whilst undertaking his investigations, possibly whilst staying with officials, and as a result was critical of what had been done and of the way in which it had been done.

[17]Bovill & Askwith. op. cit., pp. 86-88, 109.

[18]Macdonald. op. cit., pp. 296, 307.

[19]Bovill & Askwith. op. cit., pp. 115-116, 125, 130-131, 137-142.

[20]Thruston, A. B. (1900). *African Incidents,* p. 128. London: John Murray.

[21]Ibid. p. 125.

[22]Kabarega had a regular army of 3,000-5,000 *Barusura*, composed of spearmen, archers and musketeers. These were divided into companies, some forming a general reserve and others reinforcing local forces under the chiefs when needed. The *Barusura* were never successful in action against the British-led forces because their weapons were inferior and ammunition for the muskets was always in short supply. R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E, Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication.

[23]Macdonald. op. cit., pp. 314-316.

[24]Colvile, H. (1895). *The Land of the Nile Springs* p. 144. London: Edward Arnold.

[25]Thruston. op. cit., p. 137.

[26]Katesiha, Mile 2, Butiaba Road.

[27]Gregory. op. cit., p. 214.

[28]Further correspondence respecting East Africa (June 1895), Part *38*, p. 51, C. 6617, July to September 1894. London: Foreign Office.

[29]See Macdonald, J. R. L. (1899-1900). *Map of Uganda*, No. 1429. Intelligence Division, War Office, London.

[30]Further Correspondence respecting East Africa (February 1897), Part *46*, pp. 106-108, C. 6861, July to September, 1896.

[31]Berkeley, E. J. L., letter No. 57 addressed to the Marquis of Salisbury, K. G., dated 14th May, 1896.

[32]Further Correspondence respecting East Africa (February 1895), Part *37*, p. 206, C. 6557, April to June, 1894.

[33]Gray, Sir John (1955). Kabarega's Embassy to the Mahdists in 1897. *Uganda J. 19*, 93-95.

[34]Gregory. op. cit., p. 214.

[35]Colvile. op. cit., pp. 221-222.

[36]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 197.

[37]Colvile. op. cit., pp. 257-259.

[38]Thruston. op. cit., pp. 189-191, 202-204.

[39]Ibid. pp. 207-209.

[40]District Commissioner, Hoima's File: Bunyoro — Historical Places. Copy of a letter addressed to the Chief Secretary (1933).

[41]Thruston. op. cit., p. 138.

[42]Ibid. pp. 221-227.

[43]Gregory. op. cit., p. 216.

[44]Thomas, H. B. (1949). Arabic Correspondence Captured in South-west Bunyoro in 1895. *Uganda J. 13*, 31-38.

[45]Vandeleur, S. (1898). *Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger*, pp. 53-56. London: Methuen & Co.

[46]Thomas (1949). op. cit.

[47]Ternan, T. (1930). *Some Experiences of an Old Bromsgrovian*, pp. 169-175. Birmingham: Cornish Bros. Ltd.

[48]K.W. (1937). op. cit.

[49]Parliamentary Papers. Report on Military Operations against Kabarega, King of Unyoro. Africa No. 1 (1896), C. 7924, p. 3, London: H.M.S.O.

[50]Vandeleur. op. cit., p. 77.

[51]Ternan. op. cit., p. 192.

[52]This was built at Kikaito on the west bank of the Kafu where it joins the Nile two miles south of Masindi Port and opposite Gordon's Mruli.

[53]Maxse, F. (1906). *Seymour Vandeleur*, p. 60. London: Heinemann.

[54]Ternan. op. cit., p. 225.

[55]Vandeleur. op. cit., pp. 87-95.

[56]District Commissioner, Hoima's File, op. cit.

[57]Ternan. op. cit., pp. 194-199.

[58]Vandeleur. op. cit., pp. 96-101.

[59]Ternan. op. cit., p. 209.
[60]Gregory. op. cit., p. 216.
[61]Further Correspondence respecting East Africa (November 1896), Part *44*, p. 216, C. 6827, January to March 1896.
[62]Grandfather of A. N. W. Kamese.
[63]Gregory. op. cit., pp. 217, 244-245.
[64]Further Correspondence respecting East Africa (February 1897), Part *46*, op. cit., p. 79.
[65]Ibid. p. 134.
[66]Gregory. op. cit., pp. 217-218, 244.
[67]Ibid. p. 217.
[68]Forster was not transferred for this reason. Sir John Gray, personal communication. Sir John Gray served as a cadet in Mubende district from 1921 to 1922.
[69]Gregory. op. cit., p. 218.
[70]Gregory. op. cit., pp. 244-245.
[71]Ibid. pp. 248, 250, 260.
[72]Ternan. op. cit., pp. 233, 256-268.
[73]Thruston. op. cit., pp. 290-292.
[74]Austin, H. H. (1903). *With Macdonald in Uganda*, p. 105. London: Edward Arnold.
[75]Parliamentary Papers. Recent Events in the Uganda Protectorate. Africa No. 7 (1898), C. 8941, pp. 27-30.
[76]Austin. op. cit., p. 112.
[77]Africa No. 7 (1898), p. 42.
[78]Thomas, H. B. & Rubie, J. G. (1932). *Enquiry into Land Tenure and the Kibanja System in Bunyoro, 1931*. Entebbe: Government Printer.
[79]Parliamentary Papers. Report by H.M.'s Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda. Africa No. 7 (1901), Cd. 671, p. 5.
[80]Parliamentary Papers. Report on the Recent Mutiny of the Sudanese troops in the Protectorate. Africa No. 10 (1898), C. 9027, pp. 15-16.
[81]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 208.
[82]Parliamentary Papers. Recent Events in the Uganda Protectorate. Africa No. 1 (1899), C. 9123, pp. 38-48.
[83]Tucker, A. R. (1908). *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, vol. ii. pp. 172-173, London: Edward Arnold.
[84]District Commissioner, Hoima's File. op. cit. Copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 1933.
[85]Sir John Gray, personal communication.
[86]Parliamentary Papers. Events in the Uganda Protectorate. Africa No. 4 (1899), C. 9232, pp. 4-6, 11-18.
[87]Further Correspondence respecting East Africa (April 1901), Part *56*, p. 268, C. 7400, January to March 1899.
[88]Further Correspondence respecting East Africa (May 1901), Part *57*, p. 8, C. 7401, April to June, 1899.
[89]Tucker. op. cit., pp. 175-182.
[90]Fisher. op. cit., pp. 176-177.
[91]Gray, Sir John (1952). Acholi History, 1860-1901. *Uganda J. 16*, 32-50.
Katyanku, L. O. & Bulera, S. (1950). *Obwomezi bw' Omukama Duhaga II*, pp. 26-37. Nairobi: Eagle Press.
Nyakatura. op. cit., pp. 211-212.
The present Mukama was there, aged sixteen, and was injured by a stick in the left leg whilst running into the swamp. R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication.

Part III

UNDER BRITISH RULE, 1900-1962

11

INTRODUCTION

AS a result of the unhappy events of the last decade of the nineteenth century the people of Bunyoro-Kitara had a profound distrust of the British and Protectorate governments' motives even though individual British civil servants who had gained their confidence were at times able to overcome their suspicions. Open hostility was seldom shown but throughout the period of British rule it was latent and any acts thought by those in charge to be for the benefit of the Banyoro were liable to be misconstrued or misinterpreted. The lack of continuity in postings inherent in the British system of colonial administration enhanced these difficulties because officers were seldom able to work long enough in Bunyoro to know the country and the people: their customs, language and traditions: and for the people to learn the idiosyncrasies and methods of the officers. Missionaries, such as Canon Bowers, and planters, like Alistair Margach, who lived in Bunyoro for long periods often had great influence and because they were not associated with the Protectorate government their advice was sought and was frequently acted upon. Also the traditional way of life in Bunyoro was in many ways incompatible with western ideas and ideals so the process of integration of the two cultures was not without strains and stresses both to those who ruled and to those who were ruled. Nevertheless, the period from 1900 when civil administration started in Bunyoro to 1962 when the Uganda Protectorate obtained its independence was generally one of peaceful material development and progress. The disinterested guidance of the British administrative, professional and technical officers assisted the transition from what may be loosely described as a 'feudal' and subsistence way of life, isolated from the rest of the world, to existence in the contemporary world of commerce, industry and politics.

The whole period can be most conveniently treated in chronological order by chapters, the subject of each being the predominant trend of British rule in the years to which it is devoted.

Chapter 12 gives an account of the first seven years of the century which were concerned with the establishment of peace, order and justice after the years of war which had left the kingdom in a state of anarchy. George Wilson, the first collector in Bunyoro and subsequently sub-commissioner[1] in the Western province was largely responsible for tempering the harsh attitude towards Bunyoro held by senior officials in Entebbe and for obtaining the acquiescence of the Banyoro in the new arrangements.

The next ten years are described in Chapter 13. During this period

the administration became more elaborate and concomitantly the first steps were taken to develop the economy of the country by superimposing cotton as a cash crop on the subsistence agriculture practised by the peasants, by permitting Europeans to buy freehold estates for planting coffee and by establishing transport communications by road within Bunyoro and by lake with the rest of Uganda. This gradual process of development was hindered, but not halted, by the first world war.

By 1918 Bunyoro was economically linked to the outside world and the kingdom's prosperity was affected by what happened there. Thus the aftermath of the war and the consequent economic depression had its effect upon Bunyoro and the years from 1918 to 1923, treated in Chapter 14, saw a slackening in the progress of development.

From 1924 to 1939 Bunyoro was fortunate in having a succession of sympathetic administrators, notably Postlethwaite and Dauncey-Tongue, who succeeded in making the Banyoro forget the sorrows of their past, come to terms with the present and look to the future. The lead given by the Mukama R.A. Sir Tito Winyi to his people was an important factor in this work. Tobacco was introduced as a second cash crop by Philpott, secondary roads were built and the culmination of the rehabilitation of the Banyoro came in the signing of the 1933 Bunyoro Agreement. These events are recorded in Chapter 15.

The period of the second world war and its aftermath, 1939 to 1949, is treated in Chapter 16. Resources and staff were not available for development and as a result no great changes occurred in Bunyoro. This was not without benefit for it gave the Bunyoro Kingdom government, chiefs and people time to assimilate the innovations of the previous decade.

The next five years, 1950 to 1955, described in Chapter 17, showed the Protectorate government taking an increasing interest in economic development and though Bunyoro did not benefit directly as much as certain other parts of Uganda, indirectly a great stimulus was given to the economy of the district and high prices for the major cash crops did much to raise the standard of living of the people.

This period merged naturally into one of political development recorded in Chapter 18, the years 1956 to 1962. The gradual introduction of democratic and western concepts of government was outlined in the 1955 Bunyoro Agreement and later more elaborately in the London constitutional conferences of 1961 and 1962 for Uganda as a whole. The Banyoro became increasingly aware that the departure of the British officials would leave their fellow tribesmen in the 'Lost Counties' at the mercy of their hereditary enemies the Baganda. As a result the nearer the time came for independence the greater the agitation for an equable settlement of this long outstanding dispute. The British and Protectorate governments having managed to evade the issue for so long and having followed a policy of appeasing the Baganda whatever their demands or actions at the expense of the rest of Uganda, were loath to act and nothing was done to meet Bunyoro's claims. The recommendations of the commissions of inquiry

led by Lord Munster and Lord Molson were ignored. The Banyoro in consequence felt that they had been betrayed and that the much vaunted British justice had failed them.

Thus the whole period ended as it had begun, with the Banyoro feeling that they had been victims of perfidy.

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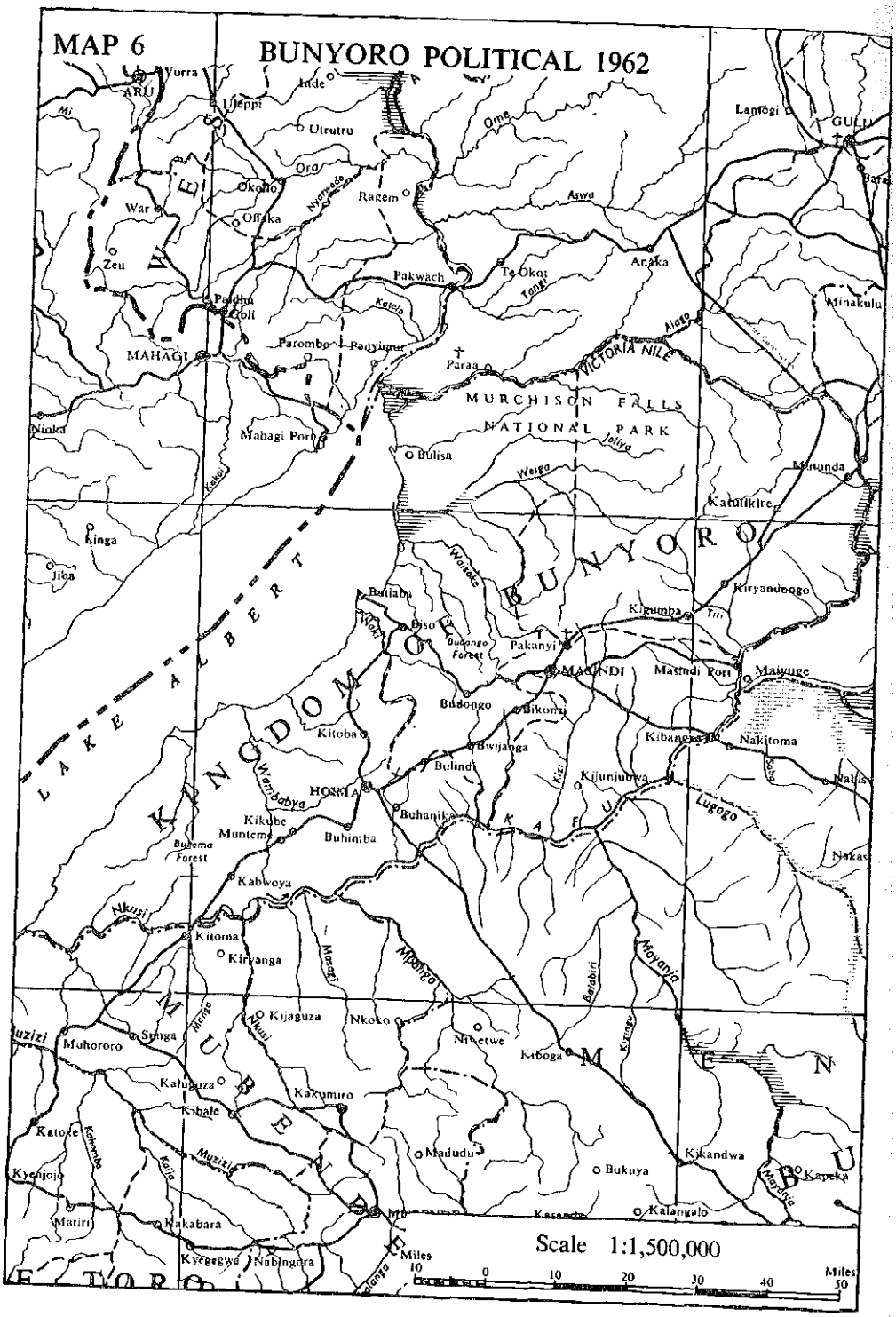
[1]From 1911 onwards collectors were called district commissioners and sub-commissioners provincial commissioners.


MAP 6
BUNYORO POLITICAL 1962
Yurra
ARU
Ljeppi
Inde
Utrutru
Ome
Lamogi
GULU
Okollo
Ragem
Aswa
War
Olilika
Zeu
Pakwach
Te Okoi
Anaka
Minakulu
Paidha
Goli
Parombo
Panyimur
MAHAGI
Paraa
VICTORIA NILE
MURCHISON FALLS
NATIONAL PARK
Ninka
Mahagi Port
Bulisa
Kaduliire
Kinga
Jiba
LAKE ALBERT
BUNYORO
Butiaba
Kiryandongo
Kigumba
Diso
Pakanyi
MASINDI
Masindi Port
Maiyuge
Budongo
Bikonzi
Kibanga
Nakitoma
Kitoba
Bwijanga
Bulindi
HOIMA
Kijunjubwa
Kikube
Buhanika
Buhimba
Bugoma Forest
Kabwoya
Kitoma
Kiryanga
Kijaguza
Nkoko
Nihetwe
Kiboga
MUBENDE
Muhororo
Kafuguza
Kakumiro
Kibale
Katoke
Kyenjojo
Matiri
Nakabara
Kyegegwa
Nabingora
Madudu
Bukuya
Kikandwa
Kapeka
Kalangalo
Scale 1:1,500,000
Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 Miles
50

12

ESTABLISHMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

THIS chapter is about the establishment by the British of a system of administration in Bunyoro. As Dr. Beattie has pointed out, the history of Bunyoro-Kitara since the arrival of the first Europeans is essentially a history of European-Kinyoro relations and two dissimilar versions, a European and a Kinyoro, exist of the same events which have been so differently interpreted by peoples of two different cultures especially when one has been subordinated to the other.[1] It is the duty of the historian to reconcile the two versions without prejudice. The task of the Protectorate government was to bring order out of chaos and law out of anarchy. The first seven years of the twentieth century were devoted to laying the foundations upon which a self-supporting and self-reliant Bunyoro could be built. The period was not without its frustrations, in particular the 1907 uprising against the Baganda chiefs, but by the end of it much had been achieved.

On 9 April 1899, Kabarega was captured by Evatt's force and soon afterwards was exiled. Evatt continued in charge of Bunyoro for the remainder of the year and for the first few months of 1900. Evatt was regarded as a reasonable man whereas Ternan was the exact opposite because he took decisive actions based on arbitrary judgements.[2] Ternan, who in 1899 had again become Acting Commissioner, considered that the Banyoro chiefs had responded little to the arrangements made in 1898, so all executive power was vested in a British sub-commissioner. The regents were replaced by guardians, without executive powers, and the council of regency became purely advisory. It was laid down that Bunyoro was a conquered territory within which, unhampered by treaty or agreement obligations, the British government was free to make such arrangements as seemed best for its prosperity and development. The area south and east of the Kafu and Nkusi, the 'Lost Counties', was left in charge of armed posts under the superintendence of Baganda chiefs. These chiefs established and consolidated interests in these 'Lost Counties' and it was generally understood that they were part of, or were to be added to, Buganda as a reward for its loyalty and assistance in the campaigns against Kabarega. The counties were inhabited by Banyoro, mainly peasants, many of whom became the tenants of Baganda landlords.[3]

Late in 1898 several prominent Baganda chiefs had claimed Buganda's sovereignty over Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole and Busoga. George Wilson, sub-commissioner for Buganda, investigated the claim but with the exception of Busoga it appeared extremely theoretical without evidence to support it.

Ternan, however, in 1899 while investigating the claim to tribute had come to the conclusion that over an unspecified period of fifteen years Bunyoro had paid in tribute:

334 cows,
217 tusks of ivory,
943 loads of hoes,
618 loads of salt,
30 goats.

In the light of more accurate knowledge it is quite clear that if the chiefs were sincere they had let their enthusiasm for extolling Buganda's past upset their judgement.[4] Certainly the hoes represent not tribute but an insult since women dug with hoes.[5]

On 10 March 1900, as a result of the Buganda Agreement[6] the boundaries of Buganda were formally advanced to the rivers Kafu and Nkusi. The main task of the British was to administer Uganda without undue expense. Uganda was divided into provinces which were subdivided into districts; usually a district was the area inhabited by one of the predominant tribes. At this time Bunyoro formed part of the Northern province which also included Acholi, Lango and the Nile districts. From August onwards George Wilson was collector for Bunyoro. He had been in East Africa since 1889 and it is said that he considered himself as a great authority on all matters concerned with the territory: '*L'état c'est moi.*'[8] He was remarkable for the keen personal interest which he took in the Africans and for his infinite patience in dealing with them. He could speak several of the local languages and he was a shrewd judge of character.[9]

Wilson's first action seems to have been the dismantling of Masindi Fort and the transfer of district headquarters to Hoima on the site of Katesiha Fort. One company of the 4th (Uganda) Battalion, King's African Rifles, was on out-station duty at Hoima, certainly up to 1911, and their lines were moved to military hill, Kikwite, one mile south of Hoima on the old road to Kampala. Masindi became a sub-station in charge of an assistant. The Bunyoro Kingdom government also moved to Hoima. During the year a decision had been made to introduce indirect rule. A system of counties with chiefs in charge under the Mukama, represented during his minority by regents, was organized. The Rukurato, the council, held regular meetings for the public discussion of business and the airing of grievances. Two experienced Baganda chiefs, Jemusi Miti, who was made Kaigo, and Batolomayo Mudiru, were brought to Bunyoro to instruct the Banyoro in the processes of government. Some trouble was caused by Byabachwezi and Rwabudongo, the senior Banyoro chiefs, who were quarrelling about precedence. This dispute ended with the death of Rwabudongo. Bunyoro was divided into ten counties:

Name of County	*Title of Chief*	*Name of Chief*
Bujenje	Kaigo	Jemusi Miti
Bugahya	Mukwenda	Paulo Byabachwezi
Buruli	Kimbugwe	Basigara

Name of County	*Title of Chief*	*Name of Chief*
Buruli	Katambara	Daudi Mbabi
Chope	Sekibobo	Mika Fataki
Chope	Kangaho	Antoni Kirube
Chope	Mugema	Komwiswa
Bugungu	Pokino	Sirasi Tibansamba
Masindi	Kitunzi	Katalikawe
Bulega	Kasuju	Mikaili Buligwanga

but these were later reduced to six because of the smallness of the population and the evacuation of parts of Bugungu and Chope on account of sleeping sickness.[10]

Since the years 1898 to 1900 had been years of famine, known as *Kyomudaki* or *Igora*, it was necessary to change the economy from pastoralism to agricultural production in excess of food requirements.[11] In order to increase the production of cash crops, the desire to earn a wage and to pay for the cost of administration an annual hut tax of three rupees, about Shs. 4/50, and a gun tax for the same amount were imposed. For some time the hut tax had to be rendered as one month's labour.

Allidina Visram opened a branch in Hoima. His store supplied a large proportion of the administration's requirements and provided a useful agency for the payment of soldiers, police and porters in trade goods.[12] Kassam Mohamed and Merali Ratansi, the grandfather of Taki, opened stores in Hoima in 1912. Ebrahimu Alliji opened a shop, later to be called Burhani Stores, in 1921.

As a result of George Wilson's innovations the day-to-day administration and a large measure of judicial responsibility were entrusted to hierarchies of chiefs and to African courts, which were encouraged to acknowledge and enforce customary law, provided that it neither offended against natural justice nor was superseded by the introduction of foreign concepts of law. The collector, later the district commissioner, was the fount of authority in Bunyoro until the signing of the 1933 Agreement, but this authority was exercised as a matter of policy through traditional tribal institutions modified to suit the new conditions. The generous nature of this idealistic gesture did not obtain a response from the Banyoro. It was manifest from the earliest days of the century that the Banyoro refused to be reconciled to the loss of territory ceded to Buganda.[13]. The legacy of the previous decade could not be eradicated so easily or so quickly and the administrative arrangements which had been made produced nothing but a complete void. Bunyoro was in the last stages of ineptitude; the force and fire of the national spirit had been extinguished. The country had been denuded of cattle when Kabarega retreated into Lango and so was removed the only instinctive interest of the ruling classes to which it was natural to look for the recruitment of chiefs. Any chiefs selected from these classes or from alien retainers of Kabarega were basically fighting men and so were ignorant of the requirements of systematic government. It was impossible for them to think of the country as a whole or to divert their minds from their individual interests. The history of the succeeding years was that of repeated attempts

by sympathetic administrative officers to train chiefs in habits of integrity, responsibility and good government which failed through incompetence, intrigues, lack of public spirit, dishonesty and disloyalty. On the other hand the emergence of a cheerful and willing peasant population, responding to demands made by any authority, European or African, which would deal with it justly, must be noted.[14] These strictures are perhaps unduly harsh when it is remembered that the Bakama and ruling classes of Bunyoro-Kitara had, before the British destroyed it, evolved an administrative system of considerable complexity which was described in Chapter 5, and that the methods of the new government and the ideals on which they were based were alien to the Banyoro.

Nevertheless George Wilson must be given credit for introducing a system of government that, no matter the short-term difficulties, was in the long run to be the pattern of administration for sixty years. He was succeeded as collector on 17 November 1901, by Bagge, who in turn handed over to Tompkins in June 1902. By this time it was clear that Kitahimbwa had failed to display any sign of promise, energy or ability and the regents and chiefs petitioned for his removal. He was deposed by the Protectorate government for incompetence. On 11 October he was succeeded by his elder brother Andereya Bisereko Duhaga, also a son of Kabarega, aged about 20, while the regency continued. It is impossible to say how much this petition was the result of intrigue; certainly some chiefs were disappointed that Duhaga proved so enlightened a ruler.[15] It is also claimed that Kitahimbwa was removed because he protested against the unjust treatment accorded to Bunyoro and because he would not co-operate with the Baganda chiefs.[16] On the other hand he was thought by some to be too much under the influence of his Baganda mission followers. Many Banyoro still regarded Kabarega as the rightful Mukama. It has been said that the Rev. A. B. Lloyd of the Church Missionary Society was pushing Duhaga's candidature because he was his star pupil.[17]

Duhaga reigned for 22 years and, if not a strong ruler, by his loyalty and good sense, he justified his selection. He had the reputation of thinking twice before speaking. His nickname was *Omutuma gw'ibale,* literally 'stony-hearted'. His detractors allege that he brought Baganda chiefs to Bunyoro. He was much under the influence of Jemusi Miti.[18] While it is true that Baganda chiefs came to Bunyoro during his reign, it was the British administration who brought them to teach and to instruct the Banyoro in the new methods of government which had been initiated in Buganda since the British arrived in that kingdom first. The Church Missionary Society also brought Baganda evangelists for the same reason. Duhaga was a Protestant and it has been suggested that he tended to favour the Baganda leaders for religious reasons. He was influenced by the Church Missionary Society, abandoning many of the ceremonies that the Mukama traditionally undertook. This made him unpopular. A contrary view has been expressed. He was friendly towards and welcomed all those who wished to contribute to the improvement of his country and as a result he

became associated in the minds of certain people with the bringing of Baganda to Bunyoro.[19]

In 1902 Bunyoro formed part of the Western province with Ankole and Toro and the first Roman Catholic Mission of White Fathers was founded in Bunyoro.[20] It was intended to build the mission at Kyesiga, three miles from Hoima on the Butiaba road, but it was thought to be too far from Hoima when the country as yet was not completely pacified so Bujumbura, one mile east of Hoima, was chosen instead.[21] In 1903 the unhealthy situation and the dilapidated state of the buildings of Katesiha led to the removal of the district headquarters to the present station where new buildings were under construction. The old *Karuzika,* palace, at Hoima was built in 1905.[22]

In March 1904, George Wilson, now Deputy Commissioner, conducted a special inquiry into the affairs of the Bunyoro Kingdom government. One of the compensating attractions of being a chief was the opportunity to acquire peasant labour for minor public works and services. In order to enhance the chiefs' prestige this led to many abuses. Peasants had to work for the chiefs for periods of up to six months and in addition pay tribute of food and beer. The reasons were lack of, and many changes in, the British supervisory staff and lack of funds for the proper remuneration of chiefs. No regulations for the conduct of chiefs were in existence so a regulation was made that the peasant after paying hut tax was liable for one month's labour which could be commuted to a payment of two rupees, about Shs. 3/-. Special plantations were established to supply food for the chiefs; the tenants of these plantations were excused labour obligations. These solutions worked to some extent but further irregularities were reported from time to time.[23]

In this year human sleeping sickness spread to Bunyoro and made its appearance at several places on the banks of the Nile.[24] Sir Henry Hesketh Bell became Commissioner for the Uganda Protectorate in 1905, the year in which the administration of the Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, and the first Governor from 1907 to 1910. During the period of his administration energetic measures were taken to combat the ravages of human sleeping sickness, known in Runyoro as *Endwara ya Mongota,*[25] by the total depopulation of the islands, lake shores and river banks where the tsetse fly, *Glossina palpalis,* was found. The years 1907-1908 were years of famine known as *Kiromere.*[26]

Meanwhile two members of the Church Missionary Society began a long period of service in Bunyoro. The Rev. H. W. Tegart, known as *Tegati,* worked at Masindi from 1905 to 1917 and founded Kabarega school in 1914. The Rev. A. B. Fisher, who had had previous experience in Bunyoro in 1895 and 1898[27] worked at Hoima from 1905 to 1913. It is believed that the efforts of these two men and the White Fathers Drost and Baudouin did much to encourage religion and education in Bunyoro.

The year also saw the introduction of an annual poll tax of 2 silver rupees, about Shs. 3/-. It was regarded as a bachelor's tax and was not payable by

anyone who paid hut tax. The silver rupee became the standard coin with a value of Shs. 1/50 and later was divided into 100 cents. The (B)Unyoro Native Courts Ordinance, 1905, limited judicial powers for the African courts and systematized chiefs' posts and the respective courts.[28]

In 1906 the present site and harbour of Butiaba was selected. The town became the headquarters of the Lake Albert and Nile Flotilla run by the Protectorate government.[29] Bunyoro's claims to suzerainty on the western side of Lake Albert still remained at this date but were formally ceded to the Congo as a result of the Anglo-Congolese Boundary Commission of 1906/1908.[30]

In April 1907, Bunyoro once again formed part of the Northern or Nile province which also comprised Acholi, Latuka, Bari and Lango districts.[31] For part of the year C. W. Guy Eden was collector at Hoima and E. B. Haddon assistant collector at Masindi. The Banyoro respected and liked them.[32] It was during their tour of duty that the uprising against the Baganda chiefs took place.

When organized administration started in 1900 certain non-Banyoro, often relics or alien hirelings of Kabarega's régime, were absorbed as chiefs. The unsatisfactory were gradually eliminated, not always with the whole-hearted support of the Bunyoro Kingdom government, many of whom were equally ill-disposed to progressive ideas. Baganda were brought to Bunyoro as chiefs to strengthen the administration. Their more orderly methods and enterprise appealed to the British officials. Their greater intelligence, and perhaps cunning, gained them a prevailing voice in the Bunyoro Kingdom government and amidst a welter of intrigue the Mukama leaned more and more upon their advice. As a result the greater body of the lesser chiefs became jealous of them.

Agitation started for the expulsion of the Baganda chiefs. The pretext was a conspiracy in which three county chiefs, one of whom was Jemusi Miti, were implicated; other factors were the return of the 'Lost Counties' of Bugangaizi and Buyaga, the re-distribution of chieftainships, the supersession of the Mukama by a Muganda prince, the possible displacement of Runyoro by Luganda as the official language and a general feeling that Bunyoro had been unjustly treated. The movement was reactionary though not anti-British: a gesture by the ruling classes against the discipline, represented by the Baganda, which progress was making inevitable.

In May a crisis was provoked by the professed impotence, in reality the refusal (called in Runyoro *Nyangire*, literally 'I have refused,[33]) of the majority of the Rukurato to reinstate some twenty Baganda chiefs who had been intimidated into retreating to Hoima. Though warned of the consequences the Rukurato persisted in their refusal and an outburst of popular frenzy was engineered. No blood was shed. Nevertheless Eden took energetic measures to quell the rising. Fifty of the more prominent agitators were arrested after a show of force by the troops stationed in Bunyoro. George

Wilson, the Acting Commissioner, accompanied by a small Baganda expeditionary force, came to Hoima to mete out the punishments:

(a) Claims on the British government's generosity on account of past loyalty or good services were cancelled,
(b) Byabachwezi, a county chief, was fined and severely censured,
(c) Katalikawe and Kaboha, county chiefs, were deposed,
(d) Forty-two minor chiefs were detained in Buganda,
(e) Twelve chiefs were deported to Kenya,
(f) All chiefs suffered the withdrawal of six months' tax rebate.

It was held that the peasantry had in the main shown no interest in the disturbance and that the Mukama had displayed weakness rather than disloyalty, for his progressive attitude was in fact an indirect object of attack by the malcontents.[34]

In retrospect it seems incredible that the British authorities allowed the employment of twenty or more Baganda chiefs in Bunyoro without being aware of the consequences. Yet the firm manner in which the uprising was crushed induces respect. It appears that the British officials tended to attribute progress to the Baganda alone. It is easy to see that discontent was bound to occur especially amongst those Banyoro who might have been chiefs, or if chiefs already, might have occupied more senior posts, if Baganda had not been appointed to them. As has been shown earlier the perquisites of the chiefs were considerable[35] and feelings of jealousy and bitterness must have been intensified amongst the Banyoro ruling classes. The increase of Kiganda influence, both in the Bunyoro Kingdom government and the missions was not liked and the uprising seems to have been largely against this state of affairs. Though the Baganda chiefs were reinstated in Bunyoro no more Baganda were made chiefs. The Banyoro had won their point and the British had learnt a lesson.

Tucker on a visit to Bunyoro in August noted that the work at Hoima had suffered considerably from the political disturbance. Nevertheless classes were in full swing, a large new church was being built and a schoolroom was in course of construction. He held a confirmation service and attended a meeting of the Bunyoro Church Council.[36]

Discontent continued, for in the following year there was an outbreak of incendiarism in Hoima, the victims being the chiefs who had supported the British administration in 1907. Two of Kabarega's sons were concerned and a large number of other relations intrigued against Duhaga. Thirty-seven sons and forty-two daughters of Kabarega were accounted for at this time.[37]

During these seven years the foundations of administration had been laid though not without setbacks mainly due to the diametrically opposed ideals, derived from their different cultures, of the rulers and the ruled. At the turn of the century the British were convinced that what they thought best for Bunyoro was the best, and any feeling of doubt in their mission to civilize Bunyoro according to their ideas was notable by its absence. To add to the difficulties the chiefs who were the agents of the ruling power

had two opposed loyalties, one to the British administrators and the other to the Mukama and the people. Both parties judged them by entirely different standards so that it was virtually impossible for them to please both sides. As long as the British were in the ascendant the problem of choice confronting a chief was not so acute, but once it was known that the British were leaving a dilemma existed.[38]

References

[1]Beattie, J. H. M. (1960a). *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*, p. 17. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

[2]Sir John Gray, personal communication.

[3]Thomas & Rubie, op. cit.

[4]Ingham, K. (1958). *The Making of Modern Uganda*, pp. 68-69. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

[5]Sir John Gray, personal communication.

[6]The 1900 Buganda Agreement defined the relationship between the Kabaka, chiefs and people of Buganda on the one hand, and Her Majesty's government and the Protectorate government on the other; and although clarified by subsidiary agreements, remained unchanged for over half a century. Three aspects of this Agreement are of direct significance to the subsequent dispute between Bunyoro and Buganda:

(a) Article I of the Agreement reaffirmed that the boundary between Buganda and Bunyoro should be the Nkusi and Kafu rivers. This meant that the cession of territory by Colvile, later ratified by Berkeley with Foreign Office consent, was enshrined in a solemn instrument of agreement.

(b) Article XV of the Agreement gave effect to a revolutionary land settlement in Buganda. Virtually the whole of the cultivated land in Buganda was distributed between members of the royal family of Buganda and 1,013 chiefs and notables. This land so distributed was accorded a status tantamount to freehold title. The Mukama, notables and chiefs of Bunyoro desired the same privileges for themselves and they first petitioned for estates in 1906.

(c) The Agreement was concluded with the Baganda by Sir Harry Johnston on behalf of 'Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India . . .' and not, it will be noted, on behalf of the Protectorate government. The Baganda have always set great store by this fact.

The signing of the Agreement marked the beginning of settled British administration in Uganda. Excluding its special provisions the development of Buganda and Bunyoro proceeded on broadly similar lines.[7]

[7]See Molson, Lord (1962). *Uganda: Report of a Commission of Privy Counsellors on a dispute between Buganda and Bunyoro*, Cmnd. 1017, pp. 3-4. London: H.M.S.O. (Molson Report).

[8]Sir John Gray, personal communication.

[9]Gregory, op. cit., p. 230.

[10] Bikunya, op. cit., pp. 77-78.
Thomas & Rubie, op. cit.
Nyakatura, op. cit., p. 217.

[11]Nyakatura, op. cit., p. 217.

[12]Ingham (1958), op. cit., p. 98.

[13]Molson Report, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[14]Thomas & Rubie, op. cit.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Bikunya, op. cit. 77-78. Molson Report, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[17]Sir John Gray, personal communication. When Sir John Gray met Kitahimbwa in the early 1920s he found him a reasonable man who was accorded the respect due to his former position.
[18]Sir John Gray, personal communication.
[19]Princess Lucy Olive Katyanku, personal communication. Princess Lucy is a daughter of the Mukama Duhaga.
[20]Naval Intelligence Division (1920). *A Handbook of the Uganda Protectorate,* p. 371. London: H.M.S.O.
[21]Father Baudouin, personal communication. Father Baudouin of the White Fathers Mission worked in Hoima from 1909 to 1925.
[22]Katyanku & Bulera. op. cit., p. 46.
[23] Thomas & Rubie. op. cit.
Katyanku & Bulera. op. cit., p. 41.
[24]Thomas & Scott. op. cit., p. 300.
[25]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 219.
[26]Ibid. p. 219.
[27]Fisher, Mrs. A. B. (1905). *On the Borders of Pigmy Land,* p. 147. London: Marshall Brothers.
[28]Ingham (1958). op. cit., p. 103.
[29]Wallis, H. R. (1913). *The Handbook of Uganda,* p. 74. London: Crown Agents.
[30]Thomas & Rubie. op. cit.
[31]Naval Intelligence Division Handbook. op. cit., p. 371.
[32]R.A. Sir Tito Winyi, C.B.E., Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, personal communication.
[33]Nyakatua. op. cit., p. 219.
[34] Thomas & Rubie. op. cit.
Bikunya. op. cit., pp. 79,81.
Katyanku & Bulera. op. cit., pp. 42-44.
[35]Jemusi Miti, a Muganda, who was the county chief Kaigo, held a post worth over £600 a year in 1906. See Thomas & Rubie. op. cit.
[36]Tucker. op. cit., p. 348.
[37]Thomas & Rubie. op. cit.
[38]See Richards, A. I. (1960). *East African Chiefs,* pp. 121-123, 365. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY

OFFICIAL interest in the economic growth of the Uganda Protectorate was the result of a desire to relieve the British government of financial responsibility rather than of any positive policy of development and exploitation.[1] In those days in order to reduce the burden on the British taxpayers, colonies and protectorates were expected to be self-supporting, any investment being generally undertaken by private enterprise. Only since the second world war have the British taxpayers paid for the development of under-developed countries, often by investment which private enterprise would not consider sound and which was frequently written off. It is curious that as taxpayers the British have to invest in enterprises in which they would not invest if they were private individuals.

From 1906 to 1916 official circles in Uganda favoured the development of a plantation economy based on arabica coffee, cocoa and rubber, and this attitude was only gradually superseded by a policy of encouraging peasant production. That the economic development of Uganda came to depend upon peasants, acting on the advice of government agricultural and administrative officers, and selling their products to European and Asian traders, was due to a variety of factors and to the influence of two people in particular: Sir Hesketh Bell and S. Simpson, Director of Agriculture 1912 to 1928. The lack of available land proved a deterrent to large-scale plantation development by Europeans in spite of the efforts of Judge Carter, later Chief Justice Sir William Morris Carter. Compared with Kenya the climate was unhealthy and communications were poor. The mailo survey in Buganda made slow progress and the price of mailo land had risen in 1912 from Shs. 4/- to Shs. 12/- an acre. The Africans were not in favour of the alienation of land lest they be dispossessed for the benefit of European planters. This was an emotional fear that lasted throughout the period of British rule. Sir Hesketh Bell made it clear that as long as he held office European planters would not be welcomed in Uganda in large numbers. Simpson undertook a campaign to encourage cotton planting. He thought that it was the duty of government to encourage African agriculture so that although he was not hostile, as has been alleged, to European planters, the planters themselves received little assistance from government.[2]

The interest aroused in plantation economy provoked the Mukama and the principal chiefs to submit a written request for the grant of private estates if they were to start the cultivation of permanent crops. Freehold estates and tenanted fiefs were probably in the minds of the claimants and

they no doubt hoped to extract rents from the peasant cultivators. The Native Land Settlement Committee under Judge Carter considered the problem of extending the mailo system outside Buganda during the period 1906 to 1920 but it ran into opposition from the Secretary of State for the Colonies and provincial commissioners and came to nothing.

In order to open Uganda to economic development trade routes were planned making use of lakes and rivers where they were navigable and by-passing the unnavigable stretches by railways. A route between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert was proposed via Lake Kioga which was to be linked to Jinja by railway. Captain Stevenson was sent to report on the practicability of a railway line across Bunyoro to link Lake Kioga to Lake Albert. He found that there were two alternative routes: the first from near Mruli due west to Butiaba and the second from near Mruli north-west to Bugungu. The Butiaba line, seventy-three miles long, would pass through a populous area, roughly parallel to the present Masindi Port—Butiaba road, but engineering expenses would be heavy where it descended the escarpment. Fixed engines and inclined planes would be necessary. The estimated cost was £6,120 a mile. The Bugungu line, seventy-five miles long, would pass through a thinly populated area, now the Murchison Falls National Park, but by avoiding the escarpment the estimated cost was £5,027 a mile. The Protectorate government's botanist thought that Bunyoro could produce up to 500 tons ginned cotton a year, valuable timber from the Budongo forest, pulses and salt. The prospective traffic did not appear to justify the construction of either railway and it was decided that the building of a motor road was a more practical proposition.[3]

The effect of these policies on Bunyoro and how they were implemented can be judged from the record of tours kept by T. Grant, collector from 9 January 1909, to October 1910. He lived in the present district commissioner's house at Hoima which was originally built in 1908 although alterations have been made to it subsequently. Grant had served in Bunyoro from March 1903 to April 1907, either as collector at Hoima or as assistant collector at Masindi.

13th March 1909	Left Hoima 9.20 a.m. Camped Bulaho (Buraru) 12.00 noon. Thirty huts visited in neighbourhood of camp; all paid hut and poll tax.
14th	Left Buraru, camped Kihamba (Kitamba), 43 huts visited.
15th	Left Kitamba about 6.00 a.m. Arrived Masindi 12.00 noon. Saw many *shambas* (plots) and considerable cotton cultivation. Ground being prepared for next crop.
16th	Stayed Masindi. Checked stamps, cash, etc.
17th	Left Masindi 6.00 a.m. Camped Kihogoro 9.00 a.m. Saw cotton planted 1905 not yet uprooted. Ten huts inspected. Other cotton overgrown with weeds and

unpicked. Small patches of immature growing cotton. Kimbugwe censured for carelessness.

18th — Arrived Bisu (Biiso). More huts visited.

19th — Camped R. Wysoke (Waisoke). Swarms of tsetse fly.

20th — Camped Masegi. Saw Kabaka (Mukama) and Jemusi (Miti, Kaigo) at Masegi.

21st — Stayed Masegi.

22nd — Camped Ndandamire. Held *Baraza* (Meeting) at which Mukama, Kaigo and sub-chiefs present. Discussed moving natives to Kitana (because of sleeping sickness). 556 hut tax payers involved.[4]

23rd — Camped Waisoke.

24th — Left Waisoke 6.00 a.m. Arrived Old Butiaba Port 8.35 a.m., New Butiaba 9.35 a.m. Checked stores and cash.

25th — Stayed Butiaba checking stores, disposing of late clerk's effects.

26th — Arrived Kibero, 4 hours from Butiaba (by boat). Warned natives against harbouring Bagungu and pointed out that their so doing might result in shutting down the salt workings.

27th — Left Kibero. Arrived Hoima same evening.[5]

From 5 to 25 June, Grant went on tour to Butiaba and Nimule where he heard session cases. He noted that Byabachwezi was doing good work and building substantial bridges on the Hoima—Butiaba road. The Mukama toured Chope from 14 May to 6 July. His report gave reasons for decreases in tax collection, usually slackness on the part of the chiefs and truculence on the part of the people, and for the failure of the beeswax campaigns. Several thousand bee-hives were put up but only a small proportion were occupied by bees because lizards deterred the bees from entering.

In August Grant made a tour to Lango which was a subdivision of Bunyoro at this time.

5th August — Left Hoima via new Masindi road. Camped Buraru. Swamp crossings require bridging. Cotton, beeswax, simsim production.

6th — Left 6.20 a.m. Arrived Kitamba.

7th — Left 6.15 a.m. Fair amount of cotton but many blanks due to bad seed. Food plentiful. Distance Hoima—Masindi 34 miles. Arrived Masindi. Obviously some friction between the county chief Kaigo and Rev. Tegart on the taking of natives from mission land for road work. He took 4 out of 150. Tegart is the only missionary who takes this attitude.

8th (Sunday) — At Masindi. Discussed sleeping sickness problems with Kaigo.

9th	At Masindi, attended to correspondence.
10th	At Masindi, interviewed traders re purchase of produce.
11th	At Masindi, heard civil case.
12th	Left Masindi 7.30 a.m. Camped Kairabiro. Elephants damaging the road.
13th	Arrived Kisalizi. Despatched goods to Masindi.[6]
14th	At Kisalizi. Good sized plots of cotton seen but not flourishing due to sandy soil.
15th	At Kisalizi.
16th	At Kisalizi. Despatched loads to Masindi.
17th	At Kisalizi, awaiting steam launch.
18th	At Kisalizi. Launch arrived with two European and one Indian artisans for Butiaba and ten tons cargo.

On 19 August Grant left Kisalizi for Lango[7] and stayed there until 31 August when he crossed the Nile to Koki. He visited Foweira and returned by way of Kiryandongo, making hut inspections for tax tickets, holding meetings and inquiries into deaths from sleeping sickness, to Masindi and then Hoima where he arrived on 10 September.

Grant left Hoima on 27 September to meet the Acting Governor, Boyle, who was coming from Toro, and accompanied him through Bunyoro to Lango. After the Governor's departure Grant remained on tour in northern Bunyoro until 5 November when he returned to Hoima.

20th November	Left Hoima. Camped Kikube. Various cotton plots seen near the camp but planted much too thick. Chiefs instructed to see that proper thinning is done. Hut tax paid.
21st	Passed Kijambe and camped at Katema. Cotton not properly thinned. Spoke to the Muganda chief about the general system of agriculture. Hut tax paid.
22nd	Crossed the Nkusi. Turned sharp left (i.e., east) and passed along the south bank to Kitemba. Camped.
23rd	Recrossed the Nkusi. Camped at Kikwoiya. Though to the north of the Nkusi apparently in Mubende district. 'My object when I left Hoima was to go down the Toro road as far as the boundary and then strike across to the Mubende road but there seems to be no path from one to the other in Bunyoro.'
24th	To Busanga near the Kafu ferry on the Mubende road.
25th	Crossed the Kafu (he must have crossed to the south bank for a second time on 23rd or 24th) and came to Hoima. Several cotton plots seen in Daudi's district (county) but not properly thinned. 'I'm afraid it will take a long time to get them to alter their ways.' (This sentiment was still being expressed by the agricultural officer in 1962.)[8]

This record of the tours made by the collector is of interest because of the length of time for which he could absent himself from his office in order

to oversee personally the work which was being undertaken in Bunyoro. Grant appears to have spoken Luganda because of the way in which he spelt the place names and the use of the word Kabaka instead of Mukama. On the other hand he may have had a Muganda interpreter. The record illustrates the many and varied duties of the collector in 1909 when professional and technical officers were seldom employed. Checking of hut and poll tax receipts, supervision of cotton cultivation, sleeping sickness evacuation, checking stamps, cash and stores, supervision of roads and bridges, encouragement of food supplies and beeswax production, hearing court cases, unloading and despatching cargoes, produce marketing; all had to be done. Another point of interest is the executive function of the Mukama. A Katikiro was not appointed until 1917 so the Mukama had to undertake duties which were later to be those of the Katikiro.

In 1910 Masindi was run as a sub-district, a collector being at Hoima and an assistant collector at Masindi. According to Postlethwaite, who was stationed at Masindi from October to December of that year, the headquarters of the Northern province were at Hoima. The only other Europeans at Masindi were the White Fathers and the Rev. and Mrs. Tegart. Elephants in those days roamed all round and even right through the little station.[9] Three different land routes were in use between Kampala and Masindi and it was decided to concentrate on the Kampala-Bombo-Nakasongola-Kyani road. Twenty-five police were stationed at Masindi. The main trade was in enamelware, brass, copper wire, cotton and hides. A marked reduction had occurred in the ivory trade as a result of the Sudan taking over the Lado Enclave.

Hoima was the central post office of the province and communications were as follows:

(a) weekly relayed mail service with Kampala,
(b) weekly relayed mail service to the Nile stations via Butiaba and the Lake Albert and Nile Flotilla, which consisted of one paddle steamer *Samuel Baker*, launched 1910, one small steam launch and four steel sailing boats, one of which was the *James Martin*,
(c) relayed mail service to the Nile via Masindi and Fajao. This service was closed down in 1910 as a result of the Sleeping Sickness Ordinance,
(d) telegraph line to the Nile stations via the old Hoima-Masindi road, Fajao, Wadelai and Nimule,
(e) telegraph line Hoima-Butiaba,
(f) telegraph line Masindi-Kisalizi.

Hoima was linked to Kampala, Toro, Butiaba, Kibero and Masindi by road.

The collector, two officers of the King's African Rifles, an assistant superintendent of police, a telegraph inspector and some others, making about ten Europeans in all, lived at Hoima. Seventy-five police and a company of the King's African Rifles were stationed at Hoima. A store, dispensary and a clerk's house were under construction. The main trade was in cotton, skins, hides, salt and iron. 250 tons of cotton and hides and

skins to a value of £3,000 were exported. Knollys of the Cotton department toured Hoima district. 2,914 acres of cotton, which was larger than the previous year's acreage, had been planted.[10] For Masindi sub-district it was suggested that organized cotton auctions would improve the grade. The traders bought good, bad and indifferent cotton indiscriminately and mixed them together to the detriment of the grade. Cotton instructors were employed to tell growers to separate their cotton at picking time. This advice was still being given in 1962. The poor American crop had resulted in high prices which in Bunyoro ranged between 9 and 10 cents a lb.

Instruction was given in reading, writing and arithmetic by the Church Missionary Society at Hoima and Masindi and by the White Fathers Mission at Hoima. The Church Missionary Society opened a boarding school at Hoima in 1910 and in addition carpentry, brick-making and tailoring were taught at an industrial school. The Rev. Fisher was concerned with these developments.[11]

The White Fathers at Bujumbura had been making experiments in brick-making to replace their mud-and-wattle buildings. In 1906 a building was made for the father-in-charge, of sun-dried grass and mud bricks but these did not prove resistant to termites. In 1909 good bricks were made of clay and earth from termite nests to build a boys' school which was completed in 1910.[12]

The Bunyoro District Annual Report for the year 1 April 1911 to 31 March 1912, indicated frequent postings and an unsatisfactory lack of continuity amongst senior staff. Many posts were vacant and the district commissioner, R. D. Anderson, drew the provincial commissioner's attention to the inadequate staffing. Revenue and expenditure were judged on a profit and loss basis. Presumably the expenditure was based on a district's ability to earn revenue. An increase of 2 rupees in the poll tax led to considerable tax evasion. The annual poll or hut taxes of 3 rupees each had been combined and raised to 5 rupees. Other problems confronting the administration were prostitution and labour.

'A class of offence, which does more to ruin the virility of the rising generation is the encouragement and recognition of common prostitution in and adjacent to townships. In view of the numerous cases coming to light and the far-reaching evil effect of open immorality on the general health of the district and its people, it is as regrettable as it is, I fear, notorious that, no legislation is provided to deal with flagrant instances of proprietorship, or of the regular residence within any public brothel.'

Open immorality was especially noticeable at the start of the dry season in late December or early January when finger millet was being harvested and dancing and drinking continued well into the night. This increased the incidence of syphilis.

'The demands for labour of all descriptions have tended to increase as the year advanced. The (M)Unyoro hates work. The peasant understands neither its necessity, nor its object, nor its reward. Money, clothes, food, even comfort, tempt him in a small degree, when placed in the pillory of

choice with the easy and sometimes slothful life he lives on his garden. In (B)Unyoro, there is neither poverty, nor cold, nor distress. Food and sustenance are procurable in inhabited regions, at every turn. Scanty raiment is no hardship in their land of sunshine and blue skies . . . they neither want, nor wish to work.'[13]

Certainly labour was a problem. Lack of mechanical transport meant that 12,843 men at Hoima and 4,730 men at Masindi were engaged on transport during the year. A conflict of interest arose between the government and the traders.

It was the Protectorate government's policy to use the waterways of the country to the utmost advantage and so it was decided in July 1911, to transfer the headquarters of Bunyoro district from Hoima to Masindi, midway on the road linking Lakes Albert and Kioga. As a result Masindi became the centre of activity for the Public Works department. A pier was constructed at Masindi Port and a wharf at Butiaba. Work for the Public Works department was popular because the labourers received rations unlike the porters engaged on transport who had to forage for their own. 8,670 men at Hoima and 7,499 men at Masindi were engaged during the year. It was not possible to estimate the number of re-engagements.[14]

For the first time for a number of years the cry of want was unheard in Bunyoro. As a result of foresight and action by the Mukama and the chiefs foodstuffs were plentiful but the cotton failed because the seed was planted late and without sufficient attention being given to the crop by the cultivators. The district commissioner thought, erroneously, that in many parts of Bunyoro the soil was entirely unsuitable. Matters were made worse by low prices, 3 to 4 cents a lb., as a result of a bumper American crop.

The Mukama inaugurated an Industrial Exhibition to encourage the production of beeswax, barkcloth, salt, iron and basket work. Valiant efforts were made by the clergy, led by Father Drost of the White Fathers Mission and the Rev. Fisher of the Church Missionary Society, lay and lady missionaries to improve education. Fisher deplored the large numbers of men and boys who left school to take up clerical or trade appointments instead of returning to the land. In December, 1911, a White Fathers Mission was opened at Masindi. Health generally still left much to be desired. The still-birth rate was 341 per 1,000 due to the prevalence of syphilis, which was on the increase.

The Mukama displayed interest and ability in the conduct of the affairs of his country and with his lead the Bunyoro Kingdom government improved so that the removal of the Bachope (Jopalwoo) from areas threatened by sleeping sickness was without incident. The Kitunzi's county was abolished. Jealousy of Baganda county and sub-county chiefs existed but it was intended to fill the vacancies with Banyoro as and when they occurred.[15]

In 1912 the Northern province was re-organized to comprise Bunyoro, Gulu, Chua, Nimule and Gondokoro districts.[16] Masindi was made the headquarters of the Northern province and the headquarters of Bunyoro district moved there on 30 June 1912, to be followed shortly by the

Bunyoro Kingdom government. A palace for the Mukama was built at Kihande for Shs. 19,728/-.[17] At this time Bunyoro was divided into six counties:

Name of County	*Title of Chief*
Bugahya	Mukwenda
Buhaguzi	Pokino
Bujenje	Kaigo
Kibanda	Kangao
Kihukya	Sekibobo
Buruli	Kimbugwe

The county chiefs were responsible to the Rukurato of which the Mukama was president. Once a week throughout the year the greater number of the chiefs assembled at Masindi. The affairs of the district were discussed in the Rukurato and once framed into a sufficiently comprehensive shape were laid before the district commissioner at a meeting attended by the district commissioner, the Mukama, members of the Rukurato and any other chiefs and people who might be present. The district commissioner used the opportunity to explain new laws, to arrange the economic requirements of the district, to investigate local taxes, to arrange labour and food supplies, to settle disputes and to listen to the arguments of local politics. In addition the Rukurato and lower councils acted as African courts.[18]

The African courts could punish breaches of Kinyoro law so long as that law was not repugnant to justice or morality. They had neither the power nor the machinery to alter that law if change became necessary. These difficulties were recognized and the 1919 Native Law Ordinance permitted the Governor to recognize or constitute any council with power to alter the African law of its district subject to his approval.[19]

In 1912 Byabachwezi died and his county was divided between his sons Zakayo Jawe, Mukwenda Bugahya, and Andereya Buterere, Pokino Buhaguzi; Petero Bikunya was appointed guardian to Jawe and Daudi Mbabi to the young Pokino.[20]

The provincial commissioner, Northern province, received complaints that the chiefs were lazy, drank too much and shirked their work and that they were gradually losing their power and authority over their people. The introduction of new ideas made the peasants and the richer Banyoro less subservient and less tractable. The district commissioner, C. F. H. Henry, reported that the Mukama lacked initiative and energy but that he appeared anxious to please and to carry out projects for the advancement of his country. The Kimbugwe was reliable and had done good work. The Kaigo, Jemusi Miti, a Muganda, was capable but tyrannical and untrustworthy. The Sekibobo lacked capability and intelligence. The Kangao was dismissed because he was an incompetent, immoral, lazy drunkard.[21]

A motor road to link Lake Kioga and Lake Albert was under construction and 29 miles of motorable road from Masindi Port to Masindi had

been completed. The other roads in the district could not be used by motor vehicles:

(a) Masindi — Hoima, bullock carts,
(b) Masindi — River Kafu (Bombo Road), hand-carts,
(c) Masindi — Mutunda, hand-carts,
(d) Hoima — Butiaba, bullock carts,
(e) Hoima — River Fafu (Kampala road), bullock carts,
(f) Hoima — River Nkusi (Toro road), bicycles,
(g) Hoima — River Kafu (Mubende road), bicycles.

The mail took two days to reach Hoima from Kampala and one day from Hoima to Masindi.[22]

Weekly and fortnightly sailings were maintained between Namasagali and Masindi Port and Atura via Masindi Port respectively. A fortnightly service operated by the *Samuel Baker* ran from Butiaba to Nimule. The districts of Nimule and Gondokoro and parts of Chua were transferred to the Sudan in 1914 in exchange for West Nile district. By 1914 the Masindi Port—Butiaba road had been opened to motor vehicles as far as Bukumi and two Government vans and one commercial van operated on the route. Delays in transport occurred between Bukumi and Butiaba because hand-carts still had to be used on this section.[23]

The improvement in communications made it possible for prospective European planters to visit Bunyoro. The first of these was L. G. Margach. The Margach family had emigrated from Banffshire, Scotland, to South Africa in about 1895. Hearing of the opportunities for acquiring land in Uganda L. G. Margach came to Bunyoro in 1912 by boat across Lake Kioga, landed at Masindi Port and travelled by ox-cart on the road towards Butiaba. He saw that the soil was suitable for coffee. He returned on foot direct to Kampala and thence to South Africa to report to his brothers.

By the end of March 1915, fifteen planters had bought and opened estates in Bunyoro. They had planted approximately 600 acres of arabica coffee and 58 acres of cocoa. Unfortunately coffee leaf disease, known as rust, *Hemileia vastatrix*, made its appearance on the White Fathers Mission at Hoima and subsequently infected much of the crop. L. G. Margach had come back from South Africa accompanied by his brothers, T. P. and C. A. Margach. T. P. Margach bought Kyataruga estate and C. A. Margach bought Kinyala. Mrs. C. A. Margach travelled from Masindi Port to Kinyala by ox-cart. L. G. Margach bought Sonso. Denoon, who was Mrs. C. A. Margach's brother, and Wilson bought Karongo. Purvis bought Nyamagita and Prentice Busingiro. Dr. Hailstone bought Bulyango but because he was a civil servant had to sell to Gibb. Levy and C. A. Margach were in partnership at Balmoral. Levy was an excellent brick-maker and builder and most of the buildings on the estates owned by the Margachs were erected by him. Stafford started at Dwoli and Martin at Bugomolo. Abbott bought Bujenje, the Gees Katagarukwa, the Audaer sisters and Naslumian Butema. The Church Missionary Society owned Kiryanga,

which was managed by Calvert who planted the Trinitario cocoa which still survives there.

The policy of the planters was to plant arabica coffee and when the prices fell in 1929 they interplanted with rubber or cut out the coffee and planted rubber. When rubber prices dropped rubber was in turn interplanted with robusta coffee or was cut out. Because of rust robusta coffee was planted instead of arabica but some plots of arabica grown from what is claimed to be Jamaica Blue Mountain seed imported in 1920 still survive at Bugomolo and Kinyala. Cocoa proved to be a failure. In the 1950s pawpaws and sugar cane were planted but by this time with a few exceptions the Europeans had sold their estates to Asians. In the heyday of the estates the Masindi-Bukumi road was rightly called the Caledonian road. The majority of the planters were Scotsmen and they deserve much credit for opening estates out of forest and bush with hand labour, little capital and no assistance from the Protectorate government.[24]

Table IX

Population of Bunyoro 1913

Race	*Men*	*Women*	
European	22	12	
Asians	65	14	
Africans	59,042	71,880	
Total	59,129	71,906	Grand Total 131,035

Of these 75,000 were employed in agriculture,
15,000 „ „ „ manufactures,
5,300 „ „ „ commerce.

There were 27·80 people to the square mile. Many Banyoro had emigrated to Lango and Buganda and in the 1911 census it was estimated that:

117,475 Banyoro were in Buganda, including the 'Lost Counties',
18,926 „ „ „ Eastern province,
6,061 „ „ „ Western province.[25]

The emigration of Banyoro, usually the young, fit and enterprising, to other districts where circumstances were more favourable created a serious shortage of labour within Bunyoro. Although work on the estates was popular, the planters complained that they were unable to obtain sufficient labour (they required about 1,900 porters a month) and asked the district commissioner to discourage cotton planting by Africans. This he refused to do because the Protectorate government had encouraged Africans to plant cotton before the arrival of the planters.[26]

Upon the outbreak of the first world war in 1914 loyal offers of help were received from the Mukama and the chiefs to render any assistance in their power to the Crown. 942 Banyoro were recruited in August and 500 in October for military transport service in East Africa. They were under

the command of Captain Place and Hosea Kabeba accompanied them as the Mukama's general. Reports were received that they had behaved excellently under fire and in other trying conditions. The prevalence of syphilis in Bunyoro made it impossible to recruit large numbers of Banyoro for military service.[27]

About this time *Glossina morsitans*, the tsetse fly that carried trypanosomiasis, cattle sleeping sickness, was prevalent near the Masindi—Masindi Port road and cattle began to be infected. Trypanosomiasis was to kill a large proportion of the cattle in Bunyoro. The total deaths of stock from various diseases were in the year 1914-1915: 1,540 cattle, 1,509 sheep and 2,439 goats. A shortage of foodstuffs occurred early in the year; this famine was known as *Zimya etara*,[28] but with the harvesting of the first rains crops the position had improved by August. Some 538 acres of cotton were planted in May.

On 28 April 1914, the Governor laid the foundation stone of Kabarega school, Masindi. It was built by the Mukama and chiefs of Bunyoro in memory of Kabarega. The Rev. Tegart supplied burnt bricks free of charge. The Rev. H. A. Brewer had succeeded the Rev. Fisher at Hoima and the school there became known as the Bunyoro high school.[29] Brewer introduced cricket and swimming to Bunyoro.[30]

In 1915 the district commissioner, C. F. H. Henry, reported that pressure of work and shortage of staff curtailed touring. This met with little sympathy from the provincial commissioner who commented: 'pressure of work can always wait a little and other districts also require staff.' In spite of it progress was made in African administration and in the instruction of chiefs in their duties. The decline of Hoima in importance at the expense of Masindi caused some disheartenment amongst the Hoima people, though a Rukurato with judicial and administrative functions had been established for the sub-district. It was at this time that the many mango trees which are such a feature of Hoima were planted. The police discipline was poor, presumably because most officers and non-commissioned officers were on active service. Hoima gaol was used as the lunatic asylum for the whole Protectorate. 2,399 carriers were sent to the front. The work was popular, in spite of 500 deaths, because it gratified the warlike spirit of the Banyoro and because they were well looked after. 222 men were enlisted and sent to Bombo as first-line carriers and Maxim gun porters.

Fortunately food was in abundance and several offers of maize, beans and finger millet were made to the Chairman of the Supplies Board. The Mukama presented 1,900 lb. of maize to the troops. 800 acres of cotton were planted though it was considerably damaged by hail and bush buck. Prices for the 1915-1916 crop were good ranging between rupees 7/75 to 8/00 for 100 lb. compared with rupees 3/50 to 4/23 for 100 lb. for the 1914-1915 crop of 43 tons. 1,635 acres of coffee were planted and 19¾ tons were picked. 170 acres of cocoa were planted.

Nevertheless the war was having its effect and no great expansion was possible owing to shortage of labour and of money and the low prices obtain-

able for African produce. This was partly remedied by the Protectorate government taking control of cotton marketing from 1915 onwards.[31]

Too much detailed work devolved on the Mukama so a Katikiro, Petero Bikunya, was appointed with effect from 1 January 1917. The appointment was well received as it added to the dignity of the Mukama.

Cerebro-spinal meningitis made its first appearance in Bunyoro both at Masindi and Hoima causing 93 deaths. Smallpox was also prevalent. Venereal disease continued to take toll.

2,773 carriers were sent for military service and over 2,000 porters carried flour to Kamwezi. The Protectorate government required Africans to grow at least ¼ acre cotton each. These measures made labour short especially for the plantations and only 2,300 instead of 3,800 porters a month were employed by the planters. All the estates were doing well but the variegated bug, antestia, *Antestiopsis lineaticollis* or *faceta*, was found in small numbers on two estates. 355 acres of coffee were planted bringing the acreage to 1,990 from which 154 tons of coffee were picked. 248 acres of cocoa were planted making a total of 418 acres. The planters were becoming increasingly interested in Para rubber, thinking it a better proposition than coffee and many intended to interplant coffee with it. As a result about 50 acres were under rubber. The new land laws did not permit more freehold land to be granted and in future only leasehold land was to be held by non-Africans. By 1917 there were 26 estates in Bunyoro owned by Europeans, 17,663 acres held on leasehold and 660 on freehold. The Banyoro planted about 800 acres of cotton but owing to excessive rains, the heaviest received in Bunyoro until those of 1961, the yield was extremely poor.[32]

By 1917 the system of administration throughout Uganda was partly British and partly African. The upper administrative structure was British and in the four administered provinces consisted of provincial, district and assistant district commissioners. The provincial commissioner was the local representative of the governor and as such was responsible for all administrative activities in his province. He had no legislative powers but had judicial functions. Each province was divided into districts at the head of which was a district commissioner whose chief duty was the immediate supervision of the African administration, especially the assessment and collection of taxes. He was in direct contact with the African administrative machine and presided periodically over the county councils to which he explained new laws and the general requirements of the Protectorate government. The district superintendent of police and the local representatives of the Protectorate government's departments, such as the district agricultural and medical officers, worked in co-operation with the district commissioner, who also had judicial duties and reported monthly to the provincial commissioner. The assistant district commissioner when he was not in charge of a sub-district acted as the deputy of the district commissioner.

Between the British administrative hierarchy and the people was an African government which varied in different localities. This government was highly developed in Buganda, Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro.

In Bunyoro there was an elaborate system of African government at the head of which was the Mukama, the nominal ruler of the country. He was assisted by two Nkurato (Councils), one at Masindi and one at Hoima; the Mukama presiding over the Masindi Rukurato. Each Rukurato met once a week when the district commissioner explained new laws, economic conditions and requirements, inquired into African taxation, and arranged for labour and food supplies. Bunyoro was divided into six counties, each with a county chief, and under him were chiefs in charge of the sub-counties, parishes and villages.[35]

Masindi was the headquarters of the Northern province and of Bunyoro district and also the seat of the Bunyoro Kingdom government. Good water was obtained from a spring in the swamps. The town had a well-kept hotel, a mud-and-wattle rest house, club, tennis courts and golf course. A meteorological station and a prison were in operation. The African hospital had one ward with eight beds and a dispensary. The White Fathers Mission had a church and a school attended by 138 boys and 59 girls. The post office had telegraph and telephone facilities. Runners carried mail to Hoima, Kampala, Entebbe, Nimule and Gondokoro. A motor service to Masindi Port and to Bukumi, seven miles from Lake Albert on the top of the escarpment, was operated by five government vans over a good metalled road. From Bukumi goods were transported by hand-carts or porters to Butiaba. The Masindi Port—Masindi—Butiaba road formed part of the well defined route to the eastern Congo which was favoured by the Belgian authorities. The road from Masindi to Hoima could be used by wagons and light motor vehicles. The Masindi—Gulu road was suitable for carts only.

Hoima was administered by an assistant district commissioner. It possessed a prison, an African hospital with one ward of eight beds and a meteorological station. The Church Missionary Society ran a school for about 50 boys, the sons of chiefs. The White Fathers Mission's school was attended by 98 boys and 39 girls. The post office had a telegraph service and runner mail to Kampala, Entebbe, Masindi, Nimule and Gondokoro. Carts and light motor vehicles could travel on the road to Kampala. The Butiaba road, at least as far as the top of the escarpment, was suitable for carts and bicycles. The Fort Portal road was negotiable by bicycles only. The Mubende road could be used by wagons.

Butiaba had a post and telegraph office and was the headquarters of the Lake Albert and Nile flotilla. The steamer went twice a month to Nimule and once a month to Kasenyi and Mahagi Port. The through trade to the Congo was expected to increase considerably. Owing to the heavy rains of 1916 Lake Albert rose 10 feet above its normal level in 1917 and Butiaba was thought to be unsuitable as a permanent harbour but no alternative could be found. The African hospital had three beds.

Masindi Port had a post and telegraph office. The motor service to Bukumi took about three hours. The steamer to Namasagali took about 12 hours for the journey. In 1916 imports had been 1,580 tons and exports, mainly cotton and simsim, 459 tons. 2,607 passengers used the port.[34]

About this time a ginnery was built at Masindi Port. It was a border ginnery drawing cotton from Lango and from the Nakitoma area of Buganda.[35]

In 1917 Canon Bowers of the Church Missionary Society began his long period of service in Bunyoro which lasted until 1933. He was considered to be a tough, uncompromising man with practical and administrative ability.[36]

The acreage under crops was estimated in March, 1917, to be as follows:

Table X

Bunyoro African Agriculture 1917

Crop	*Masindi*	*Hoima*	*Total*
Beans	1,900 acres	1,170 acres	3,070 acres
Chillies	50	7	57
Coffee	1,908	405	2,313
Cotton	600	195	795
Bananas	4,000	1,700	5,700
Grams	1,000	890	1,890
Cassava	No Figures	10	10
Maize	1,000	530	1,530
Simsim	2,000	580	2,580
Sorghum	100	390	490
Finger millet	6,000	3,800	9,800
Para rubber	50	2	52
Tobacco	10	20	30
Groundnuts	100	30	130
Sweet potatoes	15,000	3,600	18,600
Vegetables	—	—	—
Other crops	—	10	10
	33,718	13,339	47,057

The period 1907 to 1917 saw the consolidation of the administrative organization and the foundation of the agricultural economy. It was noteworthy that, before the theory of indirect rule became popular, the British officials worked through and with the hierarchy of chiefs and councils in the Bunyoro Kingdom government. The improvement in communications helped to make the administration easier to supervise and consequently

Table XI

Bunyoro European Agriculture 1917

	Masindi	*Hoima*	*Total*
No. of estates	19	1	20
Acreage	15,090 acres	1,000 acres	16,090 acres
In cultivation	2,423	450	2,873
Crop	*Masindi*	*Hoima*	*Total*
Coffee arabica,			
under 2 years	208	50	258
over 2 years	1,401	300	1,701
Coffee robusta,			
under 2 years	—	—	—
over 2 years	15	—	15
Coffee and Para rubber,			
under 2 years	—	—	—
over 2 years	73	—	73
Other rubber	10	—	10
Cocoa	384	100	484
Other crops	297	—	297
	2,388	450	2,838[87]

more efficient and also permitted the cultivation of crops for export. Though the Protectorate government's policy was to encourage Africans to grow cash crops the arrival of European planters in Bunyoro gave a great stimulus to agricultural production because the Banyoro were able to a greater or lesser degree to follow their example. The transfer of the headquarters of the district administration and the Bunyoro Kingdom government to Masindi and the consequent development in that area resulted in the decline of Hoima and the southern portion of Bunyoro district.

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Thomas & Rubie. op. cit.
[3]Bunyoro Railway Routes: Captain Stevenson's report, Secretariat Minute Paper no. 884/1908, Entebbe.
[4]The Mukama accompanied by the county chief Kaigo had made a journey to Bugungu in order to move the people to Kitana, near Kigorobya. All huts and food supplies were burnt but in spite of this some of the Bagungu went to the Congo or across the Nile to Koba and returned under cover of darkness to fetch food. 730 Bagungu were brought back from the Congo and 139 from Koba. All taxpayers, except for 27 at Koba, 282 in the Congo and 83 in Chope, were transferred to Kitana where they were allocated land and built huts. 1,784 women and children, 56 cattle and 1,056 goats were moved. In July a number of Bagungu who had hidden themselves were reported to be still in Bugungu. The Kaigo was sent to bring them in together with those at Koba. The remainder went to the Congo.

[5]Grant estimated that Kibero salt market should pay 300-400 rupees a month in dues to the Bunyoro Kingdom government. There were 163 hut tax and 55 poll tax payers at Kibero.

[6]Grant made notes on hoe manufacture. Seven native blacksmiths buy their ore in small ingots at Masindi at 25 cents each. A young man can make 10 hoes from 10 ingots in a day. Older men make 4-6 hoes. Hoes sold locally at 50 cents each. The usual practice is for people to buy the ore at Masindi and for making the hoes, the smith takes 1 in 10. The hoes are taken to the country near Lake Kioga to be exchanged for goats which are taken to Masindi, sold and more ore is bought. The blacksmith's assistant who blows the bellows gets 1 cent for every hoe made. Sufficient charcoal can be bought for 10 cents to make 5 hoes.

[7]The administration of Lango started in 1909 with a headquarters at Palango staffed by Baganda agents.

[8]Record of Tours (B)Unyoro District 1909-1910. District Commissioner's Office, Hoima.

[9]Postlethwaite, J. R. P. (1947). *I look back*, pp. 35-36. London: T. V. Boardman and Co., Ltd.

[10]Annual Report Agricultural Department 1930. Entebbe: Government Printer.

[11]Annual Report for the Northern Province 1910-1911. District Commissioner's Office, Gulu.

[12]Father Baudouin, personal communication.

[13]Bunyoro District Annual Report 1911-1912. District Commissioner's Office, Fort Portal.

[14]There were two methods of obtaining labour for government purposes:

(a) *Buronde (Kasanvu Luganda)* a system of compulsory paid labour for up to two months in each year by which the Protectorate government's work was done.

(b) *Ruharo (Luwalo Luganda)* a system of free tribal labour which had existed from time immemorial and which was formerly used for the maintenance of chiefs' houses, keeping tracks clear and for the transport of chiefs' personal effects when they were on tour. This had become a personal obligation on each Munyoro to perform one month's unpaid labour, usually in rotation, for the Bunyoro Kingdom government and was used for making roads and for erecting official buildings.

See Postlethwaite. op. cit., pp. 43, 84-85.

[15]Bunyoro District Annual Report 1911-1912. op. cit.

[16]Naval Intelligence Division Handbook. op. cit., p. 291.

[17]Katyanku & Bulera. op. cit., p. 46.

[18]Wallis. op. cit., pp. 61-65.

[19]Ingham (1958). op. cit., p. 170.

[20] Bikunya. op. cit., p. 81.

Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 220.

[21]Provincial Annual Report 1914-1915, Northern Province. District Commissioner's Office, Gulu.

[22]Wallis. op. cit., pp. 61-65.

[23]Provincial Annual Report 1914-1915. op. cit.

[24]A. J. Margach, personal communication. A. J. Margach was the elder son of C. A. Margach.

[25]Bunyoro District Annual Report 1915-1916. District Comissioner's Office, Fort Portal.

[26]Provincial Annual Report 1914-1915. op. cit.

[27]Father Baudouin, personal communication.

[28]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 220.

[29]Provincial Annual Report 1914-1915. op. cit.

[80]The Ven. P. B. Ridsdale, personal communication. The Ven. P. B. Ridsdale came to Bunyoro in 1937 and worked in western Uganda and Mboga until 1963, except for the period 1939 to 1949 when he was in the army and later reading for holy orders. Mrs. Ridsdale arrived in Bunyoro in November, 1936, and worked at Duhaga Girls' boarding school until 1945. For the period 1945 to 1949 she was with her husband in the United Kingdom.
[81]Bunyoro District Annual Report 1915-1916, op. cit.
[82]Bunyoro District Annual Report 1916-1917. District Commissioner's Office, Fort Portal.
[83]Naval Intelligence Division Handbook, op. cit., pp. 327-328, 331.
[84]Ibid. op. cit., pp. 277-278, 281, 290-292, 302, 319-320.
[85]Ramji Lahda Dalal, personal communication. Mr. Dalal has had cotton ginning interests in Bunyoro from 1942 to 1963.
[86]The Ven. P. B. Ridsdale, personal communication.
[87]Naval Intelligence Division Handbook, op. cit., pp. 230-231.

DEPRESSION

THE years from 1918 to 1923 as far as Bunyoro was concerned were years of depression. Trade was sluggish. Food and cash crops were affected by unfavourable weather resulting in famine and poor yields. The population was declining as a result of venereal disease and emigration of the younger and more able-bodied people. The Banyoro were still sunk in lethargy and some psychological shock was needed to jerk them out of apathy and indolence. The British administration tried in several ways to find the answer but without success.

1918 started badly. It was the year of the *Kabakuli* famine and the following year Shs. 4/- was collected from each person to pay for famine relief.[1] Matters were made worse by influenza and rinderpest epidemics which caused many deaths among people and cattle respectively.[2] As a result the collection of poll tax was in arrears.

By the early 1920s Uganda was being developed primarily in the interest of the Africans mainly because a peasant economy proved workable whereas in Kenya Africans were chiefly encouraged to work on European-owned farms. The Protectorate government's policy was supported by both Africans and Europeans who were opposed to closer union with Kenya.[3]

In Bunyoro the cultivation of cotton was greatly expanded during the later part of 1920 and production was about 200 tons. Unfortunately the cotton was not bought until March 1921, which resulted in low prices to the growers and the consequent discouragement of cotton growing. The 1921 plantings were only about one-third of those in 1920. R. T. 'Husky' Wickham, agricultural officer, was appointed to the Northern province for the last six months of 1921 and lived at Masindi. He made two tours visiting most of Bunyoro but his main task was to buy the cotton crop for the government.

The European planters picked a heavy crop of coffee in October and November 1921. Lankester, the coffee expert, visited Bunyoro in May of that year and was quite optimistic about future prospects. Asplant, the rubber expert, who visited Bunyoro in March, thought that rubber could be a useful sideline only being tapped when prices were good. The estates were increasingly making use of immigrant labour from West Nile who worked harder than the Banyoro. The Banyoro were employed during the picking season.

An assistant forestry officer was posted to Masindi to take charge of timber cutting operations in the Budongo forest. Great mortality amongst goats was reported because of the depredations of leopards. Canon Bowers

had great success in trapping them with imported lion traps. Elephants were also causing damage to crops and 16 hunters were employed by the Protectorate government to control them. By the end of the year the motor road from Bukumi had reached to within one mile of the Marine Office at Butiaba.

Little progress was made in education. The Protectorate government did not give money to the Church Missionary Society and the White Fathers Mission for education so that the financial burden for the maintenance and development of schools was entirely borne by them. The schools were financed from the rents paid by the tenants on the freehold land held by the missions. The missions found it difficult to attract tenants to their land and funds from their own resources were limited. To make matters worse the Banyoro were disinclined to send their children to school and so the facilities which were available were not fully used. The central school at Masindi had 60 instead of 100 boys. The high school at Hoima was closed because of the lack of European supervisory staff. The girls' school, however, at Hoima, flourished under Miss Leakey until August and so did the industrial school at Masindi.

During the year it was decided that *Ruharo,* free labour, should stop and if labour was required for Protectorate government purposes it should be paid. The obligation on each Munyoro to turn out for emergency work, *bulungi bwansi,* literally 'for the good of the country', remained. *Buronde,* forced paid labour, was also stopped but volunteer labour proved adequate because of pressure to obtain money in order to pay poll tax.

A decision of the Governor in Council was announced in March to return the Bunyoro district headquarters to Hoima in due course. It was thought that the return of the district administration and the Bunyoro Kingdom government to Hoima should compensate for the loss of population in that area. A census revealed that the African population of Bunyoro had decreased by 32,675 during the past ten years and this was attributed to an excess of deaths over births, venereal disease being the most likely explanation, and to emigration to other parts of Uganda.

It was apparent that the health of the Mukama was failing. When fit his judgement was good and his prestige at all times was great. The Mukama received the M.B.E. in 1918.[4] The Katikiro did a large amount of routine work but his judgement was not always considered by the district commissioner to be sound. The work of the Kaigo and the Kangao was good but the Mukwenda, Pokino and Sekibobo were less satisfactory. The Kimbugwe was becoming old and lacking in energy.[5]

Name of County	*Headquarters*	*Title of Chief*	*Name of Chief*
Buruli	Kiryanga	Kimbugwe	Tomasi Mbeta
Buhaguzi	Kasingo	Pokino	Daudi Mbabi
Kibanda	Kiryandongo	Kangao	Heremenzilda Karubanga
Kihukya	Pakanyi	Sekibobo	Andereya Buterere
Bujenje	Bikonzi	Kaigo	Jemusi Miti
Bugahya	Mairirwe	Mukwenda	Zakayo Jawe[6]

The year was noteworthy for the formation of what is claimed to be the first political party in Uganda. The Mubende-Banyoro Committee was formed to bring the grievances of the Banyoro in the 'Lost Counties' before the Protectorate government and to campaign for their return to Bunyoro.[7]

By the end of the year the first effects of the world economic depression were beginning to make themselves felt. It was necessary to change the rupee currency of East Africa. Florin and shilling currency were introduced.[8]

In 1922 the provincial commissioners finally rejected any extension of the Kiganda mailo system to other parts of Uganda because of its resulting abuses. They favoured a land settlement to secure the rights of the actual occupier and to guarantee the use of the land for the future needs of the tribes.[9]

The 1921 cotton crop was poor, only 25 tons, and this made poll tax difficult to collect especially in the Hoima area. The consequent shortage of money in the early part of 1922 created a great interest in cotton planting and this coupled with favourable weather resulted in an estimated 2,200 acres under cultivation. Ginneries were built by Jamal Walji & Co. at Hoima, Masindi and Munteme. The following year Nanji Kalidas Mehta entered into partnership with Jamal Walji & Co., and then bought them out to found the Hoima Cotton Co. Ltd.[10]

The Masindi Port–Butiaba road was completed and a fleet of six vans was kept running. Large quantities of stores were transported for the Kilo Mines in the Congo. Stafford of Dwoli and Martin of Bugomolo maintained a bullock cart service from Hoima to Masindi in order to transport their coffee.

As far as the Bunyoro Kingdom government was concerned, too much work in the African courts was delegated to deputies often of low calibre. The Mukama's health was poor in the first half of the year but from June onwards he toured nearly every part of Bunyoro and took a deep and intelligent interest in all public questions.[11] Trade had been generally bad in Bunyoro in 1921 and continued to be depressed throughout 1922 mainly because the cotton crop had given disappointing yields. In order to give some stimulus to the economy of the district, particularly the planting of cotton, and to prevent the emigration of the able-bodied young men to seek work in Buganda, the rate of poll tax from April 1923 onwards was reduced from Shs. 15/- to Shs. 10/- a year.

In 1923 a large area was planted to cotton and Morgan, a senior agricultural officer, made a brief tour in early December and stated that in his opinion there was nothing in the soil or climate of Bunyoro to prevent the success of cotton production on a large scale. The coffee crop on the estates was exceptionally heavy and the high prices ruling on the London market made prospects encouraging. In spite of this several estates, not on the Caledonian road, were wholly or partly abandoned during the year.

The Lake Albert and Nile Flotilla and the road transport service between Masindi Port and Butiaba were taken over from the Protectorate govern-

ment by the Uganda Railway. The Flotilla consisted of the paddle steamer *Samuel Baker*, 150 tons, and a steam launch. A stern wheeler, *Lugard*, 186 tons, for the Nile traffic and a twin screw steamer, *Robert Coryndon*, 860 tons, were added later. The Lake Kioga Flotilla with a carrying capacity of 1,880 tons consisting of the stern wheelers *Speke, Stanley* and *Grant* had been managed by the railway administration since 1913.[12]

Venereal disease in Bunyoro during the past decade had caused considerable concern. A medical officer, Dr. S. W. T. Lee, was posted to Hoima with the special task of organizing a hospital for the treatment of venereal disease. Many Banyoro intentionally gave syphilis to their children when young in the mistaken belief that infection at an early age would induce resistance later, presumably copying smallpox vaccination. Father Baudouin made strenuous efforts to make women who were known to have had many abortions and stillbirths go for treatment and once it was seen that the treatment was efficacious the confidence of the Banyoro was soon obtained and attendances rose to nearly 400 a day.[13]

Table XII

Bunyoro Births and Deaths 1915–1923

	Deaths	*Births*	*Born Dead*
1.4.15–31. 3.16	2,331	2,113	925
1.4.16–31. 3.17	2,494	1,639	767
1.4.17–31. 3.18	3,350	1,707	838
1.4.18–31. 3.19	6,576	1,501	837
	(severe famine and influenza epidemic)		
1.4.19–31. 3.20	2,381	1,378	793
1.4.20–31.12.20	1,932	1,254	694
1.1.21–31.12.21	2,608	1,602	987
1.1.22–31.12.22	2,520	1,539	Not known
1.1.23–31.12.23	2,304	1,499	817[14]

At the request of the Mukama, the Governor, Sir Geoffrey Archer, obtained permission for Kabarega to return to Uganda. He arrived from the Seychelles in February, 1923, and was provided with a house in Jinja. This house had been built by Kakunguru, the Muganda general who had been present at the capture of Kabarega in April 1899.[15] On 7 April 1923, Kabarega died from heart failure following influenza and his body was brought to Bunyoro and interred at Mparo. The Banyoro remain convinced that he was poisoned for political reasons. As far as the Banyoro are concerned nobody dies a natural death: there is always a cause.[16] The Kiganda occupation of the 'Lost Counties' prevented him being buried in the area where the Bakama of Bunyoro traditionally have their tombs and Mparo was selected because it had been his favourite place of residence.

During the year it was decided that the district commissioner should be stationed at Hoima as soon as quarters were available. It was also decided that the Mukama and the Bunyoro Kingdom government should be transferred; the Protectorate government gave £1,500 for new buildings. The district commissioner, F. H. B. Sandford, wrote that the main object of this

reversal of previous policy was to endeavour to stem the tide of emigration by Banyoro from their home district to Buganda and elsewhere. Great hopes were based on the work of the venereal diseases hospital at Hoima. Much would depend on the development of the cotton industry to bring back wealth to Bunyoro, the re-organization of *Ruharo*, free labour, the codification of African law, and a land settlement.[17]

The aftermath of the war had been an unhappy period for Bunyoro. Conditions of world trade made it difficult for the Protectorate government to undertake any form of development. The spirit of the Banyoro was low. Famine, influenza and venereal disease caused many deaths; the number of births did not exceed the number of deaths. Lack of opportunity in Bunyoro made the younger and fitter people seek their livelihood outside the district. The health of the Mukama was poor and he no longer possessed the energy to lead his people forward.

References

[1]Bikunya. op. cit., p. 82.
Nyakatura. op cit., p. 221.

[2]For instance the area now occupied by the Bugambe Tea Estate was cultivated at this time but was abandoned because of the deaths from influenza.
J. B. Lukayi, personal communication. Mr. Lukayi served in the Agricultural department from 1922 to 1962.

[3]Ingham (1958). op. cit., pp. 148, 178-179.

[4]Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 220.

[5]Bunyoro District Annual Report 1921. District Commissioner's Office, Fort Portal.

[6]Details from a photograph in the Buyoro Kingdom government's Offices, Hoima, and the District Book, Agricultural Office, Hoima.
Nyakatura. op. cit., p. 222.

[7]Molson Report. op. cit., p. 5.

[8]Ingham (1958). op. cit., pp. 142, 155-158.
The following currency changes occurred in Uganda:—

1898 Silver rupee of India=200 cowrie shells
1901 1 rupee=800 cowries
1906 15 rupees=£1
1 rupee=100 cents instead of anna and pice coinage: 50, 25, 10, 1, ½ cent coins introduced.
1918-19 Rise in the exchange value of the rupee.
1920 Florin currency 1 rupee=1 E.A. fl.
10 E.A. fl.=£1
1920-21 Fall in the exchange value of the rupee.
1922 East African Shilling currency introduced.

Thomas and Scott. op. cit., pp. 230-232.

[9]Thomas & Rubie. op. cit.

[10]Ramji Lahda Dalal, personal communication.

[11]Bunyoro District Annual Report 1922. District Commissioner's Office, Fort Portal.

[12]Thomas & Scott. op. cit., p. 236.

[13]Father Baudouin, personal communication.

[14]Figures from Bunyoro District Annual Reports 1916-1917, 1921, 1922, 1923. District Commissioner's Office, Fort Portal.

[15]See Thiel, E. P. (1962). Frederick Spire, C.M.G. *Uganda J.* 26, 99-101.

[16]Z. H. Kwebiha, personal communication. Mr. Kwebiha served in the Agricultural department from 1937 to 1963 and was seconded as Katikiro of Bunyoro from 1956 to 1962.

[17]Bunyoro District Annual Report 1923. op. cit.

15

SYMPATHETIC ADMINISTRATION

THAT something had to be done to overcome the lethargy of the Banyoro was apparent to the Protectorate government but the answer could not be found in material things. A series of sympathetic district commissioners, notably, J. R. P. Postlethwaite and E. Dauncey-Tongue, found that much could be done to improve Bunyoro by genuinely working in co-operation with the Mukama and his government instead of imposing their own ideas, by treating the Mukama with the respect due to his position and by showing at all times that they had the interests of the Banyoro at heart. The most important events during the period 1924–1939 were the establishment of fire-cured tobacco as a cash crop, the introduction of a new system of land tenure, the signing of the 1933 Bunyoro Agreement, the building of roads into the areas of the district where cotton and tobacco could be planted with a consequent increase in agricultural production, the development of the Masindi Port sisal estate and saw milling in the Budongo forest. The period was in fact the heyday of Bunyoro when things really got going. It had not happened since the days of Kabarega and it was not to happen again.

The death of the Mukama, Andereya Duhaga, took place suddenly during the night of 30 March 1924. He died from a heart-attack. He was buried at Kinogozi on 7 April. E. B. Haddon was provincial commissioner, Northern province, at the time. He was succeeded by one of his half-brothers, Tito Winyi, whom he had nominated some years before as his successor, and who alone amongst the sons of Kabarega seemed to have the necessary education and experience. He had been brought up as a child at Ibanda, Mitoma county, Ankole, and was educated at Mengo high school and King's College, Budo. He spent the years between 1910 and 1920 in the Seychelles acting as private secretary to his father Kabarega. In 1920 he returned to Uganda and worked in the district commissioner's office for a year. From 1921 until his brother's death he was sub-county chief at Bwijanga.[1] He was chosen by the Rukurato, and having signed an agreement relating to his future conduct, both public and private, ascended the throne with the traditional *Empango* ceremonies on 12 April. His appointment was confirmed by the Governor at a general meeting held on 15 May.

The new Mukama then toured the greater part of Bunyoro to which he was a comparative stranger. He took some time to adjust himself to his new position. He had to contend with the retrograde attitude shown by

the majority of those in high office in the Bunyoro Kingdom government who were anxious to exploit the peasants as much as possible for their own advantage. The late Mukama without surrendering what was valuable in the old tradition definitely set himself to rule his kingdom in the interests of his people and his successor has done likewise. He proved more popular because he deliberately undertook both the traditional and modern duties of the Mukama.

The district headquarters was transferred from Masindi to Hoima in October 1924. The Mukama and the Bunyoro Kingdom government headquarters moved at the same time. As far as agriculture was concerned 1924 was a successful year and the 1923/24 cotton crop was a good one of 300 tons fetching high prices of between 20 and 27 cts. a lb.

Table XIII

Bunyoro Cotton Acreage 1923–1927

Year	*Acreage*
1923	3,000 acres
1924	6,000
1925	12,000
1926	13,900
1927	9,750[2]

The 1924/25 cotton crop was estimated at 700 tons. Six cotton buying posts were under construction, as was a ginnery at Masindi Port.[3] In 1925 a ginnery was built at Kinyala but without a licence because it was on freehold land. Between 1925 and 1927 it operated with saw gins;[4] thereafter it remained closed until 1955 being leased by the Hoima Cotton Co. Ltd. Munteme ginnery which was fitted with one gin never worked, leaving the Hoima Cotton Co. with a monopoly of cotton buying in Bunyoro and the operation of Hoima, Masindi and Masindi Port Ginneries. Since the successors to the Hoima Cotton Co. Ltd., Hoima Ginners, Ltd. retained the monopoly, the Protectorate government, when the cotton industry was re-organized in 1952, refused to pay compensation for silent ginneries in Bunyoro and so Munteme remained to create a problem over the allocation of shares in the Bunyoro ginning pool when Kinyala Ginners, Ltd. and the Bunyoro Co-operative Union, Ltd. entered the cotton business in 1955 and 1956 respectively. No serious shortage of food occurred and the interplanting of beans or groundnuts with cotton proved popular. An agricultural officer was posted to Bunyoro in December 1924. A coffee nursery was started near Hoima and the old robusta coffee to be seen near the town probably dates from this time. The introduction of ploughing proved unsuccessful due to the scarcity of bullocks of a suitable size. A game ranger P. C. 'Pete' Pearson was appointed together with African hunters to protect cultivation from the ravages of elephant.

In January 1924, the Rukurato of the Bunyoro Kingdom government was informed that no freehold mailo land was to be granted to Africans

with the exception of certain official estates. All revenue from other areas was to be credited to the Bunyoro Kingdom government. The Rukurato did not accept these proposals and continued to nurse hopes of a mailo system.

The Medical department by this time ran hospitals at Hoima and Masindi and dispensaries at Kitoba, Busingiro, Butiaba, Kinyala and Bwijanga. It proved difficult to secure regular attendances for the treatment of venereal disease. Father Baudouin was convinced that as long as dancing at night was permitted venereal disease would continue to increase. He enlisted the support of the Mukama, Katikiro and the Church Missionary Society and they were able to persuade the district commissioner, Sandford, to pass a law banning dancing at night.[5]

F. H. B. Sandford had been acting district commissioner from 16 May 1922, to 1 March 1923, and district commissioner from 8 November 1923, to 2 May 1926. His contemporaries thought that he deserved much credit for the improvements made in Bunyoro,[6] but in spite of this it appears that he was neither liked by his subordinates nor by the Banyoro because he tended to be unapproachable and off-hand.[7]

It is said that the Mukama had on occasions been treated in a most discourteous manner by the district commissioners in Bunyoro about this time and that he was kept waiting outside their office while they gossiped with European friends.[8] With the appointment of J. R. P. Postlethwaite, known as 'Postle', came an improvement in personal relations between the Mukama and the district commissioner with consequent benefit to Bunyoro as a whole. Postlethwaite has been described as a small man who possessed tremendous drive.[9] He became district commissioner on 27 August 1927, and continued in the appointment until 22 July 1928.[10] He had been much liked by the Acholi being nicknamed *Bwana Gweno* (Mister Chicken). His wide experience of varying conditions in Uganda made him sympathetic towards Kinyoro aspirations in the 'Lost Counties' of which he wrote: 'The inclusion of this area in the Buganda Kingdom is considered by many to have been one of the greatest blunders we committed in the past, but its correction, if it is to be corrected, could only come with the consent of the Kabaka and the native government of Buganda . . . we might justifiably insist on the Banyoro, as subjects of the Kabaka, being given at least a greater share in the governing of the Banyoro portion of the Buganda Kingdom . . . the loss to the unfortunate Banyoro of what was in fact their Holy of holies and the real centre of their ancient kingdom. It was only an accident, after all, that, at the time of the (Buganda) Agreement, the Baganda were temporarily in the ascendant. Incidentally, the caves of the rocky hills near Kakumiro had been a standing place of the Banyoro from which, as far as I know, the Baganda had never successfully dislodged them, while in Buyaga lie the graves of the Banyoro bakama, where every creature, hill, rock, and blade of grass cries aloud to those interested that they are Banyoro and can never be anything else.'[11]

Postlethwaite's feelings on this subject endeared him to the Banyoro and therefore made his task in Bunyoro easier. He was reckoned to be one of the best district commissioners that Bunyoro ever had.[12] He wrote: 'The work was intensely interesting to me, and the district as pleasant in every way as any district or station to which I have been posted before or since. . . . I like the Banyoro, and I do feel that their action in opposing foreign control hardly merited the consequences which followed it. Tito Winyi may not have been an outstanding personality, but he was a very friendly person, who tried to do his best, and was generally amenable to advice, while his Katikiro (Petero Bikunya) was an entirely sound, forcible administrator, and his chiefs well up to the Buganda standard in intelligence and efficiency. What I felt was the need for sympathetic but energetic stimulation for the native government administration and a real effort to remove the inferiority complex under which the Banyoro were inclined to labour. They responded nobly to my suggestions, and roads, camps and other native government buildings came into being in a surprisingly short period of time.'

Tobacco growing was started and the British American Tobacco Co. Ltd. arranged to buy the first crop having posted a representative, 'Kentucky' Hayes, to the district. Postlethwaite found Canon Bowers of the Church Missionary Society most helpful when dealing with Kinyoro affairs because he displayed a keen interest in the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of his flock. The memory of the religious wars was still present especially when the question of chiefs' appointments was considered. Postlethwaite introduced the Kiganda system of reserving certain areas for chiefs of certain denominations but, perhaps wisely, this innovation was abandoned on his departure from Bunyoro. He had to leave Bunyoro prematurely because of the sudden illness and invaliding of the provincial commissioner, Buganda. Postlethwaite once again became acting provincial commissioner, Buganda. On his departure from Bunyoro he received the following letter:

'Sir,

On behalf of myself as head of the Bunyoro Native Government and my chiefs and people, I wish to congratulate you for the high office you have attained. We wish you every good success, long life and prosperity.

2. But on the other hand, Sir, it is with profound regret that we are to part with you. I will always cherish the thought that it was you, Mr. Postlethwaite, who improved my country in a wonderfully small time. You now leave us with good roads,[13] fine camps, plenty of food, cotton and tobacco, better chiefs, good advice, and many other good things I am unable mentioning here.

3. Bunyoro owes a debt to your wise guidance and practical interest in every phase of the country's work.

Tito G. Winyi II,
The Mukama of Bunyoro.'[14]

A letter such as this was not a mere formality when a district commissioner left Bunyoro and Postlethwaite undoubtedly through his sympathy towards,

and understanding of, the Banyoro's hopes achieved a response from them to his ideas and suggestions. The quality of sympathizing, that is sharing the feelings, opinions and sentiments, with a particular tribe is rare. It cannot be artificially created because it comes from the heart and because it does so it is recognized and appreciated by the people, who being simple are not taken in by insincere protestations and exhortations. Often it is not possible for a man to achieve the same relationship with another tribe and Postlethwaite failed in his relations with the Baganda.[15] Unfortunately the Protectorate government had always been suspicious of an officer who had succeeded in forging a bond of sympathy with a particular tribe and almost invariably the officer was posted elsewhere usually as soon as he had mastered the language. In retrospect one wonders how many of the ineptitudes perpetrated during the period of British rule might have been avoided if this policy had not been in existence.

By 1928 a welcome increase in revenue from Bunyoro occurred which reflected the progress made in the district.

Table XIV

Bunyoro Revenue 1924 and 1928

Place	*1924*	*1928*	*Increase*
	Shs. cts.	Shs. cts.	Shs. cts.
Masindi	177,870/70	206,834/14	28,963/44
Hoima	133,970/74	171,295/63	37,324/89
Total	311,841/44	378,129/77	66,288/33[16]

Table XV

Bunyoro African Agriculture 1927

Plantains	7,000	acres
Sweet potatoes	12,000	
English potatoes	30	
Sorghum	500	
Finger millet	10,000	
Cotton	9,750	
Coffee robusta	40	
Coffee arabica	210	
Simsim	6,000	
Groundnuts	2,000	
Chillies	3	
Maize	500	
Beans	7,000	
Peas	500	
Sugar cane	10	
Cassava	1,000	
	56,543	

Table XVI

Bunyoro Estate Agriculture 1927

No. of estates	21	
Acreage	12,220	acres
In cultivation	3,190	
Coffee arabica, not yet bearing	37	acres
bearing	2,500	
Coffee robusta, not yet bearing	191	
bearing	74	
Para rubber, under 7 years	105	
over 7 years	812	
Tobacco	4	
Miscellaneous crops	167	
	3,890[17]	

Dry weather in the early part of the year caused famine reserves to be distributed in Chope and Bugoma. From July onwards the food position became satisfactory. Each taxpayer had to contribute his quota instead of as formerly a percentage of taxpayers contributing to the famine reserves. During the 1927/28 cotton season 1,345 tons of cotton were sold and in 1928 9,800 acres were estimated to have been planted. The crop was, however, disappointing, the number of bolls on each plant was few and much of the plant had gone to wood, probably due to excessive rainfall in September. The Hoima Cotton Co. Ltd. owned four ginneries, Hoima, Masindi, Masindi Port and Munteme, which never worked, and C. A. Margach owned a ginnery at Kinyala. The cotton buying posts were reduced to four.

There were 270 acres of coffee planted by Africans but any extension of acreage was held up until the land tenure question was settled. Most Banyoro were unwilling to plant permanent crops without adequate security of tenure. Twenty-four European estates grew coffee.

Tobacco had been grown successfully at Masindi by Father Hautman and at Hoima by Father Caumartin and this aroused the interest of the Agricultural department which then decided to initiate tobacco growing by Africans in Bunyoro.[18] Thus tobacco was a new venture in Bunyoro and the Banyoro proved that they could produce good fire-cured leaf under the guidance of Philpott, plantation manager, Agricultural department. The Banyoro remember Philpott as a friendly and active man. When he was on leave his place was taken by Hazel, another plantation manager.[19] Philpott had been sent to Nyasaland to study the methods of cultivation and production there and on his return he adapted them to conditions in Bunyoro. He deserves much credit for having devised a system which was practical enough for the Banyoro, and later immigrants from West Nile, mainly Lugbara, to do all the work from sowing to curing under the supervision

of African field staff employed by the Agricultural department and trained by Philpott at Bulindi Farm. This system has stood the test of time, unlike most, and leaf of good quality has been produced, though grading of cured leaf and handling after buying have not always been so satisfactory. In an effort to improve the cured leaf for export a tobacco re-grading, conditioning and packing factory was built by the Protectorate government at Masindi in 1930. In 1927 1,631 lb. of cured leaf were bought at a price of 30 cents a lb. for grade I and 20 cents a lb. for grade II. In 1928 61,356 lb. cured leaf were bought. The encouraging and fostering of this new crop was not easy. Despite the fact of better prices the Banyoro preferred to cultivate cotton since this crop entailed far less work than the cultivation of tobacco with its concomitant preparation of leaf for sale. This problem was never solved and the quantities of cotton and tobacco marketed in any one year depended on the relative prices for the two products and the amount of money that the grower expected to make from each bearing in mind the amount of work which he had to do.

In 1928 a serious outbreak of rinderpest, *Nsotoka*, occurred[20] and a thorough double inoculation (serum simultaneous method) was done on all the cattle in Bunyoro. The mortality from the inoculations was approximately 25–30 per cent. There were in Bunyoro at that time four types of cattle: curved long horned, straight long horned, polled and zebu.[21] Those cattle with a large proportion of long horned (Sanga) blood have little or no resistance to rinderpest, either to the disease itself or to the attenuated vaccine. As the proportion of zebu blood increases, for instance in Nganda cattle, so does the resistance to rinderpest. Thus it appears that those cattle with a large proportion of long horned blood died and that those cattle with a large proportion of zebu blood survived. By 1962 most of the cattle in Bunyoro were of the zebu type.[22] A further mortality of 15–20 per cent. was due to latent bovine trypanosomiasis lying dormant in the beasts prior to rinderpest inoculation and which broke out as soon as the animals were in a condition of poor resistance following the inoculations. At the beginning of the year 9,656 cattle were in Bunyoro of which 5,141 died leaving a balance of 4,515 at the end of the year.[23] The Banyoro have never accepted this explanation and remain convinced that the British killed their cattle deliberately in order to make them poor and to make them cultivate tobacco. The only thing that saved the Europeans' faces in Bunyoro was that their cattle died as well. Government officials, missionaries and planters kept cattle for their domestic milk supply.[24]

As a result the Veterinary department has taken many years to regain the confidence of the Banyoro and the work of other Protectorate government departments has been frustrated.

Road communications through Bunyoro were maintained and extended. The Butiaba—Masindi—Hoima—Kafu road was kept in excelent condition by the Public Works department. It was just as well because increasing use was being made of the roads. In one day in 1930 thirteen motor buses left Hoima for Kampala.[25] The Bunyoro Kingdom government's roads were

well maintained; the Butiaba—Hoima road being suitable for light motor traffic and the Masindi—Atura road having permanent culverts installed. A road from Kabwoya to the River Nkusi was cut and a road from Kisaru to Kyangwali was built. With the increase in cotton and tobacco growing improved communications were essential and paved the way for further increases in the production of cash crops. Bukumi rest camp was made into a semi-permanent structure for the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in March, 1930. Dispensaries were operated by the Medical department at Kiryandongo and Kiziranfumbi; the Busingiro dispensary having apparently closed. Vaccination against smallpox was undertaken. The Mukama and his chiefs maintained their interest in administration at a high level and were more inclined to seek advice in the first instance from Protectorate government officers than from certain dignitaries of the church as in the past.[26] A certain amount of friction had been caused between the representatives of both missions owing to interference by White Fathers in the activities of the Church Missionary Society. The district commissioner considered that excessive zeal for proselytization was the root of the trouble.[27] On the other hand the Church Missionary Society had a strong political influence working through the Katikiro, Petero Bikunya, a sincere Protestant.[28] The two missions had also annexed large numbers of Bunyoro Kingdom government labour which caused discontent amongst the Banyoro land owners who had to contribute one-seventh of the rent received by them into a fund for building a Church Missionary Society church.[29]

In 1929 Nanji Kalidas Mehta of the Hoima Cotton Co. Ltd. leased 5,000 acres of land at Masindi Port on which to start a sisal estate.[30] In the following year it was found necessary to alter the boundaries of the original 5,000 acres as several hundred Africans were found to be in occupation and 10,000 acres were provisionally surveyed.[31]

In the early 1930s Bunyoro renewed its campaign for the return of the 'Lost Counties' and the Protectorate government was not unsympathetic to this claim. The Baganda had carved out private estates of mailo land in Mubende district and this injustice struck many officials most forcibly. But the Protectorate government could do nothing unilaterally. The boundaries of Buganda had been guaranteed by the 1900 Buganda Agreement and to reverse the land settlement after such a lapse of time would only have created, it was thought, a new injustice in an attempt to rectify an old mistake. It was suggested that if Buganda could be offered the Kagera River, which meant a part of Tanganyika, as her south-western boundary she might be prepared to return Mubende to Bunyoro. This came to nothing. Consideration was given to detaching Bunyoro from the Northern province and linking it with the other kingdoms of the Western province.

The Banyoro, especially the Mukama, chiefs and prominent people, had been unsettled by recent alienations of land in Bunyoro. They felt doubtful about their security of tenure to land which they held and were anxious to obtain land in freehold, making numerous representations. The Protectorate

government had learnt caution from the land disputes in Buganda and was not anxious to extend the mailo system.[32] Consideration was being given to land tenure and a draft Land Ordinance was published in 1930. The whole of the Protectorate outside Buganda was contemplated as Crown land which Africans were free to occupy and providing that all measurable future African requirements were met, land could be alienated to non-Africans.[33] In August 1931, H. B. Thomas, Deputy Director of Surveys, and J. G. Rubie, provincial commissioner, Northern province, sat in committee at Hoima and Masindi to hear evidence from witnesses about a future land settlement in Bunyoro.[34]

On 13 October 1931, E. Dauncey-Tongue began a long and memorable tour of duty as district commissioner, Bunyoro, and to him more than to any other Protectorate government officer is due the credit for the restoration of tribal pride and *amour-propre* amongst the Banyoro. He was fortunate in that he served in Bunyoro until 11 June 1936, and thus was able to see that his ideas, and any ideas that he had taken over from his predecessors, were carried out. If ever it is necessary to vindicate the desirability of continuity of service in a district, Dauncey-Tongue provides an excellent example. It is said that he knew everybody and everybody knew him. He was active, approachable and energetic. He possessed drive and power. His rule was personal and direct. Fines were imposed on chiefs and people if his orders were not obeyed. He was thought by some to have broken the deadening influence of Canon Bowers and the Church Missionary Society on the Mukama and the Rukurato. Bowers had been in Bunyoro for a long time and regarded himself as the uncrowned king of Bunyoro. Dauncey-Tongue achieved more than this and at his departure was known as the father of the people.[35] He was thought to be one of the best district commissioners that Bunyoro ever had and although somewhat hot-tempered two years in Bunyoro cooled him down.[36] His fellow administrative officers, however, considered him rather pretentious.[37] But judged by results he had some cause to be.

Dauncey-Tongue was the son of a parson. He was educated at King's College, Taunton and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he read law and obtained an LL.B. He also gained a half-blue for running and rowed for his college. He served in Uganda from 1913 to 1946. He was assistant district commissioner in Lango, Entebbe, Kampala, Mbale, Jinja and Tororo. He married in 1922 at Tororo and had two daughters. For a time whilst he was district commissioner, Bunyoro, he was acting provincial commissioner, Northern province, and after leaving Bunyoro he became provincial commissioner, Eastern province. During the war he was provincial commissioner, Special Duties, and was instrumental in starting the Special Branch. He retired to Kenya in 1946 and died of a heart-attack 18 months later at Thomson's Falls. Uganda was his whole life and interest. In his sympathy for and understanding of Africans he was ahead of his time and in spite of his feelings for Africans he told them exactly what he thought of them. He spoke Luganda fluently. He had a smattering of Runyoro. He was

popular with the Asian community, being a great hockey player. He was interested in athletics, history, birds and shooting; in fact he was enthusiastic about everything that he tackled.[38] This then was the man who instilled new life into the Banyoro.

Dauncey-Tongue was not afraid to act. Once a big increase in murders took place in Bunyoro but when two of the convicted murderers were hanged in public, murders ceased. The Banyoro require somebody to lead them and this is what Dauncey-Tongue did. There was plenty of life and Hoima, instead of Masindi, became the centre of the district. Sports days were great occasions.[39]

The problems confronting Dauncey-Tongue were land tenure, with which was incorporated a salaries and pensions scheme for the chiefs, the Bunyoro Agreement, the building of new roads and the encouragement of agricultural production. The solution of these problems would rekindle the vivacity of the Banyoro and release them from the torpidity which had taken hold of them since the arrival of the British.

At the turn of the century three classes of rights in land existed. Firstly, right derived from conquest. All the land and everything on it belonged to the Mukama and he could allot to his relations, chiefs and other important people, a feudal type of holding on condition of homage, service and tribute. Secondly, feudal rights based upon this. The territorial chiefs were then responsible to the Mukama for the general well-being of their area and received from the cultivators tribute of grain, beer and labour, some of which together with a proportion of the herds in the area had to be passed on to the Mukama. Thirdly, rights relating to the actual use of the soil which were vested in the clan heads. Before the defeat of Kabarega the clans tended to be in one place and the land was held by the clan for the clan's benefit; rights of enjoying the use of the land being granted to clan members as long as they continued to occupy and to cultivate the plots allotted to them.

All rights were held conditionally, either of the Mukama's favour or of productive occupation. The notion of indefeasible rights in land amounting to freehold did not develop until after the capture of Kabarega, the coming of British administration and the 1900 land settlement in Buganda. The ultimate rights in land were vested in the Crown and held by the Governor for occupation and use by the people of Bunyoro. The administration of the land, with the exception of freehold and leasehold land held by Missions, people who were not Africans and the Mukama, was entrusted to the Bunyoro Kingdom government. Two types of estate came into being, official, *obwesengeze,* temporarily enjoyed by virtue of office, and private, *ekibanja,* permanently enjoyed by the holder and his descendants.

Thus the re-introduction of chiefs by the Protectorate government was inevitably accompanied by the idea that a chief's area was an official estate from the occupants of which he could exact service and tribute, commuted to a cash payment which eventually became confused with rent, *obusuru.* Until 1933 this was the major source of revenue for chiefs since their salaries

were small. As they had become civil servants instead of feudal lords some provision had to be made for their retirement and parts of official estates became the permanent property of the recipients, that is private estates.

At the same time the Mukama gave members of the royal clan, *Babito,* functionaries of his household and certain people of standing, private estates with right to rent for their permanent personal use and enjoyment. Both types of estate implied not only rights over land but a certain status with rights over people. As a result two classes of chiefs appeared, the civil servants and the squires, and conflict occurred between the lower grades of civil servant chiefs and the squirearchal holders of private estates who resented interference in their internal affairs.

By 1931 the best parts of occupied land had been taken into estates and it was estimated that out of 22,000 taxpayers, over 18,000 paid rent, approximately 12,000 on official estates and 6,000 on private estates. An estate might vary in size from 5 acres to several square miles and the number of rent-paying tenants might vary from two or three to 80 or more. The average was six on an estate. The basis of land tenure had changed from fief-hold and usufruct to ownership and the power to collect rent from others; the essence of land ownership in Bunyoro. This development had been accelerated by the introduction of a money economy, the cultivation of cash crops and the Buganda Agreement of 1900 by which the then Baganda chiefs received land on what amounted to freehold tenure mailo. It was felt unfair by the Banyoro that such grants were given in Buganda, and on a lesser scale in Ankole and Toro, but were withheld in Bunyoro. The Banyoro chiefs and upper classes, who considered that they had certain rights, wanted freehold estates, putting forward the argument that they wanted security to grow permanent crops and to make permanent improvements, but they no doubt visualized freehold estates with rent-paying tenants.

These considerations made the Protectorate government in 1931 order an inquiry into land tenure and the *kibanja* system and the report was published in 1932.[40] Much of the investigational work was done by C. M. A. Gayer.[41]

It recommended that all tribute should be collected as a tribal due and expended upon tribal administration, terminable compensation being granted to the beneficiaries of the existing system, that the rejection of any landlord and tenant system should be re-affirmed and that the interests of the actual cultivators should predominate. Title to land was to be based upon occupation and cultivation. Certificates of occupancy were to be issued to the real cultivators, guaranteeing to the holder: 'undisturbed occupancy, subject to necessary conditions, of the land, of whatever the extent of which he is actually making use, with the rights to dispose of the results of his labour upon that land to his heirs or by sale to another native.' Directions on procedure for obtaining certificates of occupancy were laid down; the area to be demarcated to be slightly over twice that which the applicant is cultivating or can cultivate.[42]

The authors of the report were anxious to avoid the disadvantages of the Kiganda mailo system in which the landlords performed no economic function in return for the share which they received of the produce of cultivation and exacted a rent from a community of cultivators who themselves possessed no guaranteed security of tenure. In the authors' view the whole of Uganda, with the exception of the mailo lands of Buganda, was Crown land and the needs of the African population were acknowledged by the Protectorate government as paramount. Land occupied and cultivated by Africans was to be secure from transfer to foreigners but in certain circumstances freehold or leasehold estates might be offered to people who were not African. They thought that the connection between rent and land must cease to remove the attraction of private ownership. Rent would be recognized as tribal tribute paid by the taxpayer to meet the cost of the African government, and where this was paid, no further payments in respect of land would be required. On Crown lands outside Buganda where conditions warranted it certificates of occupancy would be issued. They considered that while African husbandry was conducted upon methods which lacked most inducements to stability, the elasticity of the system offered great advantages; the way was left open for a possible advance to the grant of ownership of specific smallholdings at such a time when pressure of population or progress in agricultural knowledge enabled the African to attach himself permanently to one piece of earth.[48]

Certainly the authors of the report visualized the development of the *kibanja* system into a system of peasant smallholdings. It is important to note that the actual ownership of land was vested in the Crown to prevent the chronic indebtedness from land mortgage which had occurred in the peasant societies of Asia and Europe. The report is characterized by sympathy towards the peasants and antipathy towards the ruling classes, probably due to current European sociological thought. They appear to have forgotten that such a system of peasant smallholdings is agriculturally and economically static, that it is liable to fragmentation and that the feelings of the Banyoro were disregarded. Land cannot be considered agriculturally except in terms of the people living upon it. The Banyoro wanted a form of freehold with feudal undertones.

The recommendations were brought into force in 1933 and the Bunyoro Kingdom government received them without enthusiasm but the transition from the old to the new system was carried out in harmony. The Mukama, chiefs and people whilst accepting the Protectorate government's decisions managed to run the *kibanja* system in the way that they wanted. All that happened was that official estates were abolished, chiefs were paid salaries and pensions, and payment of rent on private estates stopped. On the other hand rights to private estates, prior to 1933, were confirmed, and since 1933 many more rights of occupancy have been granted because ample unallocated land became available with the abolition of official estates. Many of these rights of occupancy are not those of cultivators over smallholdings, worked by themselves, families and employees, but are to large

holdings, sometimes measured in square miles, containing many peasants who are debarred from taking out rights of occupancy over the areas which they are actually cultivating. This at the moment does not cause dissatisfaction.[44] No legislation is likely to be effective unless about three-quarters of the population have some interest in seeing that it is enforced.

The Protectorate government always considered that the certificates of occupancy should only be granted to peasant cultivators. The grant of a certificate of occupancy to a landlord who did not himself cultivate the land in question was considered to be an abuse. The issue of certificates of occupancy was suspended in 1949 but applications for certificates of occupancy have continued to be submitted and registered. The receipt for the registration fee of Shs. 5/- is regarded by the Banyoro as evidence of ownership.

The Mukama, chiefs and people of Bunyoro always felt that the lack of an Agreement status with the Protectorate government reflected adversely on the dignity and prestige of Bunyoro compared with the other kingdoms of Buganda, Ankole and Toro. Sandford, district commissioner in Bunyoro from 1922 to 1926, was responsible for proposing that negotiations should start for a Bunyoro Agreement though Dauncey-Tongue was responsible for the negotiations and the successful outcome.[45] The matter was under consideration for several years. Further impetus was given when Thomas and Rubie recommended that the constitutional position of the Mukama be defined. During their inquiries they had noted that the Banyoro were envious of the possession of Agreements by Buganda, Ankole and Toro. They thought that all reference to Bunyoro as a conquered country should cease and that Bunyoro should be regarded as an under-developed district the past misfortunes of which should merit special sympathy and consideration.[46] It was recognized by the Protectorate government that progress was being made in Bunyoro under the leadership of the Mukama Tito Winyi and the matter was referred to London. Thus the decision by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to negotiate an Agreement with Bunyoro was unexpected but welcomed by the Banyoro who were unaware that representations on their behalf had been made.[17] It suited Dauncey-Tongue because he wished to rule Bunyoro through the Mukama and nobody else.[48] It was felt by some, however, that most of the benefits of the Agreement went to the Mukama and the district commissioner and also to the Protectorate government. Thus until the last minute some of the county chiefs were reluctant to sign.[49]

The purpose of the Agreement was to define the rights and privileges of the Mukama and the relations existing between the Governor of the Uganda Protectorate and the Mukama and the people of Bunyoro-Kitara. The 1933 Bunyoro Agreement was essentially between the Governor, whose advice was normally communicated through the district commissioner, Bunyoro, and the Mukama. In practice Bunyoro was ruled by the district commissioner and the Mukama.

The ministers, by whom were meant the Katikiro and Muketo (Treasurer), county and sub-county chiefs, were appointed and dismissed by the Mukama subject to the decision, which was final, of the Governor. The Mukama might consult the Rukurato and must discuss his proposals with the district commissioner except for the appointment of parish and village chiefs. The district commissioner might initiate a recommendation for the dismissal of any minister or chief.

The purpose of the Rukurato was to deliberate upon such matters as might be referred to them by the Mukama, to recommend to the Mukama alterations in African law and to perform other duties as might be assigned to it by the Mukama. Estimates of expenditure and revenue for the Bunyoro Kingdom government were to be submitted to the district commissioner by the Mukama. In the event of any considerable mineral development the Governor would consider what share, if any, of the royalties collected should be paid to the Bunyoro Kingdom government.

The Bunyoro Agreement was signed at Hoima on 23 October 1933, by:

Sir B. H. Bourdillon, K.B.E., Governor,
B. Ashton Warner, Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province,
E. Dauncey-Tongue, District Commissioner, Bunyore,
Tito G. Winyi, II, Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara,
P. Bikunya, Katikiro of Bunyoro-Kitara,
Zakayo Jawe, Mukwenda, Bugahya,
Peter Dwakaikara, Pokino, Buhaguzi,
Kosiya K. Labwoni, Kaigo, Bujenje,
H. F. Karubanga, Kimbugwe, Buruli,
Daudi Mbabi, Sekibobo, Kihukya,
S. B. Biarufu, Kangaho, Kibanda,
H. Bowers, Rural Dean, Bunyoro,
A. Williams, General Secretary, Church Missionary Society and Native Anglican Church.[50]

The Mukama made a formal public statement at the signing reserving the claims of Bunyoro to the 'Lost Counties'. This matter had already been raised in London by Kosiya Labwoni in 1931 at the Joint Select Committee to study the problem of the closer union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. He had complained to the Secretary of State for the Colonies about the loss of these territories. The reply was that it was impossible to go into this question which had long since been settled.[51]

It was during Dauncey-Tongue's time as district commissioner that roads were made into areas which had previously been inaccessible and barely cultivated. It is notoriously difficult to assess the return upon the capital sum invested in building a road since development tends to 'snowball' and social as well as economic benefits result. The majority of Dauncey-Tongue's roads have proved good investments. The road from Hoima to Biseruka from which a footpath descended the escarpment to Tonya and the road from Kiziranfumbi to Kabale from which a footpath descended

the escarpment to Kaiso opened up some of the best cotton-growing land in the district and helped to provide additional markets for fish. A Munyoro called Suwedi who had served with the King's African Rifles in Nyasaland during the 1914–1918 war had observed that the escarpment overlooking Lake Albert appeared to be similar to parts of Nyasaland where he had seen cotton grown. So he planted cotton and it flourished. In the course of time his example was followed by other Banyoro but since water was difficult to obtain most people did not settle permanently but travelled from their homes, built temporary shelters, planted cotton, returned later to thin and weed, and again to pick and sell.

The road from Katesiha to Nyantonzi opened up for cultivation the deep, fertile red soils of the Waki valley on which the industrious immigrants from West Nile district grew fire-cured tobacco. Other roads proved less successful. The Kiryandongo—Kijumbura road provided a short route to Lira and Kitgum via Palango; the Munteme–Musaijamukuru road served a thickly populated area in Buhaguzi; the Buhimba—Kabale road would ultimately provide a direct route from Hoima to Mubende. Also under construction were a road from Kigorobya to the escarpment above Kibero to which a footpath descended and a road from Bukumi to Bugungu. This latter road running along the Lake Albert flats below the escarpment crossed three rivers, Sonso, Waisoke and Weiga, and was always liable to be cut by bridges being washed away or to be flooded.[52]

The district commissioner had to supervise work on the River Kafu—Hoima—Masindi and the Masindi Port—Masindi—Butiaba roads with effect from 1 January 1932, and to maintain and improve the Hoima—Butiaba, Hoima—River Nkusi and the Masindi—Mutunda roads. Trading centres were established at Kitoba, Kisaru, Munteme, Bwijanga, Biiso, Bulisa, Kikube and Kijunjubwa. Hoima, Masindi, Butiaba and Masindi Port had become small towns.

The Kenya and Uganda Railway maintained a fortnightly mail service to Masindi via Lake Kioga. A Protectorate government transport van left Kampala on Thursdays and arrived at Hoima the same day. On Fridays it went to Masindi and on Saturdays returned to Kampala via Hoima. A cyclist messenger went from Hoima to Masindi on Mondays and returned on Wednesdays. A similar messenger went weekly from Masindi to Gulu.[53]

By 1934 a weekly mail service was maintained via Lake Kioga and between Kampala, Hoima and Masindi. A fortnightly service was run from Butiaba to the Congo, the West Nile ports and the Sudan and Egypt. In 1934 a floating dock was constructed at Butiaba.[54]

Air communications were being slowly developed. By 1927 a seaplane base had been constructed at Butiaba and many of the pioneer aviators landed there, amongst whom was Sir Alan Cobham.[55] In March 1931, Butiaba was a landing and re-fuelling station for the Imperial Airways' African service,[56] but by 1932 Butiaba had been abandoned and Masindi Port was to be used in an emergency.[57] In the following year Imperial

Airways stopped using seaplanes and Masindi Port was no longer required.[58] A landing field for light aeroplanes was made at Masindi.[59]

It was during Dauncey-Tongue's regime that agricultural production was improved in Bunyoro and that cotton and tobacco were firmly established as cash crops for the Banyoro providing a substantial increase to their cash income. Though the annual production of these crops is small compared with many other districts because few people live in Bunyoro, the production and cash return per head of population is considerable and judged on these grounds Bunyoro follows only after Buganda, Bugisu and Busoga.

The opening up of the escarpment area above Lake Albert contributed to the increase in cotton production which varied from year to year according to the vicissitudes encountered by the crop, mainly weather and price.

Table XVII

Bunyoro Cotton Acreage and Production 1928–1939

Year	*Acreage*	*Tons raw cotton*
1928	9,870	1,150
1929	15,600	1,852
1930	15,000	1,520
1931	16,550	1,476
1932	25,000	3,056
1933	28,986	2,740
1934	28,000	2,695
1935	24,626	2,953
1936	24,016	2,802
1937	18,879	3,604
1938	16,759	1,607
1939	16,000	2,139[60]

The increase in tobacco production was initially due to the interest shown in the crop by the British American Tobacco Co. Ltd. Later the European planters became interested in buying, re-grading and conditioning of leaf for export. D. N. Stafford was the first to buy in 1931. The Protectorate government bought 12,000 lb. for export to Europe.[61] At first the planters used the government tobacco factory at Masindi but when export markets had been established D. N. Stafford built his own rehandling factory at Dwoli and C. A. Margach built his factory at Kinyala.[62] In 1932 large quantities of fire-cured leaf were bought for export:

265,000 lb. by the planters for export,
43,166 lb. by the Protectorate government for export,
314,000 lb. by the British American Tobacco Co. Ltd.

Total: 622,166 lb.[63]

Table XVIII

Bunyoro Tobacco Production 1927–1939

Year	*lb. cured leaf*
1927	1,631
1928	61,359
1929	137,972
1930	183,012
1931	403,508
1932	622,166
1933	768,804
1934	1,469,142
1935	825,042
1936	1,012,294
1937	1,326,105
1938	2,323,023
1939	2,014,103[64]

In 1933 the East African Tobacco Co. Ltd. of Dar es Salaam started to buy tobacco in Bunyoro[65] and the government tobacco factory baled 77 tons for export.[66] The experimental work and training of staff was done by Philpott at the Agricultural department's Bulindi Farm, the land for which had been given by the Mukama. The Protectorate government took control of the local marketing and the export of tobacco leaf in order to ensure that a high grade of tobacco was produced and that the quality was maintained consistently. Action was accordingly taken under the Native Produce Marketing Ordinance so that African-grown tobacco could be purchased only by licensed buyers at regularly established buying posts and, except with the written permission of the Director of Agriculture, must be conditioned and packed at the factory at Masindi if intended for export.[67] In 1934 there were eight licensed buyers, British American Tobacco Co. Ltd., C. A. Margach, D. N. Stafford, Mawji Walji, T. P. Margach, A. P. Abbott, L. G. Margach and Busro Ltd.[68]

Efforts were made to increase the acreage under simsim. Between 1,300 and 1,500 acres were planted in 1932 and oil mills to process the crop were built at Butema and Masindi Port.[69] During the early 1930s the production of groundnuts and castor seed was also expanded. Food was plentiful with an increase in the acreage under food crops. Famine reserves of sweet potatoes and cassava were established.[70]

In 1932 the European estates had had a year of varying fortunes. 140 tons of coffee were exported and it was estimated that 50,000 robusta coffee trees had been planted by the Banyoro. Rubber was not tapped on the estates because prices were not favourable. The depression of the world sisal market precluded any further development of the sisal estate at Masindi Port.[71] In the following year the planters received low prices for their coffee but 500 tons were exported. Planting of sisal was resumed at Masindi Port.[72] The sisal factory was opened by H.E. the Governor

in 1934.[73] In the same year rubber tapping started again on the estates with the improvement in prices[74] and continued into 1936 the price being sufficient to pay for production. Prices for coffee were disappointing and only 146 tons of estate coffee were exported. This did not deter the Banyoro who increased their cultivation of robusta coffee; 91,197 seedlings were issued. The Hoima Cotton Co. Ltd.'s sisal factory at Masindi Port worked throughout the year and the company were sufficiently encouraged to resume the lease of the 5,000 acres which had been surrendered in 1933.[75]

The health of the Banyoro caused much concern because for many years the number of deaths had exceeded the births in any one year causing a gradual decline in population. It was only in 1936 that this was reversed. It was generally thought that venereal disease was to blame and the Mukama and the Katikiro were particularly energetic in their efforts to rouse their peoples' realization of the danger. The Bunyoro Kingdom government were also taking active steps to tackle the question of excessive drinking.[76]

Table XIX

Bunyoro Births and Deaths 1928–1936

Year	*Births per 1,000*	*Deaths per 1,000*	*Population*
1928	20.7	26.7	—
1932	22.38	23.91	93,768
1933	24.4	26.2	95,649
1934	19.91	21.69	96,271
1936	22.63	18.58	99,347[77]

Malnutrition was probably the cause of the low birth rate and certainly malnutrition amongst children contributed to the high death rate. Another possible cause of the low birth rate was the psychological effect of the Banyoro's defeat by the British, the loss of much of their territory to the Baganda and the death of their cattle from rinderpest and trypanosomiasis. Several tribes, for instance the Masai, with a high venereal disease incidence have also had a high birth rate and so venereal disease cannot be solely blamed.

It was unfortunate that in 1932 the nursing sister was withdrawn from Hoima just as she had gained the confidence of the Banyoro women.[78] But in 1934 nursing sisters were posted to both Hoima and Masindi.[79] By 1933 three dispensaries were supervised from Hoima hospital and seven from Masindi hospital.[80]

The Anglican Bishop of Uganda consecrated the new St. Peter's Church at Hoima on 29 June 1932.[81] It was a conventional brick edifice, of no particular architectural merit except for its size and a tower. In those days European architectural designs were followed and only recently have attempts been made to evolve a concept of African architecture. The Rural Dean, Canon Bowers, who had moved from Masindi to Hoima earlier in the year, fought strenuously to keep the Church Missionary Society

headquarters at Masindi, but the building of St. Peter's Church made the move to Hoima inevitable. The roof leaked on occasions and it has been said that the congregation on rainy days put up their umbrellas.[82]

Schools in Bunyoro at this time were situated as follows:

Church Missionary Society	
Central	Masindi (boys), Hoima (girls)
Middle	Kabarega, Masindi
Technical	Masindi
Elementary Vernacular	Masindi, Hoima, Kiryandongo, Kinogozi, Kigaya (near Buhimba)
White Fathers Mission	
Central	Masindi
Middle	St. Aloysius', Hoima
Elementary Vernacular	Masindi, Hoima, Kiryandongo, Bugoma, Kikoboza (between Buhimba and Kiziranfumbi)
Muslim	
Elementary Vernacular	

Relations between the district commissioner and the White Fathers Mission, who were largely composed of French-Canadians, improved with the appointment of an English Father (Father Miller) to Hoima.[83]

It was unfortunate that in Uganda two rival missions operated in each district and inflicted upon the inhabitants religious animosities which were historically due to the Reformation in Europe and had no meaning as far as Africans were concerned. Nevertheless many Africans proved as intolerant and as embittered as their European teachers and the legacy of politico-religious friction as a result of mission training has persisted and become engrained in African thought. Bunyoro has suffered less than most other districts from politico-religious controversy due to the innate good sense and calmness of the Banyoro and to the guidance of the leaders of the two missions in Bunyoro, who were generally on good terms with each other, the Protectorate government and the Bunyoro Kingdom government. The Mukama, though a Protestant, was always friendly towards the Catholics. It must also be remembered that no pressure of population on the land existed in Bunyoro whereas in Kigezi and western Ankole the density of population was higher causing strife when scarce land was allocated to one or other of the missions.[84]

Education was no longer entirely financed by the missions because by 1933 each payer of poll tax contributed Sh. 1/- to an education tax which realized £1,197. Bunyoro was the first district in Uganda to do this. The Church Missionary Society and the White Fathers Mission both received £500; the Muslim Schools received £20. The balance in the reserve fund stood at £760.[85] Canon Bowers was responsible for the development of Kabarega technical school.[86] Miss Wright of the Church Missionary Society was regarded by those who knew her as a little saint for her labours at the Hoima girls' school.[87] She provided a valuable element of continuity serving in Bunyoro from 1910 to the 1940s; this was especially useful in the 1930s

when a number of Church Missionary Society personnel worked in Bunyoro for only short periods.[88]

The considerable timber resources of Bunyoro were being extracted by sawmills operated in the Budongo and Siba forests by Messrs. Buchanans and Messrs. Denoon and Margach respectively.[89] The Protectorate government was anxious that the forests should be exploited properly and so in 1936 a forestry research officer was stationed at Busingiro and an assistant conservator of forests at Budongo.[90]

The numbers of livestock in Bunyoro were once again beginning to increase after the catastrophe of 1928 as the following figures show:

Table XX

Bunyoro Livestock 1932–1936

Year	*1932*	*1933*	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*
Cattle	6,989	7,937	9,162	9,259	9,997
Sheep	13,934	16,765	21,173	23,724	24,056
Goats	58,063	85,589	82,232	87,041	92,381[91]

This restored a certain measure of confidence to the Banyoro.

The Kibero salt industry was reported to be definitely dying in 1932[92] and efforts were made to re-organize it to prevent further decline. In 1933 the salt pans were leased at a nominal rent of Shs. 2/- a pan instead of a levy in kind to the Bunyoro Kingdom government. This caused a slight increase in the number of pans worked.[93] Further assistance was given by the Protectorate government in the following year when their rent was reduced to a nominal Shs. 20/- a year.[94] As a result of this action the Bunyoro Kingdom government remitted all rents on the salt pans.[95]

The reason why Dauncey-Tongue obtained an immediate response from the Banyoro to his efforts to improve Bunyoro was because he treated the Mukama as the Mukama. 'Relations between the District Administration and the Mukama's Government have been those of close and cordial co-operation. I have to record my very deep appreciation of the loyal and helpful attitude of the Mukama. He is evincing a rapidly growing and definitely active interest in the affairs of his country and his people, and with it an intelligent and practical grasp of the problems which they have to face and the methods with which to handle them. In this he has always been able to rely on the sound and whole-hearted support of the Katikiro' (Petero Bikunya).[96]

In 1933 the retirement of the Muketo permitted a re-organization of the finances of the Bunyoro Kingdom government. 'The increasingly evident aptitude of the Mukama for grasping the elements of finance is proving of great assistance in obtaining an effective result.'[97] As a result of the enforcement of the recommendations of the Thomas and Rubie Report the revenue of the Bunyoro Kingdom government had increased from £9,000 to £15,000 and the expenditure from £8,000 to £16,000. This was due to the nationalization of tribute, payment of salaries to chiefs and of annuities to ex-*kibanja* holders. The revenue of the Bunyoro Kingdom

government came mainly from three sources:

(a) a poll tax rebate of 30 per cent. which was refunded by the Protectorate government to the Bunyoro Kingdom government whose chiefs carried out the actual tax collection.

(b) *Ruharo,* which was one month's labour a year in aid of the public work of the Bunyoro Kingdom government, was almost universally commutable for cash, the normal rate being Shs. 10/- a year.

(c) *Busuru,* the tribute, formerly paid by the peasant to the overlord of the land which he occupied, which was collected by the Bunyoro Kingdom government.[98]

Efforts would be made to balance the budget in 1934[99] and the Mukama, the county and sub-county chiefs voluntarily agreed to a 20 per cent. levy on their salaries for two years. This effort reflected great credit upon them. In 1934 the Mukama was invested with the C.B.E. by H.E. the Governor at a ceremony attended by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Dauncey-Tongue received the O.B.E.[100] This was a fitting commemoration of their attempt to overcome the lethargy, known in Runyoro as *Amani gaha,* literally 'no strength', from which the Banyoro had for so long suffered.

1936 was a year of steady progress. Redundant sub-counties around Hoima and Masindi were amalgamated. Kihukya and Kibanda counties were amalgamated under the Sekibobo with headquarters at Kiryandongo. The Mukama increased the representation of the peasants in the Rukurato. The Mukama's whole attitude was marked by loyal co-operation with the Protectorate government, sound common sense and unflagging industry. D. Aguda, the Bunyoro Kingdom government cashier, carried out his onerrous duties efficiently and he was appointed to the post of Muketo.[101] With an interlude of service with the Co-operative department he retired as Muketo in 1963.

Most of the county chiefs who signed the 1933 Bunyoro Agreement were dismissed by the Mukama in the five years following its signing. It has been said that they were strong, purposeful rulers and so came into conflict with the Mukama who wished to rule his own kingdom.[102]

On 1 January 1939, Masindi became the combined headquarters of the former Western Province and the greater part of the Northern province. This was the result of agitation by the district commissioners.[103] Sir Phillip Mitchell who was Governor at the time wanted to de-centralize government by developing provincial headquarters as the executive instruments of government. The outbreak of war checked this development and it came to nothing.[104]

It is perhaps interesting at this stage of Bunyoro's development to see how Bunyoro fitted into the wider context of Uganda as a whole, particularly into the constitution and machinery of the Protectorate government.

The Governor was assisted by an executive council, consisting of the civil servant heads of the more important professional and technical departments. The legislative council of which the Governor was president consisted of the same *ex officio* members as the executive council and the

addition of four unofficial members nominated by the Governor. The functions of government were organized on a departmental basis. The civil service, who operated the organization, comprised at the end of 1934 some 530 European officials, some 300 Asians and some 130 pensionable Africans, apart from large numbers employed on other conditions of service. The Governor maintained touch with the provincial administration and the departments through the Chief Secretary, whose Secretariat co-ordinated the many ramifications of public business.

Table XXI

Bunyoro African Agriculture 1937

Plantains	10,000 acres
Sweet potatoes	25,000
English potatoes	270
Sorghum	8,700
Finger millet	20,000
Cotton	18,879
Coffee robusta	330
Coffee arabica	25
Maize	8,750
Beans	14,700
Sugar cane	50
Simsim	14,000
Groundnuts	1,225
Cassava	20,000
Tobacco	2,418
Rice	1
Peas	5,000
Miscellaneous	1,350
	150,698

Table XXII

Bunyoro Estate Agriculture 1937

Total acreage cultivated	9,626 acres
Coffee arabica	531 acres
Coffee robusta	678
Para rubber	1,193
Sisal	7,200
Tobacco	103
Miscellaneous	76
	9,581[105]

Uganda was divided into four provinces, the headquarters of each being given in brackets as follows: Buganda (Kampala), Eastern (Jinja), Northern (Masindi) and Western (Fort Portal). The provincial commissioner was, within the limits of his province, the principal executive officer of the Protectorate government and was personally and directly responsible to the Governor for the peace and good order of his province and for the efficient conduct of all public business in it. It was his duty to supervise not only the work of his administrative staff but the activities of the professional and technical departments working in his province. Some of these departments had their own provincial heads. Departmental officers were directly controlled and instructed by the heads of their respective departments, and the provincial commissioner would not normally issue direct instructions to departmental officers, but would communicate any views that he held and any recommendations that he might wish to make to the head of department concerned. Each province was subdivided into districts, under a district commissioner, consideration being given to size, population and tribal distribution.

The district commissioner was the principal executive officer in his district. He stood in the same relation to his district as the provincial commissioner to his province and, subject to special or general instructions issued by the provincial commissioner to whom he was directly responsible, exercised a similar authority and control. He also acted as an executive officer for any department of the Protectorate government which was not represented in the district by its own officer. Administrative officers were directly responsible for the conduct of African affairs. In this capacity they were charged with the education and control of the various African governments and with the advising and guiding of the African population in all aspects of their life assisted by departmental officers with professional or technical qualifications. As magistrates, administrative officers below the rank of provincial commissioner had civil and criminal jurisdiction with varying powers according to their seniority and qualifications over both the African and non-African population and were responsible for the supervision and tutelage of African courts. As revenue collectors and licensing officers, administrative officers were responsible for the collection of the major part of the Protectorate's revenues.[106]

The theory upon which this type of government was based was that of indirect rule. Sir Phillip Mitchell has described it as follows:

> 'Indirect rule was no more than a means to an end and had no intrinsic value in itself. It was a technique based upon the belief that the most important duty of Government was to train and develop the African inhabitants of the country in a manner which would enable the ancient tribal organizations to be modernized and adapted by the people themselves so as to serve the present and the future as they had served the past.'[107]

This type and method of government was ideally suited to conditions in Uganda. It was efficient and economical and decisions were made for

the well-being of the country and its inhabitants by those most qualified to make them without being diverted by political expediency. The exponents of the theory of indirect rule no doubt visualized that in the future trained African civil servants would increasingly shoulder the burden of government. As a result of the second world war the emphasis was placed on the development of democratic political institutions on the American and western European pattern. Any introduction must be adapted to its environment. Thus, the wholesale introduction in haste of democratic ideals of government, one man one vote, political parties, parliamentary government, ministerial and cabinet responsibility, to a continent which never had experienced such methods of government was fraught with grave danger because as the colonial and protecting powers withdrew, the politicians were left to run their countries on methods which had only been recently introduced, were imperfectly understood, and were not grounded in their history and traditions.

The success of the sympathetic administration of Bunyoro must be attributed in part to the fact that contrary to normal practice there was continuity of postings in Bunyoro. This permitted the district commissioner and the departmental officers to know the people and in turn the people knew them. Even in the case of an unpopular officer continuity is important for 'the devil you know is better than the devil you don't know'. By 1939 Bunyoro had achieved a remarkable recovery and had come to terms with the modern Uganda of which it was a part. The leadership given by the Mukama during this period of development was a significant factor in its success.

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[11]Ibid. pp. 90-91.
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CONSOLIDATION

DURING the second world war Uganda was not directly concerned with fighting the enemy. The policy of the Protectorate government was to reduce Uganda's reliance on the resources of the rest of the world by making the country as self-sufficient as possible and to use any surplus men, materials and produce to sustain the forces of the British Empire. As a result of this policy the progress of development in Bunyoro slackened, with the exception of tobacco production which was increased to supply the needs of East Africa since cured tobacco leaf was no longer imported in large quantities. Emphasis was placed on the growing of food crops and cotton production no longer received encouragement. The missions were restricted in their activities since materials were lacking with which to build churches and schools. Even after the war had ended it took some time for the civil service to build up to its former strength; a number of senior officers retired and it was a while before the new cadets and probationers began to know the country and for the people to become acquainted with them. In the late 1940s high prices on the world markets for primary produce began to have their effect and prosperity gradually returned to Bunyoro. The years from 1939 to 1949 were therefore, as far as Bunyoro was concerned, years of consolidation during which the Bunyoro Kingdom government, chiefs and people assimilated the developments initiated before the war and were thus better able to play their part in the economic and political innovations of the next decade when greater responsibility for their own destiny was thrust upon them.

In May 1939, the Mukama of Bunyoro volunteered for military service and made a formal offer of the services of his people for the defence of the British Empire.[1] Petero Bikunya who had been Katikiro since 1917 died in 1939. He was thought to have been a just and honourable man and the best Katikiro that Bunyoro has ever had.[2] He was succeeded by Petero Nyangabyaki who had been Sekibobo. Many Banyoro did not consider him sufficiently intelligent to cope with the duties and work expected of the Katikiro.[3] As a result he was not entirely satisfactory as Katikiro, lacking popularity and achieving little during his tenure of office.[4]

In 1940 Buhaguzi and Bugahya counties were amalgamated as Bugahya with headquarters at Kasingo.[5] The reason for this amalgamation was the de-population of many areas of south Bugahya.[6] Many people had sought refuge in the Kyangwali and Kisaru areas during the war against Kabarega. As the situation improved they left the heavily forested country for more

congenial areas. It was also felt to be an economy.[7] The war policy of self-sufficiency for Uganda was put into operation and increased tobacco production became of the greatest importance for Bunyoro. J. W. Purseglove, agricultural officer, was posted to Bunyoro in 1941 for this purpose.

Table XXIII

Bunyoro Tobacco Production 1940–1949

Year	*lb. cured leaf*
1940	1,277,185
1941	1,706,254
1942	3,209,187
1943	3,753,795
1944	1,439,108
1945	2,096,529
1946	1,688,145
1947	1,612,800
1948	2,470,000
1949	1,582,932[8]

The same year also saw the arrival of the Polish refugees, consisting of a few old people, many women and children, at Nyabyeya forestry school which was converted into a camp for them.[9] Eventually the camp contained about 4,000 adults and children, and fruit, vegetables and eggs from Bunyoro found a good market.[10] The Agricultural department encouraged the planting of sweet bananas, *barwokole*, for sale to the refugees but the Banyoro soon found that they could also be used for beer-making with the added advantage that banana gardens of this type did not require so much maintenance as those of the traditional beer bananas.

The large number of Polish women accommodated at the camp created considerable interest outside and amusing tales have been told by people who lived in Bunyoro at the time of how the younger women were smuggled in and out of the camp in the boots of motor cars.

In 1942 Ramji Ladha Dalal bought the interests in Bunyoro, with the exception of the Bujenje estate, of the Hoima Cotton Co. Ltd. and formed a company called Hoima Ginners, Ltd. to run Masindi, Hoima and Masindi Port ginneries. The company owned Munteme ginnery, which remained unworked, and continued to lease Kinyala ginnery, which also did not work, in order to have a monopoly of cotton buying in Bunyoro. A separate company Uganda Sisal Estates, Ltd. was formed to run the Masindi Port sisal estate.[11]

The Banyoro had not forgotten the 'Lost Counties' and in 1943 the Mukama petitioned the Secretary of State for the Colonies for their return. The reply to this and subsequent petitions in 1945, 1948, 1949 and 1954 and to representations made by the Mubende-Banyoro Committee in 1951, 1953 and 1955 was invariably that the Secretary of State could not alter a

decision which had been re-affirmed on many occasions and that the boundaries laid down in the 1900 Buganda Agreement could not be changed in favour of Bunyoro.[12]

Table XXIV

Bunyoro Cotton Acreage and Production 1940–1949

Year	*Acreage*	*Tons raw cotton*
1940	18,797	3,824
1941	13,504	1,709
1942	3,120	235
1943	16,065	1,061
1944	15,323	1,660
1945	18,825	2,305
1946	12,609	1,838
1947	19,950	1,883
1948	27,376	3,353
1949	22,380	4,177[13]

In 1944 estates in Bunyoro were held on the following terms:

Table XXV

Estates 1944

Owned by	*Freehold*	*Leasehold*	*Total*
Europeans	9,335	1,757	11,092
Asians	1,830	10,000	11,830
Africans	1,528	3	1,531
	12,693	11,760	24,453

(figures in acres)

This analysis excludes the Church Missionary Society estate of Kiryanga and all land allocated to missions for churches, schools and use by their staff.[14]

In 1945 the enlarged Bugahya county was once again separated into Bugahya and Buhaguzi counties.[15] The Bunyoro Kingdom government had not been happy about the amalgamation and desired to increase the number of counties for reasons of prestige *vis-à-vis* the other kingdoms and districts. The Mukama also favoured the idea since he obtained the services of an additional county chief.[16] The separation did not last long because in 1949 they were once again amalgamated for reasons of economy.[17] In December Petero Nyangabyaki, Katikiro of Bunyoro, was nominated to the Legislative Council. Jemusi Miti, a Muganda who had been Kaigo for many years and then had retired, was implicated in the 1945 Bataka riots in Buganda.

Between 1946 and 1948 Father Lord started to build the large church at Bujumbura, dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes, to replace the old church of sun-dried bricks.

In 1947 Balamu J. Mukasa was appointed Katikiro. His father was a Muganda and his mother was a Munyoro. He had been brought up in Bunyoro and graduated with a degree in the United States of America. He married a daughter of the Mukama. He was regarded as being intelligent, popular and progressive. His ideas were good but were too advanced for the time. He despised such traditional beliefs as witchcraft which still meant much to those people who were not sincere Christians.[18] The Mukama found it difficult to co-operate with him.

Table XXVI

Bunyoro African Agriculture 1947

Cotton	19,950 acres
Groundnuts	2,955
Maize	9,413
Simsim	9,792
Tobacco	4,754
Beans	6,872
Cassava	17,200
Finger millet	26,674
Sweet potatoes	21,552
	119,162[19]

In 1948 the Northern and Western provinces ceased to be amalgamated and Masindi became headquarters of the Western province which consisted of Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole and Kigezi.[20] The headquarters of the Northern province was established at Gulu. A post in the Bunyoro Kingdom government of Assistant to the Katikiro, held by Yusuf Tibamwenda, a former senior medical assistant, was created to relieve the Katikiro of some of the burden of administrative work. He was junior to the county chiefs and after a few years the post lapsed.[21]

Throughout the period the district administration had been under-staffed and though by 1949 matters were improving many of the officers were still inexperienced. Before the war it was the practice to have a senior assistant district commissioner at Masindi and a junior assistant district commissioner at Hoima. This allowed the district commissioner time to think about and to deal unhurriedly with major problems of political importance *vis-à-vis* the Bunyoro Kingdom government. The posting of cadets to Bunyoro made their training on tour by the district commissioner impossible as he was often confined to district headquarters by his magisterial duties and accountancy responsibilities. Thus the cadets had to learn as they went along.

Relations with the Bunyoro Kingdom government remained cordial during 1949 and co-operation with the work and ideals of the Protectorate government was loyally given by the Mukama and his government. It seems

that during this period of consolidation the partnership between the Mukama and the district commissioner no longer existed as it had done in the previous decade. The district commissioners often ignored the wishes of the Mukama and the Bunyoro Kingdom government and so had a greater influence on events in Bunyoro. In spite of this, full support was given to the Protectorate government when disturbances occurred in Buganda in April and May and little welcome was extended to Baganda chiefs who deserted their posts and sought, or attempted to seek, refuge in Bunyoro. Loyalty to the Mukama and through him to the Protectorate government was still the great political factor in Bunyoro. The Mukama and the Katikiro, Balamu Mukasa, became keenly interested in the development of education and the education tax was increased to Shs. 6/- in 1949 and to Shs. 10/- in 1956.

By this time the effects of a Labour government in the United Kingdom and the influence of the United States of America on the non-communist world were beginning to be felt. All the paraphernalia of democracy were to be the panacea for the peoples of Africa. As a result in Bunyoro a new Rukurato was constituted under the African Local Governments Ordinance and replaced the old Rukurato. Though still somewhat archaic in its constitution it embodied some democratic features and was definitely accepted as the Rukurato, being called by that name. The lower councils did not achieve any standing in local politics. The hierarchy of chiefs still held complete sway though some of the more progressive chiefs made efforts to make the lower councils act in an advisory capacity. The district commissioner, M. J. Bessell, thought that the lower councils ought to have been given some actual responsibility if they were to secure their footing. Bessell was known by the Banyoro as '*Enjojo*' the elephant. He was popular, though he did not court popularity, and he always said exactly what he thought. The Banyoro like people who are honest and tell the truth. He was active, at times impatient, but genuine, and he was deeply interested in the development of the country.[22]

Signs of conflict between the Protectorate government and the Bunyoro Kingdom government were beginning to emerge over the interpretation of the *kibanja* system of land tenure. The district commissioner saw what he called land grabbing for the future. Certificates of occupancy had been issued for land which was unused and unoccupied. Since 1933, 5,037 certificates had been issued, of these 78 people held two certificates each, five people held three each and two people held four each. The Banyoro regarded the certificates—the registration fee for which was only Shs. 5/- no matter the extent of the land—as titles to land held in freehold but devoid of the right to rent. Pending discussion by the Rukurato of the whole question the issue of certificates of occupancy was stopped. No agreement was reached between the Protectorate government and the Bunyoro Kingdom government.[23] In spite of the ban the *kibanja* system continued by the registration of the land, payment of the Shs. 5/- fee, and the receipt for

the fee was regarded as evidence of ownership instead of the certificate of occupancy.[24]

The dry weather during the first six months of the year depleted the food supplies. Fortunately there was no danger of famine and no personal hardship. In order to bring home to the people the seriousness of the situation a ban was placed on the brewing of beer from 20 June to 19 December. No women were allowed to go to the cotton growing areas on the Lake Albert escarpment. They were to stay at home and to plant food crops.

After the war more encouragement had been given to cotton growing in Bunyoro by the Agricultural department due to high prices on the world markets. This led to neglect of food plots, especially banana gardens. The 1948/49 crop was planted with B.P. 52 seed and amounted to 5,051 bales. In 1948 Kyangwali sub-county was used as a segregated area for the multiplication of the B.C. 66 variety but it was badly attacked by blackarm, *Bacterium malvacearum,* stainers, *Dysdercus* spp., and lygus, *Lygus* spp. As a result there was considerable reluctance to plant this variety in 1949 at Biseruka and Kabale. The rest of Bunyoro received fresh supplies of B.P. 52 seed from Rhino Camp ginnery in West Nile. Planting was later than usual but due to efforts to enforce the uprooting and burning of the previous crop the 1949 crop was not attacked by stainers and bollworm (*Lepidoptera*).

Increased production was the policy for fire-cured tobacco but adverse weather, the risk of fire in the curing barns and high prices for cotton made this policy difficult to implement. 977,967 lb. Grade I and 604,963 lb. Grade II leaf were bought. Little interest was shown in robusta coffee, only 2½ tons were sold and only 300 seedlings were distributed.

Many of the British had sold their interests in estates after the war to Asians and in 1949 many of these fared badly. Rubber fetched Sh. 1/- a lb. and the market for most other produce was falling or uncertain. This was the reason why the European estate owners sold but the Asians were not interested in buying land for agricultural production but for investment since at that time it was difficult to transfer money out of Uganda.[25]

For the first time a fisheries officer was posted to Lake Albert to assist in the development of the fishing.

The forestry school at Nyabyeya ran on normal lines for the first time since the war.[20]

By the end of 1949 Bunyoro was beginning to emerge from the enforced stagnation of the war and immediate post-war years. Though little new had been achieved during this time a generation of Banyoro had gained experience in the Protectorate government, the Bunyoro Kingdom government or as teachers and were thus able to be the leaders of the economic, and later political, surge forward that occurred in the 1950s.

References

[1]Ingham (1958). op. cit., p. 193.
[2]Father Miller, personal communication.

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[4]A. N. W. Kamese, personal communication.
[5]General Notice No. 199 of 1940. Uganda Gazette. op. cit.
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[7]The Ven. P. B. Ridsdale, personal communication.
[8]Annual Reports Agricultural Department 1940-1949. Entebbe: Government Printer.
[9]Ingham (1958). op. cit., p. 216.
[10]Father George Lefaivre, personal communication.
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[12]Molson Report. op. cit., p. 5.
[13]Annual Reports Agricultural Department 1940-1949. op. cit.
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[15]General Notice No. 120 of 1945. Uganda Gazette. op. cit.
[16]Father Lord, personal communication.
[17]J. W. Nyakatura, personal communication.
[18]Father Lord, personal communication.
[19]W. A. Kneale, agricultural officer, Bunyoro, personal communication. Perennial crops have been excluded from this Table.
[20]Ingham (1958). op. cit., p. 194.
[21]General Notice No. 180 of 1948. Uganda Gazette. op. cit.
[22]Father Lord, personal communication.
Father Miller, personal communication.
[23]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1949. District Commissioner's Office, Fort Portal.
[24]J. C. Rujumba, land officer, Bunyoro Kingdom government, personal communication.
[25]Father Lord, personal communication.
[26]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1949. op. cit.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

THE great strides which were made in economic development in the years from 1950 to 1955 were the result of favourable prices on the world market, initially brought about by the Korean war, for Uganda's main export crops, cotton and coffee. The stimulus given to the economy made itself felt even in Bunyoro where the quantities of cotton and coffee grown were small compared with many other districts. Considerable expansion was possible because Bunyoro had great agricultural potentialities; much fertile virgin land and favourable rainfall. Since the population was small, cotton, tobacco and coffee production slowly but steadily increased. The resultant wealth was divided among fewer people than elsewhere, consequently prosperity became more evident.

The Protectorate government started several large-scale development projects, following the fashion of the times, and in Bunyoro at Kigumba the Bunyoro Agricultural Co. Ltd. was started. The scheme was never able to overcome the disadvantage of being sited in one of the less fertile and under populated parts of the district.

Probably the most significant development in the five years was the rapid growth of the co-operative movement in Bunyoro which was strongly supported by many civil servants, often to its detriment because officials and members of co-operative societies felt that all they needed to do was to cry for help instead of making a genuine effort to help themselves. The lack of a struggle to overcome adversity prevented the growth of a spirit of co-operation, business acumen and *esprit de corps* amongst members, who were prone to consider themselves superior to the ordinary people and under no obligation to comply with the rules and regulations devised by the Protectorate government to ensure reasonable standards of grade and quality for the major cash crops. Group farming assisted by a tractor hire service run by the Agricultural department was another aspect of the movement which showed initial promise.

The Community Development department gave practical demonstrations of spring protection, bridge building, latrine digging, house improvement and building, and it was hoped that these would inculcate into the Banyoro the spirit of self-help and so make them take a more vigorous part in the improvement of their country. Much of the assistance given failed to make an impression and probably the most valuable work done was amongst the women who were encouraged to form clubs where they learnt better ways of looking after their homes and families.

Attempts were made to combat the menace of the encroaching tsetse fly and it was hoped that in due course cattle could return to a large area of south-east Bunyoro. Eradication of the tsetse fly by the shooting of game and by the selective clearing of bush was successful but the difficulty in a country where there was no pressure of population on the land was to settle the consolidation lines and thus prevent the fly returning.

The machinery of the Bunyoro Kingdom government had to adapt itself to the new tempo and stresses that were placed upon it. Leaving aside mineral wealth, Bunyoro was the biggest revenue earner, from the point of view of the Protectorate government, of all the four districts in the Western province. Rough estimates have been made of the main sums coming into the district in actual cash from outside.

Table XXVII

Bunyoro Geographical Income 1953–1955

Year	*1953*	*1954*	*1955*
Cotton	£222,000	£305,223	£282,579
Tobacco	71,400	61,650	90,059
Fish	62,500	58,700	62,450
Wages	50,000	100,000	160,000
	403,900	525,573	595,088[1]

It must be remembered that for every lb. of fire-cured tobacco leaf sold the Protectorate government gained an excise duty of Shs. 11/- a lb. In addition 20 per cent. of the value of cotton and coffee exported was taken in export duty. These facts came as a shock to many who thought only of the small population and the seemingly lethargic character of the Banyoro but there was no reason why Bunyoro might not be restored to her former position of influence in the area of the western lakes of Uganda. Thus the emphasis was on economic development rather than on political development which was to the good. The district commissioner, C. R. G. Amory, thought that when there was a substantial surplus to the credit of the Bunyoro Kingdom government then there would be more vocal demands for a say in the disbursement of these funds than there had been on the part of the Banyoro. He thought that prosperity from agricultural development was possible and that with increased prosperity so the Bunyoro Kingdom government would acquire new strength and purpose.[2] This in fact occurred when the new Bunyoro Agreement was signed in 1955. The Banyoro found Amory a hard worker but stiff in manner and more anxious to command than to co-operate.[3]

Throughout the period food supplies were adequate and famine reserves of cassava, sweet potatoes and finger millet were established as a result of the efforts of the Agricultural department and the chiefs. Cotton proved to be a more popular crop to grow than tobacco because the cash return

in relation to the amount of work required was better for cotton. In 1952 compensation for hail damage ceased to be paid and the sum of money set aside for this purpose was included in the price paid to the growers, but this they could not understand and many abandoned tobacco cultivation. In 1955 prices were increased to stimulate further production. The new prices made it impossible for exporters to sell abroad and the whole crop was bought for manufacture within East Africa.

Table XXVIII

Bunyoro Tobacco Production 1950-1955

Year	*lb. cured leaf*
1950	1,928,010
1951	1,229,167
1952	1,520,400
1953	2,126,983
1954	1,664,070
1955	1,930,880[4]

The East African Tobacco Co. Ltd. who since the war had become the main buyer of fire-cured leaf made strenuous efforts to encourage tobacco production for use in their East African factories and for several years one of their staff, J. Lyne Watt, assisted by tobacco instructors paid by the company, resided in Bunyoro and worked closely with the Agricultural department's field staff.

The cotton ginneries were leased by Hoima Ginners, Ltd. to Iki-Iki Cotton Co. Ltd. This was unfortunate because the latter company had no real interest in the long-term development of cotton production in Bunyoro and as soon as the cotton season was over removed its manager and staff to Tanganyika to buy the crop there. Kinyala ginnery which had been silent for many years opened for the 1954/55 season and brought an element of competition which was of benefit to the growers. A cotton seed dressing station was built at Hoima in 1954. The dressing of cotton seed with perecot controlled blackarm disease. New ginneries at Masindi and Hoima were under construction.[5]

Table XXIX

Bunyoro Cotton Acreage and Production 1950–1955

Year	*Acreage*	*tons raw cotton*
1950	31,340	4,553
1951	30,833	3,974
1952	24,972	4,140
1953	25,277	5,528
1954	30,325	4,341
1955	31,004	5,337[6]

The Banyoro having failed to plant robusta coffee in the previous decade did not benefit from the boom in robusta coffee prices that contributed so much to the wealth of Buganda. A steady increase in the production of robusta kiboko was evident but much coffee was bought illegally by the Indian estates and sold as estate coffee so was not included in the official buying returns.

Table XXX

Bunyoro Coffee Production 1950–1955

Year	*tons robusta kiboko*
1950	24
1951	13
1952	13
1953	71
1954	71
1955	126[7]

In 1950 D. N. Stafford sold Dwoli and Bugomolo estates to Masindi Estates, Ltd., an Asian firm. Stafford was one of the first planters to buy, re-handle, condition and pack fire-cured tobacco for export and for some years he had operated a carpet factory at Dwoli. Rubber prices had risen to Shs. 4/- a lb. and tapping started on many estates that had ceased production when prices were low. The price of papain also recovered and many acres of paw paws were planted on the estates. The high guaranteed price prevailing during the year led to the buying from the Banyoro of African grown coffee which was resold at a profit as non-African grown coffee.[8] By 1952 the estates, almost entirely Asian owned, were concentrating on growing paw paws, coffee, chillies and rubber, and sisal at Masindi Port. The output was on a reduced scale due to climatic conditions, fluctuating world prices and labour shortages.[9] No great changes occurred in the next three years except the sisal estate at Masindi Port was sold to Nile Sisal Estate, Ltd. in 1955.[10]

The Bunyoro Agricultural Co. Ltd. was formed to develop a large area of land at Kigumba in Kibanda county by means of mechanized agriculture. The shareholders were the Protectorate government, the Bunyoro Kingdom government, Steel Brothers, Ltd. and A. Baumann & Co. Ltd. The land was to be leased from the Bunyoro Kingdom government; their contribution to the capital structure of the company being the land. The capital expenditure was to be incurred by the Protectorate government and the two private enterprise companies. A. D. Llewellyn-Jones, who came from the groundnuts scheme in Tanganyika, was manager with D. Del Fante as building overseer.[11] The lease and the agreement of the company was misunderstood by the Banyoro who were suspicious of non-Africans using land which was popularly but erroneously thought to be Bunyoro-Kitara land.[12] The problem of security was the underlying motive behind the attitude of Africans towards their land. No alternative source of security in the event

of unemployment, illness or old age existed, therefore any idea of alteration in the traditional system of land tenure was strenuously opposed lest the rights to the area needed to maintain their families be lost.[13] Much of the land leased had been the traditional grazing grounds of the herds of Bunyoro-Kitara before the rinderpest epidemic and the warfare of the 1890s had killed or dispersed the cattle. The area was remarkable in being naturally tick-free but the absence of stock led to bush growth and encroachment by tsetse fly.

By 1952 solid progress had been made in the mechanical clearing of the land.[14] In the following year 790 acres had been planted to crops and a further 400 acres cleared. The lease was finally signed in August. At Kigumba the game guard employed by the company wounded a lioness which was stalking him; he and the manager then followed the wounded animal which charged the game guard, knocking him down and embedding her teeth in his thigh. Nothing daunted he retaliated by plunging his few remaining teeth into the lioness' side, tearing away a piece of skin. The manager then shot the lioness and the game guard made a good recovery.[15]

In 1954 the company started to settle tenant farmers on the land leased to it.[16] By the next year 66 tenants had been installed on the cleared land and direct farming by the company was curtailed.[17] It proved difficult to attract Banyoro to the scheme because ample unused land which was more fertile and in more desirable areas of Bunyoro was available. The company undertook the mechanical cultivations for the tenants who then had to sell their crops to the company and received payment after the cultivation costs had been deducted. This system failed because the tenants sold their crops through the normal marketing channels and the company was unable to obtain payment. The company also had difficulties in direct farming. Some of the more valuable crops like flue-cured tobacco failed to do as well as had been expected and the less valuable crops like cotton, finger millet and maize which grew well could not pay their way with employed labour and high overhead expenses.

Under the aegis of the Agricultural department, particularly P. S. Cooper, agricultural officer, and A. N. W. Kamese, assistant agricultural officer, the formation of primary producer societies and groups of growers made steady progress in 1950. The idea of co-operation was good; the leaders were sincere and enthusiastic; but in practice it did not work out so well because some self-seekers joined the movement for their own interests. The increase in the popularity of co-operative societies resulted in an increase in the volume of work falling on the Agricultural department which was not able to give the movement all the attention that was necessary. The embryo societies were beginning to acquire a reputation akin to that of a trades union threatening other growers who preferred to sell their cotton in the ordinary way.[18] The Co-operative department then undertook the supervision of the co-operative movement. In the following year ten co-operative societies were registered mainly to market the primary produce of members. The growth of groups of growers who farmed communally

was also encouraging.[19] But in spite of the activity and the enthusiasm, lack of staff made supervision difficult. A commission of 75 cents a 100 lb. *safi*, clean raw cotton, and 50 cents a 100 lb. *fifi*, stained raw cotton, was negotiated with the ginners by the recently established Bunyoro Co-operative Union. The societies claimed that they collected a better grade of cotton than was normally bought at cotton markets in Bunyoro and by having it stored in bulk the ginner who bought it was saved time and trouble. On the other hand the grade of cotton was sometimes worse than it was at cotton markets and because it was already packed inspection was made more difficult. Many societies built their stores of mud-and-wattle with earth floors, and though sheltered from the rain by a corrugated iron roof, earth staining and termites did damage. In time the more efficient societies plastered the walls with cement and made cement floors. Many stores were far from recognized roads, making the collection of cotton difficult if rain fell, and this engendered many disputes between the societies and the ginners.

Unfortunately many civil servants unhesitatingly backed the societies on any issue, largely because of prejudice against the Asian cotton buyer. In the past Africans were probably cheated by Asians at cotton markets but by the 1950s the Africans were just as smart as the Asians. The marketing societies handled 6.5 per cent. of the total cotton crop in 1951 and 14 per cent. in 1952 and 8.8 per cent. of the total tobacco crop in 1951 and 15 per cent. in 1952. In the latter year 12 co-operative farming societies were in operation at varying levels of efficiency.[20] The groups of farmers cleared and stumped their land and then hired a tractor from the Agricultural department's mechanical cultivation unit based on Masindi for the first and second ploughings. It was hoped that if, for example, the group comprised six men, then six acres would be opened the first year, six the second year and so on, so that eventually 36 acres would be opened and could be in rotation, 18 acres under crops and 18 acres resting.

At first all the planting, weeding and harvesting was done communally but it was soon found that not all members did their share of the work. Two expedients were tried to overcome this, either an attendance register was kept but even then those who came did not always work, or the area was divided after ploughing between members who were responsible as individuals for the cultivation and harvesting of the crops but sold them co-operatively. The initial enthusiasm waned and the farming societies failed to survive after three or four years of existence, largely because the Munyoro is an individualist. The Agricultural department was partly responsible through posting elsewhere J. McCumiskey, the field officer in charge of the tractor hire unit. McCumiskey knew the job, the people and the tractors.[21] In spite of the assistance given by mechanization it was disappointing that the area cultivated by members of farming societies hardly amounted to more than an acre a member, and an ordinary peasant with a hand hoe often cultivated more than this.

In 1953 a tobacco bonus of 75 cents a 100 lb. Grade I was negotiated but several farming societies who were curing their tobacco leaf in communal barns lost it all by fire.[22] In 1954 about one-sixth of the Bunyoro cotton crop was marketed through societies but many were slow to grade and prepare their cotton for sale with the result that they failed to attract new members or that existing members sold part of their crop in the ordinary way to obtain money quickly. In spite of these difficulties the number of registered societies increased from 27 to 41 and 63 unregistered societies, including 20 farming groups, made progress towards registration. The Bunyoro Growers Co-operative Union, Ltd. received its certificate of registration early in the year and member societies marketed cotton, tobacco and maize to a total value of over £62,500. The movement gained fresh impetus when A. N. W. Kamese, who had transferred from the Agricultural department to the Co-operative department, returned as co-operative officer, Bunyoro, after a course in the United Kingdom.[23]

In 1955 the number of registered societies increased from 41 to 54 and of unregistered societies from 63 to 92, including 36 marketing societies. The Bunyoro Growers Co-operative Union, Ltd. marketed cotton, tobacco, maize, simsim and coffee to a value of some £84,500. The marketing societies benefited from the re-opening of Kinyala ginnery because competition made the ginners offer better transport facilities. Four farming groups were registered and nineteen were unregistered. All continued to make slow progress availing themselves of mechanical cultivation facilities.[24]

The real impetus of the co-operative movement in Bunyoro was the desire to acquire a ginnery and many Banyoro willingly sold their produce through societies in spite of delays in payment or of under-payment and of a considerable reduction in any profits that might have accrued, in order to achieve it. The ordinary members of the co-operative movement deserved much credit for their efforts in spite of the inefficiency, dishonesty and greed of a few of their elected officials. The trouble was that the movement grew too fast and efficient and honest men did not exist in sufficiently large numbers to undertake the running of the numerous primary marketing societies.

By 1952 the Community Development department had been established by the Protectorate government to propagate the spirit of communal self-help. In Bunyoro this resulted in considerable activity when it was realized that assistance, usually in materials, was forthcoming from the Community Development department. Demonstration teams toured parts of Bunyoro to establish men's and women's clubs, to give a lead in building roads, bridging swamps and protecting springs.[25] The members of the department suffered from having no professional or technical training and from having joined it from a variety of motives, so that friction was frequent between them and the staff of the older established departments and the missions, whose work was often re-duplicated or copied.

In 1954 one of the first batch of graduates from Makerere College, Z. Bigirwenkya, a Munyoro, was appointed community development officer,

Bunyoro. The emphasis was placed on campaigns to improve rural health and hygiene. Two county shows and a district sports meeting were organized but already the lack of a real spirit of self-help was evident.[26] Like co-operation, community development was a good idea in theory but poor in practice. Certain abuses crept into the system and in some places voluntary labour became forced labour.[27]

In 1950 the first steps were taken in the reclamation of south-east Bunyoro from the tsetse fly. A stretch of the bank of the Nile was cleared between Kibangya and Masindi Port.[28] The object was ultimately to rid the area between the Rivers Nile and Kafu, to the east; the Hoima—Kampala road, to the south; the Hoima—Masindi—Kiryandongo road, to the west; and the Kiryandongo, later to be changed to Kigumba—River Nile track, to the north. Staff were posted to Masindi where workshops were built. Thicket clearance continued between the River Kafu and Masindi Port and hunting to kill game which were hosts of the trypanosome was undertaken from Kibangya and Kijunjubwa. It was hoped eventually to re-introduce cattle on a large scale.[29] By 1954 it was believed that tsetse fly and game had been eliminated from the area[30] and a scheme to establish a cattle ranch was prepared, later to be known as the Bunyoro Ranching Co. Ltd.

Good relations continued to exist between the Protectorate government and the Bunyoro Kingdom government. One of the most serious obstacles to efficient administration in the latter which was to become more and more evident as the years went by was the *Musigire*, deputy, problem. Many of the key-posts were occupied by caretakers while the senior officials and chiefs had other work, mainly on committees, which took them away from their normal duties for days, even weeks, at a time.[31] The trouble was that the Bunyoro Kingdom government had only a few men of sufficiently high calibre to undertake all the multifarious tasks thrust upon it by the Protectorate government.

In 1952 Balamu Mukasa, the Katikiro, was transferred to the Uganda Development Corporation and made a member of Executive Council. This deprived Bunyoro of a man of wide experience and knowledge of affairs. Martin Mukidi, previously the senior county chief Mukwenda, became Katikiro. E. Muchwa, Sekibobo, replaced him as Mukwenda. The post of Muramuzi, chief judge, was approved on 1 February and was held by J. W. Nyakatura until his retirement in December after 25 years' service with the Bunyoro Kingdom government; eleven of them as a county chief.[32] He was succeeded by L. M. Muganwa. J. K. Mugungu was made county chief, Sekibobo. The life of the Rukurato, standing committee and finance committee came to its statutory end in October. Most of the Mukama's nominated and *ex officio* councillors who had been members of the old Rukurato were present on the new Rukurato but amongst the people's representatives an almost complete turnover occurred resulting in lack of men of experience and probity.[33]

The pressing need for the closer administration of Biseruka, Kabale,

Tonya and Kaiso was recognized and a new sub-county was established the following year with headquarters at Biseruka.

The Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen, visited Bunyoro in August 1953, and had an important discussion with the Mukama on the future constitutional development of Bunyoro in the light of the recommendations of the Wallis Report.[34] Wallis found that all the standing committees in the different districts of Uganda wished to reach the status of a native state. Their object was to achieve a constitution like that of Buganda as soon as possible and they believed that they would eventually supplant the Protectorate government as the government of the district in nearly all affairs. It seemed to them that this was the logical development of past administrative policy. Certainly there was scarcely any feeling amongst Africans for Uganda as a unified country with a sense of common interest and common purpose. Wallis thought that a federation of native states, ranging in size from Buganda to Bunyoro, would not only be unworkable but quite inappropriate for a country as small and compact as Uganda.[35] The Protectorate government fully endorsed the view put forward by Wallis that the future of Uganda must lie in a unitary form of central government on parliamentary lines covering the whole country with the component parts of the country developing within it according to their own special characteristics, and where they existed, according to the Agreements. In this the Protectorate government had the full support of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.[36] The Bunyoro Rukurato were broadly in agreement with the Wallis recommendations as modified by the Protectorate government memorandum. Arrangements were made to introduce graduated taxation in 1954.[37] Of 29,688 taxpayers only 4,634 were assessed above the standard rate and of these only 128 at the highest rate. The parish councils obviously assessed taxpayers warily. To shortage of meat many a Munyoro, particularly at tax assessment or exemption time, attributes that well-known Kinyoro illness *Amani gaha*, 'lack of strength'.

Professor Sir Keith Hancock visited Hoima in August 1954, and held discussions on the future constitutional development of Bunyoro with the Mukama and a specially appointed committee of the Rukurato based on the amendment of the 1933 Bunyoro Agreement. The general purpose of the amendments was to re-define in the light of current conditions the relationships which existed between the Protectorate government, the Mukama, the Rukurato and the people of Bunyoro-Kitara, and to ensure that the Rukurato had adequate executive powers to exercise the functions which it was intended to delegate to it. The discussions were inevitably prolonged and the Governor visited Bunyoro in October and December to take part in them.[38] The district commissioner, K. P. Gower, deserved much credit for the patience which he exercised during the discussions and in the preparation of the final draft for signature in spite of much suspicion of the Protectorate government's motives on the part of the Banyoro representatives.[39] The Mukama was remarkably broad-minded and once remarked: 'With the new Agreement I am not the Mukama but it is good for the young

people to gain experience.'[40] It was regrettable that the Mukama did not receive the support of his chiefs at this time. The Mukama was knighted in June 1955.

On 3 September 1955, occurred the signing of the 1955 Bunyoro Agreement which replaced the original Agreement signed in 1933. The 1955 Bunyoro Agreement was signed by:

Sir A. B. Cohen, K.C.M.G., Governor,
Sir T. G. Winyi IV, Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara,
R. Dreschfield, Attorney-General,
L. M. Boyd, Secretary for African Affairs,
Sir G. E. Duntze, Bt., Provincial Commissioner, Western Province,
K. P. Gower, District Commissioner, Bunyoro,
M. D. Martin, Katikiro,
Laurenti Muganwa, Omuramuzi,
E. N. Kabianga, Omuketo,
E. R. Muchwa, Mukwenda, Bugahya,
S. K. Kaijamurubi,
K. B. M. Yosani,
I. K. Majugo,
Aberi K. Balya, Assistant Bishop,
Fr. X. Lacoursière, Bishop of Mbarara.[41]

At the signing of the Agreement the Mukama made a formal public statement reserving the claims of Bunyoro to the 'Lost Counties'.[42] It represented the culmination of discussions which had been in progress for a full year and it opened the door to further political and constitutional development in Bunyoro to lead eventually to a full democratic system of direct elections for members of the Rukurato and the Legislative Council.[43] The 1955 Bunyoro Agreement was essentially between the Governor whose advice was normally communicated through the district commissioner, Bunyoro, and the Mukama, with the advice and consent of the Rukurato. In effect Bunyoro was ruled by the district commissioner and the Katikiro as the elected head of the Rukurato.

The Rukurato would, for and on behalf of the Mukama, carry on the government of the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. The Katikiro would be elected by the Rukurato and would be appointed by the Mukama subject to the approval of the Governor. The other ministers, executive officers, county and sub-county chiefs would be appointed by the Mukama in conformity with the advice of the appointments committee whose advice would be subject to the approval of the Governor. Parish chiefs would be appointed by the Mukama in conformity with the advice of an appointments committee of the county council of the county in which a vacancy existed. Estimates would be submitted by the Rukurato. A substantial part of the mineral royalties and revenue from mining leases would be paid to the Bunyoro Kingdom government.

As a result the prerogatives of the Mukama were considerably curtailed and were replaced by those of the Rukurato, which had 74 members, 52

being elected. The Mukama became, in effect, a constitutional monarch on the Westminster pattern. Chiefs were no longer chosen by him but by an appointments committee and minor chiefs were chosen by other locally elected bodies.

The 1955 Bunyoro Agreement was responsible for renewed interest in the 'Lost Counties'. For many years attempts had been made from time to time to persuade the British government to re-consider the status of the 'Lost Counties'. The Banyoro were told repeatedly that the issue could not be re-opened but it became a fruitful topic of conversation as a result of the constitutional discussions. By the end of 1955 the Rukurato and a special committee were considering plans for sending a delegation to the United Kingdom and were arranging to collect a public subscription for the purpose despite the Governor's clear advice that such a course would serve no useful function.[44]

The uncompromising, unconstitutional and unco-operative methods used by the Baganda to secure the return of the Kabaka and an Agreement more favourable to their interests had shown that the British government's word could no longer be relied upon. The Banyoro were encouraged by this, but being in behaviour more reasonable, more loyal, more mature, more stable and less emotional than the Baganda they were never sufficiently ruthless to cause the amount of trouble that would have gained them their 'Lost Counties'. It is unfortunate that in the modern world co-operation, good sense and loyalty are not rewarded.

Quite an interesting episode occurred in Bunyoro in 1950 which illustrated how powerless the authorities were in the enforcement of law and order if they could not obtain the support of the mass of the people. A game guard came across an ex-game guard, Mulisi Alideki, who had been wanted by the police for a long time for the illegal possession of a .303 rifle. Mulisi Alideki shot the game guard dead, placed the body in a grass hut and set fire to it. He swore to shoot on sight anyone who attempted to arrest him. The Police Service Unit was summoned and operated in the area for three weeks in an endeavour to capture him but were unsuccessful. Posters were distributed offering a large reward for information leading to his capture.[45] These had little effect because in the following year Mulisi Alideki was still at large and narrowly escaped capture after a night raid on a house which he was temporarily occupying.[46] His eventual arrest and sentencing to death occurred in 1952. After propaganda and exhortation by the Mukama and the Katikiro public opinion was gradually brought round to the side of law and order, perhaps from motives of self-interest.[47]

Mulisi Alideki escaped arrest for so long because he was exceptionally cunning in field craft and had many friends. It was said that he was assisted by a man who had married his daughter and was induced through the spirit possession cult not to give him away. Certainly many Banyoro attributed his escape to the use of magic. The ordinary people did not know where he was hidden nor how he was assisted.[48]

Bunyoro appeared in the public eye because the Romulus Film Company shot scenes for a film called *The African Queen* which starred Katherine Hepburn and Humphrey Bogart at the Murchison Falls and along the main Butiaba road. Scenes for *King Solomon's Mines* starring Deborah Kerr and Stewart Granger were also shot at the Murchison Falls. Deborah Kerr bathed in the small rock pool at the top of the falls. Ernest Hemingway achieved the distinction of surviving unscathed two aircraft crashes in a visit to Bunyoro lasting barely twenty-four hours!

Communications were improved. At the end of 1952 the new bridge over the River Kafu near Kibangya was opened giving Masindi and the Northern province a quicker route to Kampala. The road from Katesiha to Nyantonzi, originally started by Dauncey-Tongue, was extended to the main Masindi—Butiaba road.[49] In 1953 the Public Works department took responsibility for the Hoima—Biiso and the Kafu Bridge—Masindi roads. The former road was closed for a time because the Waki bridge collapsed. Messrs. Suleman Serwanga took over the Kampala—Hoima—Butiaba, Hoima—Masindi, Kampala—Nakasongola—Masindi bus routes from the Buganda Bus Co. whose licence was cancelled because of inefficiency. The Ba-Kitara Transport Co. operated the Masindi—Hoima—Fort Portal bus service.[50] The Biseruka—Kabale road, which opened up further areas of the Lake Albert escarpment for cotton growing, came into use in 1955.[51]

The Murchison Falls National Park was gazetted during 1952. It was hoped that it would bring tourists from the four corners of the world and with them new ideas and prosperity for Bunyoro.[52] Tracks were made and a permanent safari lodge was built at Paraa. The road from Masindi to Paraa was improved and was officially opened for traffic in November, 1955.

In 1953 the provincial headquarters Western province was moved from Masindi to Fort Portal; the last provincial officer, the provincial agricultural officer, R. P. Davidson, moving in November.[53] It was widely prophesied that Masindi would become a city of the dead but the increase in numbers of departmental officers who could not be accommodated at Hoima ensured that Masindi remained a viable entity for some time. Hoima was improved by the installation of a piped water supply in 1954. Previously water was provided by tanks to collect rain at each house or when this failed, by donkeys carrying water from the river.[54] More houses and a new office block, including a courtroom, were built in 1955.[55]

Whereas in the past the low fertility of the Banyoro had been most frequently ascribed to the presence of venereal disease, it was tentatively suggested that at least a part, perhaps even a major part, of the blame might be properly ascribed to malnutrition and to protein deficiency in particular.[56] Taboo debarred women from eating fish, eggs and poultry meat. It was estimated that 600 tons of game meat were distributed free by the Game department after 160 elephant, 290 buffalo and some smaller game had been shot on control duties. This represented 75 per cent. of the meat consumed in Bunyoro and if valued at Sh. 1/- a lb., was equivalent to £67,000.[57]

Unfortunately such game were normally shot on the periphery of the populated parts of Bunyoro where the population was sparse and the densely populated areas did not benefit.

Fish production was estimated at 3,000 tons. The introduction of new and improved gear, nylon and terylene gill nets, large seine nets made from cotton twine and outboard motors stimulated the fishing industry and much salted fish was exported to the Congo. Lack of proper communications between the fishing villages and the centres of population made it difficult to bring fish, especially fresh fish, inland for sale. Boat building classes started at Kabarega technical school in 1954.[58]

In 1953 the African Loans Fund was created to assist Africans in shopkeeping, the purchase of fishing equipment and the improvement of agriculture. Africans could obtain loans without normal security if their application was supported by the local committee of the African Loans Fund. The African Local government normally guaranteed half the amount of the loan. Unfortunately it was insufficiently realized at the time that such loans required most careful supervision to ensure that they were spent on the purposes for which they were granted. Most recipients regarded the loans as a gift from the Protectorate government which if unlucky they might be called upon to repay. Defaulters on loan repayments were many. Further assistance was given in 1955 by the Protectorate government for the advancement of Africans in trade. Shops were built to be rented in Hoima and Masindi but did not prove successful nor did a wholesale saleroom in Hoima.[59]

Great interest was shown in the early 1950s in education. Education tax at a flat rate of Shs. 6/- was collected on the same ticket as poll, and later graduated, tax. A five-year development plan for education was produced in 1954.[60] By this time many Africans had a deeply felt desire for their children to have formal education on the western pattern and sacrificed a high proportion of their incomes to pay school fees for their children. Their motives were an uncomprehending faith in the moral and material value of education and the knowledge that success in school enabled a child to obtain better paid employment especially in a white collar job. It was difficult to counter the belief that every child should be educated to the highest standard regardless of ability or interest, to overcome the shortage of places in senior schools and to make the children, even with a minimum of education, return to the land. This was partly pride and partly lack of reward from peasant agriculture compared with monthly employment; nevertheless a great attachment was felt by many Africans to their land and the majority in paid employment devoted part of their income to the maintenance and improvement of their holdings against the time of their retirement.[61]

In 1953 Bulindi, Native Anglican Church, later to be known as Church of Uganda, post primary farm school, was started to train boys to be practical farmers. The idea, like so many, was good but failed; the boys regarded their training as a means of entering government service and were

reluctant to return home to put into practice what they had learnt. Lack of capital made it difficult for them to start on their own account and experience of similar schemes in the Northern province indicated that loans were frequently abused.

Probably the most outstanding events of the period from 1950 to 1955 were the growth of the Co-operative Movement and the signing of the 1955 Bunyoro Agreement. The acceptance of the new Agreement was assisted by the ready participation of the Mukama, by a small lively group interested in the development of Bunyoro and by the indifference of many of the older men.[62] The new ideas engendered by the discussions on the new constitution and the prosperity resulting from higher prices for cotton, tobacco and coffee contributed to the advance in political development which was to be such a feature of the years 1956 to 1962 culminating in the grant of independence to Uganda. In this Bunyoro had a not insignificant part to play.

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[32]J. W. Nyakatura was the son of Kyomya, *njejeza,* courier to Kamurasi and Kabarega. Kyomya was present when Speke and Grant met the former and when Baker met the latter.

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

IN the years between 1956 and 1962 political activity increased in momentum as Uganda progressed towards independence. The implications were realized by the Banyoro and though the national political parties had many supporters in Bunyoro, their supporters' sentiments were tinged by the thought of the restoration of the 'Lost Counties' to Bunyoro. The 'Lost Counties' issue in many instances cut across those issues presented by the political parties in the wider context of Uganda. As far as Bunyoro was concerned the new 1955 Agreement gave the Rukurato greater responsibilities since certain services hitherto run by the Protectorate government were transferred to it. The Rukurato also desired to gain greater control over education. The Co-operative Union acquired Masindi ginnery. Cotton and tobacco production continued to increase. Nevertheless over the period the 'Lost Counties' issue overshadowed all others and the Banyoro vainly persisted in the hope that justice would be done only to have it thrust upon them that political expediency came first.

In January 1956, the Bunyoro-Kitara constitutional regulations were published and the Rukurato was declared a District Council under the District Administration (District Councils) Ordinance. This gave legal backing to the constitutional arrangements contained in the 1955 Bunyoro Agreement and opened the way for the transfer to the Bunyoro Kingdom government of some services hitherto operated by the Protectorate government. On 1 July Boreholes Maintenance and Primary Education were transferred and on 1 October Agriculture was transferred being styled Bunyoro Agricultural Services. Apart from the central forest reserves responsibility for forestry was also transferred to the Bunyoro Kingdom government. In nearly all cases the Protectorate government staff concerned chose to accept secondment to the service of the Bunyoro Kingdom government rather than to transfer. Apart from some minor financial difficulties the transfer of services proceeded smoothly[1] and worked satisfactorily. The main trouble was that seconded officers held divided loyalties, part to their Protectorate government department of origin and part to the Bunyoro Kingdom government. The Protectorate government departmental heads often did not appreciate this fact and the experiment was less of a success than it might have been because of unnecessary interference from Entebbe in Bunyoro affairs.

Arrangements were made for the election of fifty-two members to the new Rukurato. Twenty people were chosen in open meetings in each parish

and these parish nominees met at sub-county headquarters to elect their representatives in secret ballot. In March in a secret ballot of the full Rukurato Z. H. Kwebiha, senior assistant agricultural officer, was elected Katikiro. Once the approval of the Governor had been obtained he was appointed and installed by the Mukama.[2] Kwebiha had a long career in the Agricultural department, attending the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad from 1947 to 1948 and for two periods serving as district agricultural officer, Bunyoro. Being much liked and respected his appointment was acceptable to all shades of political opinion in Bunyoro. He resigned as Katikiro in September 1962, and was succeeded by M. T. Katuramu.

A Permanent Secretary to the Katikiro was appointed in 1956 and the first holder of the post was Simon Kyamanwa who was senior to the county chiefs and so head of the Bunyoro Kingdom government civil service.

Pre-occupation with the 'Lost Counties' precluded any real study by the Rukurato of the land tenure proposals which the Protectorate government wished to introduce and similarly little thought was given to direct elections for members of Legislative Council. The Rukurato were not interested in the improvement of the services for which they were responsible except for education over which they desired more control than they had at the expense of the school owners. Little or no improvement was shown in accounting by the Muketo and his staff mainly through lack of interest, and tax assessment was poorly carried out by the sub-county councils and chiefs.[3]

In 1957 the Rukurato met eight times including some meetings for special purposes. The 'Lost Counties' policy was discussed. The new Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, was met. Direct elections were considered and the principle was accepted. The education by-law was amended to increase the tax from Shs. 6/- to Shs. 10/- a taxpayer. As a whole the Rukurato displayed a lack of trust in their general purposes committee and matters already settled by that committee were discussed again in detail by the Rukurato. Little constructive work was done. The Bunyoro Kingdom government lacked staff regulations and the Rukurato lacked standing orders. No agreement could be reached on a lease for the Bunyoro Ranching Co. nor on the extent of the central forest reserves. Little progress was made on land tenure due to the inherent suspicion of anything emanating from the Protectorate government concerning land and the introduction of farm planning was turned down due to confusion of this purely agricultural project with land tenure. The financial administration of the Bunyoro Kingdom government remained at a low standard as did the assessment of taxes. To remedy this state of affairs a specialist local government accountant was appointed. The Rukurato continued its efforts to make the education committee subordinate to it and began to agitate for a senior secondary school in Bunyoro.[4]

In the following year the Rukurato and its general purposes committee met frequently and a number of important matters continued under dis-

cussion without arriving at any conclusion. These were the Bunyoro Ranching Co. by-laws, standing orders, staff regulations, appointments board and constitutional regulations.[5]

The district commissioner and the Protectorate government officers concerned were naturally frustrated by the lack of urgency displayed by the Rukurato in passing any of these administrative matters but to the members of the Rukurato these were of less importance and had less impact upon the ordinary people than such issues as the 'Lost Counties' and education.

The Rukurato obtained a majority of members on the education committee on which the school owners were represented. A senior secondary school was to open in Masindi in 1960. To this extent the Rukurato had obtained what they wanted. The finances of the Bunyoro Kingdom government showed little sign of improvement and the advice of the accountant was frequently ignored. E. N. Kabianga, the Muketo, resigned. Sezi Rugira, Kimbugwe, died suddenly and his place was taken by J. K. Mugungu, previously Sekibobo. H. B. Kakoko was appointed Sekibobo.[6]

In 1959 the Rukurato spent much time discussing constitutional matters. It was eventually agreed that the new *Karuzika,* Mukama's palace, should be sited where the old one stood. An inquiry was made into graduated taxation and in particular the graduated tax to be paid by the wealthier Banyoro. D. Aguda was re-appointed Muketo; J. B. Kamanyire was appointed Assistant Muketo and E. B. Byenkya Examiner of Accounts. With these appointments came a remarkable improvement in financial control and administration. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Lands and Mineral Development, met the land tenure committee of the Rukurato and made it clear that land titles could not be introduced because of lack of population pressure on the land. He suggested that the issue of certificates of occupancy could start again provided that the former abuses, from the Protectorate government's point of view, were prevented. The Bunyoro Kingdom government became responsible for primary education through the education committee with officers seconded from the Protectorate government.[7]

The next year was notable for the introduction of direct elections to the Rukurato. Registration was on adult suffrage; virtually anyone over 18 years of age being eligible to vote. 33,567 registered out of an estimated 70,000. On 29 October voting took place and 22,776, 72 per cent. of those registered, voted. Many of the candidates belonged to one of the three national political parties thus bringing a new element into the politics of Bunyoro. The results were as follows:

Uganda Peoples' Congress	29
Democratic Party	11
Bunyoro Public	5
Uganda National Congress	1
Independent	6[8]

Over half of those elected were school teachers, who unlike civil servants, were able to stand for election. On 8 November the elected and *ex officio* members met to advise the Mukama on the names of the 12 appointed members. On 22 November the new Rukurato was formally convened and Z. H. Kwebiha was re-appointed Katikiro being acceptable to the majority of those on the Rukurato who had the well-being of Bunyoro at heart. The land committee recommended that the issue of certificates of occupancy be resumed. The Protectorate government advised the committee to propose means of preventing the previous abuses of the system subject to which the issue of certificates would be acceptable as an interim step towards freehold titles. This advice was either overlooked or disregarded. The Rukurato was again asked to propose conditions to regulate the issue of certificates of occupancy.[9]

It should have been apparent by this time that the Protectorate government was battering its head against a brick wall. The Banyoro, or at least those in power, did not want certificates of occupancy on Protectorate government conditions; they wanted freehold titles.

In 1961 the Rukurato met eight times. In the latter part of the year its behaviour fell twice below the standard expected, at the end of October when the district commissioner made his customary speech and on 15 December when a motion of no confidence in the President-General of the Uganda Peoples' Congress was moved. Fairly regular meetings of the finance, general purposes and appointments committees were held. The constitutional committee met to consider the evidence to be given to the Relationships Commission. Due to the amount of attention given to the 'Lost Counties' routine business was neglected.[10]

The main topic of discussion was in 1956 the question of the 'Lost Counties' and this was reflected outside the Rukurato by the organization of public meetings, collection of subscriptions and petitions to despatch delegations to the United Kingdom. Towards the end of the year the Protectorate government informed the Bunyoro Kingdom government that the legal position appeared to be that past decisions about inter-district boundaries as published by proclamation could not be called in question by any court but it was conceded that the Bunyoro Kingdom government might wish to consult an independent legal adviser on this interpretation of the law and permission was given for the use of Bunyoro Kingdom government funds to obtain such an opinion.[11]

In the following year the Bunyoro Kingdom government devoted much attention to the submission of a petition to the Privy Council on the subject of the 'Lost Counties'. Legal advisers were retained in Uganda and in the United Kingdom. A deputation visited London to discuss the form that the petition should take.[12]

In 1958 a formal petition was submitted by the Mukama to the Queen requesting that Bunyoro's claims to the 'Lost Counties' be judged by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.[13] It was prepared by E. G. Nugee, the Mukama's legal adviser in London. It was generally recognized

by those few Protectorate government officers who knew anything about the 'Lost Counties' that historically Bunyoro had a good case but legally a poor one. The petition therefore concentrated upon the legal aspects and it seemed to Bunyoro's sympathizers that Nugee had established an effective legal argument. Unhappily politics confused the issue and the Protectorate government deemed it expedient to appease Buganda. The Secretary of State for the Colonies was advised that there was no legal issue in dispute which could be properly considered by the Judicial Committee.[14]

Public meetings were held during 1959 about the 'Lost Counties' and the Mukama and his advisers were granted an interview by the Secretary of State for the Colonies during his visit to Uganda in December of that year.[15]

In October, 1960, the Banyoro in the 'Lost Counties' lost patience and took action slashing the crops and burning the buildings belonging to the Baganda. The Baganda treated them with disdain; Runyoro was forbidden in the courts, in the schools, in official speech or correspondence and in the churches. Violence continued until the end of the year.[16]

The year 1961 was noteworthy on account of the great resurgence of interest in the long-standing matter of the 'Lost Counties'. This interest was precipitated by the declaration made by the Buganda *Lukiko,* or Great Council, on 1 January to secede from the rest of the Uganda Protectorate. Unfortunately the Protectorate government failed to seize the opportunity created by the Baganda in terminating their Agreement, which gave legal backing to the acquisition of the 'Lost Counties' by the Baganda, to return the 'Lost Counties' to Bunyoro. This action would have effectively made the Baganda the laughing-stock of the rest of Uganda, destroyed their conceit and reduced the area of the Buganda kingdom to that actually occupied by Baganda and to a size more in keeping with that of the other districts. A weakened Buganda would have caused less trouble in the long negotiations and the constitutional conferences which led to independence and would have made a unified Uganda a more workable proposition. The lack of initiative shown by the Protectorate government can only be attributed to ignorance on the part of senior officials of the 'Lost Counties' case and to the policy of appeasing the Baganda whenever possible. Troops were available to enforce the return of the 'Lost Counties' and justice would have been done.

On 7 January a meeting of the Rukurato was held and it was resolved to send a three-man delegation to London for discussions with the Secretary of State for the Colonies about the 'Lost Counties'. The Secretary of State refused to receive it but advised that the matter be put before the Relationships commission, under the chairmanship of the Earl of Munster, which was touring Uganda at that time to consider the future form of government best suited to Uganda and the question of the relationship between the future Central government and the other authorities in Uganda. On 9 February talks were held between the Governor and six representatives of Bunyoro. The Governor agreed to ask for a meeting between the

Secretary of State for the Colonies and Bunyoro's legal advisers and for a definite answer whether or not the Mukama's petition might go to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. On 3 March a delegation from the Rukurato gave evidence before the Relationships commission.[17]

The Relationships commission in its report, which was known as the Munster Report, recommended that a referendum should be held in the 'Lost Counties' of Buyaga and Bugangaizi and one other county chosen by Bunyoro to see what the people wanted. Any areas in which the referendum was decided in Bunyoro's favour should be handed over simultaneously with the end of the Protectorate.[18]

In July the Governor had a discussion with the Mukama, the Katikiro and other representatives of Bunyoro at Entebbe. In August the Mukama accompanied by two advisers flew to London for talks with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In September the Mukama again flew to London with two advisers and a delegate from the Rukurato to attend the Uganda constitutional conference held in October only agreeing to participate on the understanding that the future of the 'Lost Counties' would be placed on the agenda. This was not done and when the Secretary of State intimated that it was not possible to proceed with the limited referendum recommended by the Relationships commission[19] since it was rejected by the Buganda government[20] the Bunyoro delegate withdrew from the conference. The Secretary of State then informed the conference that he would ask the Prime Minister to appoint a commission of Privy Councillors and that their terms of reference would be discussed with the parties to the dispute. Much discontent was felt in Bunyoro at the lack of success achieved at the conference and at the fact that the British and Protectorate governments had acquiesced to the demands of the intransigent Baganda. On 15 October the Rukurato passed a resolution that from midnight on 18 October the 'Lost Counties' would be recognized as having reverted to Bunyoro. This unilateral declaration had no effect though on 17 October Bugahya county together with parts of the 'Lost Counties' was declared a disturbed area and carrying of weapons was prohibited. This was rescinded for Bugahya county on 11 November. Towards the end of the year came the news of the appointment of a Privy Council commission under the chairmanship of Lord Molson to investigate the matter of the 'Lost Counties'. On 19 December the Mukama and the Katikiro visited the Governor to discuss the commission's terms of reference.[21]

The terms of reference of the Molson commission were as follows:

> 'Having regard to the paramount need for the people of Uganda including Buganda to move together into independence in conditions which will ensure them peace and contentment, to investigate allegations of discrimination of the kind contained in the Omukama of Bunyoro's petition and the grievances referred to in the Munster Report concerning areas in Buganda which are named below, to receive representations from those concerned and to advise whether any, and if so what, measures should be taken to deal with the

situation. The areas are the counties of Buyaga, Bugangazzi (Bugangaizi), Buwekula, Buruli and Bugerere and portions of the counties of Singo and Bulemezi.'

The Molson commission commented as follows: 'The decision of the Colonial Secretary at an earlier stage not to refer the Mukama of Bunyoro's petition to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and your (the Prime Minister's) selection of us who have political and administrative, but not judicial, experience tend to confirm the impression that Her Majesty's Government wish this matter to be dealt with on broad lines of equity, and taking into account the happiness and well-being of the people of Uganda. We have in fact treated it, as the Munster Commission recommended, as a political problem and not as a judicial problem.'[22]

In fact, as Lord Molson remarked to the writer, the problem was to find a solution in terms of 1962 rather than of 1894. The Molson commission arrived in Uganda on 8 January 1962, had discussions in Entebbe with the Protectorate government, took evidence in Kampala and then toured the 'Lost Counties' and Bunyoro taking evidence. Keen interest was shown in the commission in Bunyoro but the natural self-control of the Banyoro restrained them from taking much part in public demonstrations. The report was signed on 2 March but publication was delayed until after 3 May when a new government would have been formed in Uganda. This was to prevent the political parties in Uganda, under the pressures of an election campaign, taking up rigid attitudes on the recommendations and so prejudicing subsequent negotiations.

The commission did not accept the Kinyoro argument that the dispute was in the nature of an action for real property which must succeed or fail as a whole.[23] Neither did they accept the Kiganda contention that the measures to be recommended should be confined to minor administrative reforms. It was manifestly clear to the commission that a limited transfer of territory was essential to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the dispute.

The commission proposed that Buyaga and Bugangaizi counties should be transferred to Bunyoro, subject to guarantees of individual rights, that there should be no change in the status of the territory to the east of Mubende district and that Buwekula county should remain in Buganda. They recommended that the town of Mubende, including the hill, should be added to the list of towns agreed at the London constitutional conference to be administered by the Central government.

The commission's reasons were that in Buyaga and Bugangaizi the population was predominantly Banyoro, that before 1894 they formed an integral part of the heartland of Bunyoro and that the loyalties of the Banyoro majority were directed towards the Mukama. While the Banyoro on both sides of the boundary were prepared to acquiesce under protest in the 1900 Buganda Agreement when the British administration was firmly in the saddle the course of events since 1955 had shown that they were not prepared to tolerate the present situation after independence. Once the

British administration was withdrawn it would be an impossible task for the Buganda government to maintain law and order.

The commission did not deny that to the east of Mubende district the greater part of the area was historically part of Bunyoro, or at least under the suzerainity of the Mukama, but the population was thinly spread and the boundaries were not demarcated with any precision. They thought that the population pattern had been profoundly altered by the advance and retreat of human and animal disease.

The commission considered Buwekula county with great care. At first sight they were attracted by the idea of transferring the whole of Mubende district to Bunyoro,[24] particularly as the Banyoro attach much patriotic and sentimental importance to various sites in Buwekula, especially the Witch Tree, *Omuti gwa Nyakahuma,* on Mubende hill itself. In spite of the allegations of malpractice in the 1950 census and in the 1959 census the commission chose to accept the census figures as substantially correct and established that in every sub-county the Baganda were in a majority. Hence they asked the militant Banyoro minority to accept this decision in the same way as the Baganda minorities would have to accept the authority of the Mukama in Buyaga and Bugangaizi. Since the Witch Tree on Mubende hill was an object of great reverence not only to the Banyoro, but also to the Baganda, Batoro and Banyankore the commission thought it best for it to remain under the care of the Central government.

The commission rejected the Munster commission's recommendation of a referendum. They considered that the passage of time had altered the circumstances. Unlike the Munster commission the Molson commission was able to examine thoroughly the situation on the ground coming to the conclusion that the majority of the people in Buyaga and Bugangaizi wished to join Bunyoro and that the majority in the other areas wished to remain in Buganda. Federal status and internal self-government in Buganda would make it impossible to arrange for that independent supervision which would be essential if the result was to be regarded as trustworthy. Moreover a referendum would inevitably increase tribal feeling, invite intimidation and possibly lead to bloodshed.[25]

The commission then went on to discuss the implementation of their recommendations. They recognized the dangers of the situation, the possibility of civil war and the desirability of having their recommendations carried out before 9 October 1962, the date of independence. They saw the likelihood of the Banyoro in Buyaga and Bugangaizi not being represented in the National Assembly[26] and that if the Prime Minister of an independent Uganda were dependent on the Kiganda nationalist bloc, Kabaka Yekka, for staying in office he would find it difficult to support any concession to the Banyoro.[27] Thus they proposed that discussions under the chairmanship of the Governor should take place between Buganda and Bunyoro. They hoped for a generous act of statesmanship on the part of Buganda and for the Mukama to renounce in the same spirit all claims on the other counties. If Buganda did not agree to any cession of

territory it would be the duty of the major political parties to give assistance in the matter and to join in the discussions. If the measures for obtaining agreement failed then the commission expected the British government to take such steps as were necessary to settle the problem before independence and in accordance with their recommendations.[28]

Unfortunately the time and efforts of Lord Molson and his colleagues were wasted. Buganda rejected any transfer of territory to Bunyoro. Bunyoro, having asked for the return of six counties in the expectation of obtaining three counties, was disappointed that Buwekula could not be returned but was prepared to accept Buyaga and Bugangaizi. As the commission surmised, the National Assembly elections resulted in the Uganda Peoples' Congress being dependent on the support of the Kabaka Yekka if they were to govern and so nothing was done except for a proposal by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to put Buyaga and Bugangaizi under Central government administration, pending a referendum to be held in not less than two years on whether the people should remain in Buganda, return to Bunyoro or form a separate district. Buganda opposed the idea of Central government administration for Buyaga and Bugangaizi.[29] The British government washed its hands of the whole affair which it had created in ignorance and failed to settle because of a desire to appease Buganda on the grounds of political expediency. It was a sorry, shabby and shameful record.[30]

On 11 August 1953, the Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen, announced important changes in the composition of Legislative Council. The number of African representative members was to be increased from eight to fourteen and of European and Asian members from four to seven in each case. Eleven of the African members were to be elected by the district councils subject to the Governor's approval, while the remaining three would be elected by the Buganda Lukiko if that body approved, or nominated if the Lukiko refused to co-operate. European and Asian members would be nominated by the Governor only after consultation.[31] The Rukurato elected George B. K. Magezi, who had been nominated by the Mukama.

Perhaps the most important event in 1958 was the election of a representative member to the Legislative Council. About 70 per cent. of the people eligible to vote registered. The proportion of women who registered was low. On polling day 90 per cent. of the registered voters voted. Three candidates were nominated and polled votes as follows:

G. B. K. Magezi	8,873
P. R. Mijumbi	5,723
P. T. Eribankya	4,160[32]

Mijumbi was the schools supervisor for the Catholic schools in Bunyoro. Eribankya was headmaster of Rukondwa private school. Votes were largely given on the personality and religion of the candidates and not by their adherence to any of the political parties.

In 1960 political activity increased noticeably and naturally in view of the acceleration of political development at both kingdom or district and

country-wide levels.[33] The major political parties, the Uganda Peoples' Congress with a Protestant bias and the Democratic Party with a Catholic bias, began to take shape. In March 1961, elections to the Legislative Council were held and the Uganda Peoples' Congress candidates, Magezi, south-west Bunyoro, and Mbabi-Katana, north-east Bunyoro, won both seats with handsome majorities. Voting was as follows:

South-west Bunyoro

G. B. K. Magezi (U.P.C.)	7,243
J. Kalisa (D.P.)	3,412

North-east Bunyoro

S. Mbabi-Katana (U.P.C.)	7,069
C. R. Mujje (D.P.)	2,302
E. I. N. Kiiza (U.N.C.)	1,914
P. Muindi-Oryema (Ind.)	1,203

Mbabi-Katana was the son of Daudi Mbabi who was for many years a county chief. He was a lecturer in music at Makerere College. Kalisa was once assistant Muketo in the Bunyoro Kingdom government. Kiiza was a trader. Mujje was a farmer and Muindi-Oryema was a Jopalwoo.

On 25 April 1962, after the attainment of internal self-government, elections to the National Assembly took place. Legislative Council had been re-named National Assembly on the attainment of internal self-government. In Bunyoro any differences between the Uganda Peoples' Congress and the Democratic Party had become confused by the 'Lost Counties' issue and most Banyoro voted for the candidate whose party was the more likely to be sympathetic to the return of the 'Lost Counties' to Bunyoro if put in power. The alliance between the Uganda Peoples' Congress and Kabaka Yekka made it difficult for most Banyoro to vote for a Uganda Peoples' Congress candidate. Thus it only came as a surprise to a few people that Democratic Party candidates obtained majorities.

South-west Bunyoro

C. J. Magara (D.P.)	5,922
G. B. K. Magezi (U.P.C.)	3,733

North-east Bunyoro

H. K. Kuhikya (D.P.)	4,315
Dr. I. K. Majugo (U.P.C.)	3,586
Dr. B. N. Kununka (U.N.C.)	928

Magara was the son of L. M. Muganwa, the chief judge of Bunyoro, and had been employed as an engineering assistant in the Ministry of Works. Kuhikya was a schoolmaster. Dr. Majugo was a nephew of the Mukama and the chairman of the Uganda Peoples' Congress in Bunyoro. He had worked unceasingly for the return of the 'Lost Counties'. He was personally popular and had he stood for south-west Bunyoro, where he was better known, he might have been returned to the National Assembly, re-named Parliament on the attainment of independence. Dr. Kununka had formerly been one of the Buganda representatives in Legislative Council.

The agricultural officer in charge of the transferred Bunyoro Agricultural Services was responsible within the general framework of Protectorate government policy to the Rukurato through the Katikiro. Throughout the period food supplies were satisfactory. Cotton production continued to increase and only fell well below the five year average in the season 1961/62 when the disastrous second rains of 1961 spoiled what promised to be a record crop. All cotton seed was dressed with perecot to control black arm disease. The seed was of the N.C. multiline strain derived from B.P. 52 and each year successive waves each better than the last were planted. The growers were encouraged to spray their cotton against lygus and other insect pests. In 1959 the Bunyoro Kingdom government gave credit to farmers for the purchase of pumps and insecticide. 370 plantector pumps and 900 tins of 25 per cent. D.D.T. (*dudumaki*) were bought and some 600 acres of cotton were sprayed, but regrettably the Bunyoro Kingdom government lost £750 through failure of farmers to repay the loans. Though the yield of sprayed cotton was much increased and a profit was obtainable over and above the cost of the pump and the insecticide shortage of ready cash at spraying time reduced purchases in spite of a 50 per cent. subsidy on the pump and progressive increases in the subsidy on the insecticide until 1962 when it was issued free of charge.

Table XXXI

Bunyoro Cotton Acreage and Production 1956–1962

Year	*Acreage*	*tons raw cotton*
1956	26,009	4,779
1957	43,570	4,769
1958	55,444	6,573
1959	57,000	4,793
1960	53,000	6,282
1961	61,688	3,279
1962	50,905	6,096[34]

Tobacco production increased steadily from 1956 until 1959 when an embarrassingly large crop of nearly four million lb. of cured leaf, which was well above the estimate, and the district target of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million lb. was bought. The East African Tobacco Co. Ltd. the sole buyers, instead of regarding it as a freak crop, took fright and prevailed upon the Agricultural department to reduce production by restricting acreage and by having higher grading standards. W. A. Kneale, assistant agricultural officer, was posted to Bunyoro especially for this work. A permanent tobacco market was built at Kitoba in 1961 and at Nyantonzi and Buhimba in 1962 to permit better inspection and handling after purchase. Messrs. Edwards, Goodwin & Co. Ltd., a London firm, became the East African Tobacco Co. Ltd.'s agents. Their tasks were to improve the standards of grade, to buy the crop and to export the best leaf. Their introduction of four grades of cured leaf in place of the customary two proved most unpopular, their

buying expenses were considerably in excess of their predecessors and their attempts at export failed. By 1962 production had been so reduced that the East African Tobacco Co. Ltd. were agitating once again for more tobacco and the four grades were altered to three in an attempt to meet the growers' desire to market in two grades. The failure of the previous year's cotton crop and the consequent shortage of cash was probably the factor which caused a larger tobacco crop in 1962.

Table XXXII

Bunyoro Tobacco Production 1956–1962

Year	*lb. cured leaf*
1956	1,785,135
1957	2,644,059
1958	2,857,610
1959	3,826,856
1960	1,535,800
1961	1,319,832
1962	2,175,000[35]

Coffee production continued to increase though standards of husbandry were low. There was much agitation for a coffee curing works to be built in Bunyoro but until 1,000 tons of clean coffee could be produced in a year, which would make the works an economic proposition, the Agricultural department refused to sanction its construction.

Table XXXIII

Bunyoro Coffee Production 1956–1962

Year	*tons robusta kiboko*
1956	90
1957	113
1958	104
1959	162
1960	292
1961	149
1962	322[36]

Two new cash crops were introduced, cocoa and tea, of which tea showed the greater promise. Between 1960 and 1962 cocoa was planted by selected progressive farmers in the high rainfall belt between Hoima and Masindi. From 1961 onwards tea was planted by the Bugambe Plantation Co. Ltd. a subsidiary of Agricultural Enterprises, Ltd. and it was hoped that in due course on the periphery of the estate Banyoro would grow tea on their own holdings for sale as green leaf to the Bugambe factory. Another development was the planning of individual farms as economic agricultural units by M. H. F. Low, assistant agricultural officer.[37] The mechanical cultivation unit run by the Agricultural department was withdrawn because

of lack of support in 1961 and emphasis was placed on private tractor owners who did contract ploughing for their neighbours. The Bunyoro Kingdom government bought one tractor for contract hire work but lack of control over its use resulted in financial loss.

In 1956 the Bunyoro Agricultural Co. Ltd. at Kigumba lost all its tenants who left because of the company's decision to change the system of cash advances against future crops, the personal unpopularity of one of the headmen and the fact that tenants were expected to work harder than cultivators elsewhere in Bunyoro. The company was wound up and the Agricultural department took over what remained. In order to re-occupy the area as soon as possible to form a barrier against the infiltration of tsetse fly, plans were made for a settlement scheme. Tax exemption and free rations for a limited period provided an incentive and the majority of settlers were Maragoli from Kenya. Each family was given a plot of twenty acres. Cotton and maize were the chief cash crops. By 1959, 372 plots had been allocated. Approximately five acres in each plot were cleared but the turnover of settlers was in the region of 20 per cent. a year: settlers either returning to Kenya or moving to the Ntoma settlement scheme or to other parts of Bunyoro. Nevertheless a steady trickle of settlers continued to arrive. Kigumba Farm, the nucleus of the Bunyoro Agricultural Co. Ltd., was used by the Agricultural department for cotton seed multiplication and the settlers also grew cotton for the same purpose; pumps and insecticide being supplied free of charge. A Protectorate government prison was established at Kigumba Farm and the prisoners worked on the farm.

The trend on the non-African estates was towards the planting of sugar cane for jaggery production. Less interest was shown in coffee and papain production due to the fall in prices. Rubber tapping continued because of a firm market, at about 1d. a lb. below the London spot price, at the Bata Shoe Factory, Limuru, Kenya. The sisal estate at Masindi Port deteriorated until it was sold to Bunyoro Enterprises, Ltd. in 1958. A rise in sisal prices made it possible to reclaim derelict sisal and to introduce improved planting material.[38]

Rough estimates were made in 1956 and 1957 of the main sums in actual cash coming into the district from outside.

Table XXXIV

Bunyoro Geographical Income 1956–1957

Year	*1956*	*1957*
Cotton	£310,175	£277,850
Coffee	—	10,000
Tobacco	83,791	143,383
Fish	70,000	108,000
Wages	180,000	180,000
	643,966	719,233[38]

In October 1956, the Protectorate government acquired Masindi ginnery by negotiation from Hoima Ginners, Ltd. and leased it to the Bunyoro Growers Co-operative Union, Ltd. with a view to their subsequent purchase of it. The normal procedure in Uganda was that any African co-operative society or union of co-operative societies which could raise one-third of the price of a ginnery could buy it assisted by a loan at 5¾ per cent. interest from the Protectorate government for the remaining two-thirds of the price, repayable over a period not exceeding thirty years. Since the Bunyoro Growers Co-operative Union could not even raise one-third of the price they were fortunate to be lent the full amount.

In 1956 the primary agricultural marketing societies consisted of 52 registered societies with a total membership of over 7,000 and 46 unregistered societies with a total membership of about 3,000. Sales through societies which were members of the Co-operative Union comprised about a half of the cotton and one-third of the tobacco marketed in Bunyoro. The progress of the co-operative farming societies was slow and unspectacular and difficulty was experienced in recovering loans for mechanical cultivation.[40]

In the following year there were 86 registered and 79 unregistered societies. The Co-operative Union handled 55 per cent. of the cotton grown in Bunyoro but owing to the ginning pool agreement for the Bunyoro zone they were only able to gin their quota of 23 per cent. The ginning pool agreement for the Bunyoro zone was complicated by the presence of Munteme and Masindi Port ginneries which were silent. Shares for these ginneries were included in Hoima Ginners' quota of 54.25 per cent. and Kinyala Ginners were left with 22.75 per cent. The excess cotton bought was handed over to the commercial ginneries at a commission of 75 cents a 100 lb. By selecting cotton of the best grade for ginning the Co-operative Union received a bonus of Shs. 7,512/- for good ginning. Repairs and improvements were made to Masindi ginnery so it was difficult to repay one-third of the capital cost. The lease was allowed to continue. Primary societies bought 37 per cent. of the tobacco produced in Bunyoro.[41]

By 1958 over 10,000 people, nearly one-third of the taxpayers in Bunyoro, were members of primary societies which marketed 64 per cent. of the cotton and 36 per cent. of the tobacco produced in Bunyoro. Registered societies had increased to 104. Masindi ginnery ginned 1,865 bales of lint and earned a quality bonus of Shs. 20,713/-. The farming societies had not proved a success and were liquidated, becoming groups of joint farmers where any desire for communal work remained.[42]

The Co-operative Union were able in 1959 to repay to the Protectorate government one-third of the purchase price of Masindi ginnery to which they then acquired formal title. The year saw a net profit of £13,000; £11,000 for capitalization and £2,000 for distribution to member societies. 2,856 bales of cotton were ginned and a quality bonus of £1,300 was earned. The primary societies marketed only 57 per cent. of the cotton grown in Bunyoro and this decline of 7 per cent. from the previous year's figure was

attributed to members early in the season selling direct to the commercial ginneries and markets to obtain ready cash. 115 registered societies were in existence with a membership of 11,226. About one-third of the tobacco crop was sold through primary societies but failure on the part of society officials to insist on reasonable standards of grade, moisture content and storage made selling a difficult undertaking.[43] In spite of this the year had been a successful one for the co-operative movement and provided a fitting climax to the efforts of A. N. W. Kamese, co-operative officer, who retired at the end of 1960.

The co-operative movement in Bunyoro received a setback in 1960. There were 117 registered societies but the value of produce marketed through them declined from £167,368 to £78,175. Tobacco was no longer bought through societies because Messrs. Edwards, Goodwin & Co. Ltd. were not prepared to pay a bonus unless some service was offered in return. The proportion of cotton marketed fell from 57 per cent. to 32 per cent.[44] (This figure may not include cotton sold directly by primary societies on commission to commercial ginneries.[45]) The reason was largely because members who sold their cotton to the commercial ginners received cash and the supervision of cotton markets by the Agricultural department prevented cheating, whereas if they sold to a society they had to wait until the cotton was delivered to a ginnery before receiving payment and often opportunities for being cheated were greater. As a result Masindi ginnery's profit was only £1,377.

In 1961 unsuccessful attempts were made to amalgamate small societies: the proliferation of which made efficient management and supervision extremely difficult. Nevertheless the turnover of primary societies saw a return to a figure nearer that of 1959 and Masindi ginnery ginned 2,509 bales making a profit of £7,230. Nathubhai Patel, the ginnery manager, was dismissed for reasons not connected with his work for the Co-operative Union and in October E. Byahuka was appointed manager, the first Munyoro to hold the post. For several years the Co-operative Union had been agitating for a larger share in the Bunyoro ginning pool and in 1962 they made their views known to the Cotton commission which was touring Uganda to recommend changes in the Cotton Ordinance, 1952. At the end of 1962 they received a 50 per cent. share; Hoima Ginners receiving 35.23 per cent. and Kinyala Ginners 14.77 per cent.

The Community Development department in 1956 concentrated upon work which had already been started but lack of financial control and failure to understand the principles of self-help were unfortunately evident. Help yourself rather than self-help seemed to be the prevalent idea. A district show was organized and one or more county shows in subsequent years but the time, effort and money put into them was not repaid. The main success was in women's clubs, especially those run by the missions.[46] In the following year a campaign to improve housing, water supplies and roads in Kabwoya sub-county was started. Adult literacy work became of increasing importance and plans were made to build a rural training

centre in Hoima.[47] In 1958 audio-visual aids were bought to assist the technical departments in specific campaigns, for instance the 1959 agricultural productivity drive for which a travelling exhibition was organized. The rural training centre, which was completed in 1959, was opened in 1960 and proved useful not only for courses run by the Community Development department but also by the provincial administration and other government departments.[48]

It was becoming increasingly evident that lack of protein, especially animal protein, had the greatest effect on the health of the people of Bunyoro. Much good work was done att he ante- and post-natal and child welfare clinics run by the nursing sisters at Hoima and Masindi hospitals and at the rural dispensaries. In 1957 plans were made for the improvement and development of Hoima and Masindi hospitals. It was unfortunate that Bunyoro, with a relatively small population compared with other districts, had two hospitals and the rivalry which existed between Masindi and Hoima prevented priority being given to one at the expense of the other. Thus neither hospital obtained the modern facilities which Bunyoro might have had if there had only been one hospital. Delays occurred in building the improvements sanctioned but by 1959 an out-patients' block was completed at Masindi hospital and a shelter for the relations of in-patients at Hoima hospital. More use was made of the maternity ward at Bujumbura Catholic Mission run by the Grail Sisters. In the Hoima area many people preferred to attend the clinic at Bujumbura, even though a charge was made, because of the delays in receiving attention at Hoima hospital caused by the large number of out-patients. Progress was slow in the improvement of public health in the rural areas. In an attempt to overcome this a health centre was opened in 1960 at Kigorobya. The year 1961 saw an increase in attendances at hospitals, dispensaries and clinics due to an increase in respiratory infections and malaria as a result of the exceptionally heavy second rains. This was not the only reason. Much credit must be given to the medical staff employed in Bunyoro who obtained the trust and confidence of the people and particular mention must be made of Dr. Ibanda, Dr. Kununka and Miss Dorothy Evans.[49]

In 1956 the road from Kampala to Hoima was straightened and given a tarmac surface for the first 35 miles out of Kampala. The road from Bukumi to Bugungu was improved with the help of a grant from the Protectorate government. The traffic between Butiaba and Masindi Port increased considerably. The following year saw improvements to the main roads and those leading to the productive areas. Between 1958 and 1959 the Masindi—Biiso, Biiso—Hoima and Kampala—Hoima roads were widened and straightened and the road from Biiso down the escarpment to Bukumi was bituminized. The Hoima—Masindi—Mutunda road was regraded and parts of the Hoima—Kyenjojo road were re-gravelled. Work continued on the Bugungu road but since it crossed the flood plains of the Sonso, Weiga and Waisoke rivers it was felt by some to be a forlorn enterprise. In 1960 the preliminary survey for the Kimengo—Kigumba—

Katulikire—Karuma Falls road was started. A bridge across the Nile at the Karuma Falls would avoid the delays that traffic from the Northern province to Buganda or the Western province experienced at the Atura ferry. This new road would effectively by-pass Masindi and cause a further decline in the town's importance.

The prolonged rainy season in 1961 which lasted to almost the end of the year was noteworthy for the exceptionally heavy second rains, the heaviest since 1916. Hoima's rainfall was 79.61 inches compared with an average of 57.1 inches. During November and the first half of December Bunyoro was almost cut off from the rest of Uganda; extensive flooding occurring where the Hoima—Kampala and Masindi—Kampala roads crossed the river Kafu. With the exception of the Masindi—Paraa road all the roads in Bunyoro were closed at some time or other. Mail services were erratic and goods were in short supply at Masindi and Hoima.

The level of Lake Albert rose higher than at any time since 1917 and by the end of 1961 was 7 ft. above its normal level. It rose to 10 ft. above its normal level in 1962 and 17 ft. above its normal level in 1963. The East African Railways and Harbours' Butiaba pier and workshop were submerged; the damage being estimated at £30,000. A temporary pier was made and the port remained in operation until 1962. On 27 December 1961, Masindi Port was closed by floods. The extension of the railway from Soroti through Lira to Gulu, and probably to West Nile, was already under discussion to avoid the frequent handling of freight which was necessary on the Pakwach—Butiaba—Masindi Port—Namasagali route. The disastrous floods emphasized the disadvantage of the route and it was decided to close it completely but to retain a lorry service from Kampala to Masindi and Hoima. The engines of the *Robert Coryndon* were removed. Thus the closure of the Masindi Port—Butiaba road link between Lakes Albert and Kioga and the opening of the Karuma Falls—Kimengo road furthered the decline in the commercial importance of Masindi; it was no longer the crossroads between the four provinces of Uganda.[50]

As has already been seen education, at least in its political implications, received much attention from the Rukurato to which many school teachers had been elected. Unlike civil servants teachers could take part in politics as well as do their job and since there were few other educated Banyoro it was to be expected that teachers would be found in the Rukurato and that they would take an interest in education. It was unfortunate that this was so because politics entered the child's mind at an early and impressionable age and because the standards of the teaching profession fell. Some teachers only thought of their own advantage and advancement and did not consider or take an interest in the children whom they taught.

The notable events of 1956 were the arrival of Rene Seldenrath, a Dutch agriculturist, to take charge of the Church of Uganda's Bulindi farm school, the return of Sarah Nyendwoha, the first Munyoro girl to obtain a degree, from Oxford University to take a post at Duhaga junior secondary school, and the interest taken by adults in extra-mural lectures and week-end classes.

The following year saw an improvement in the standards of teachers and in the numbers of full primary schools. The supervision of the Muslim and Bunyoro Kingdom government schools was poor whereas that of the Church of Uganda and Catholic schools was satisfactory. This was true of the period under review. Fifteen clinker boats were built at Kabarega technical school which was in 1958 separated from the Kabarega schools and called Masindi technical school. It closed down at the end of 1962. Rural trade schools suffered from lack of pupils because both parents and children preferred the more formal academic education given in the junior secondary schools. Two new junior secondary schools were opened, Nyamigisa, Catholic, and Kamurasi, Bunyoro Kingdom government, both near Masindi.

In 1958 of the 39 full primary schools in Bunyoro 22 were built in permanent materials. During the previous seven years the Bunyoro Kingdom government had given £47,600 and the Protectorate government £10,000 to the school owners apart from help received from community development and other funds. Six junior secondary schools were opened in Bunyoro. Bulindi farm school had only nine pupils; the reasons being lack of school fees and what to do with the boys after they had left. The boys wished to be employed in government service; they did not want to return home to work on the land and they were too young and lacked security to be loaned money to start farming on their own account.

The main problem confronting the education committee in 1959 was to make the maximum use of existing schools. 14,840 places were available at grant-aided schools which were occupied by only 9,511 pupils. This was partly due to rivalry between the missions who opened schools almost adjacent to one another instead of being distributed according to demand, and partly due to lack of school fees, especially for girls' education. In spite of this considerable pressure was exerted on the junior secondary schools because out of the 1,000 boys and girls passing out from primary VI only 300 could be absorbed in the junior secondary schools. In 1960 two new junior secondary schools were opened making a total of eleven in Bunyoro. By 1962 there were Duhaga, St. Aloysius', St. Margaret's, Nyamigisa, Kabarega, Kamurasi, Bulindi (2), Kizeranfumbi, Bugungu (2) and Bujenje, a total of twelve schools. In the same year Masindi senior secondary school opened with 29 boys including twelve Banyoro. In 1961 55 boys had enrolled of whom 38 were Banyoro.[51]

Paraa Lodge was opened on 1 January 1956, by Lieut.-Commander Peter Scott and thereafter visitors from all over the world came to see the Murchison Falls National Park, part of which was in Bunyoro. The park, however, proved a mixed blessing for when grazing was short game, especially elephant, migrated into the cultivated areas and destroyed the crops. Their control by shooting was the responsibility of the Game department but at times it seemed that its sympathy lay more with the game than with the Banyoro whose plots were damaged. It was estimated that between 4,000-8,000 elephant were to be found in north Bunyoro in 1957.

The numbers of elephant shot on control gradually increased from 241 in 1956 to 611 in 1961. The numbers of buffalo shot on control averaged about 300 a year.

By 1961 the National Park authorities and the Game department were beginning to realize that the mere preservation of game and its control by natural means, even within areas of several thousand square miles like the national parks, was not sufficient to prevent over-grazing, soil erosion and destruction of trees. As a result ideas of scientific game management were introduced and shooting of game where numbers were considered to be excessive was permitted. The carcasses were sold on contract. Areas adjacent to national parks and elsewhere were gazetted for controlled hunting. After some initial opposition the Bunyoro Kingdom government accepted the idea once it was realized that substantial revenue from the sale of licences would accrue to it.[52]

In 1957 there were 285 canoes fishing on Lake Albert and of these thirty were equipped with outboard motors compared with seven in 1956. Apprentices trained at Kabarega, later Masindi, technical school, built six boats at Butiaba. Problems of marketing the fish caught existed. Most fish was dried and salted and exported to the Congo because the fresh fish market in Bunyoro was too small to be an economic proposition. The lorries owned by fishermen increased from four in 1956 to nine in 1957, in addition to several vans, so dried, salted fish was transported to markets in West Nile, Acholi and Toro.

About 11,000 tons of wet fish were caught in 1958. The fishermen invested their profits in improved types of vessels, outboard motors and fishing gear, all of which led to the exploitation of new fishing grounds in more distant waters. About half the fish landed was exported to the Congo. The boat-building section of Masindi technical school continued to be a success and ex-apprentices established their own boat-building businesses.

In 1959 it was estimated that 600 fishing craft of all types, of which 50 were of modern design, were being operated from the fishing villages in Bunyoro. In 1960 out of 1,000 fishing craft, 166 were plank built and 100 were powered. The disorganization of the traditional markets for Bunyoro's fish in the Congo as a result of the Congo's independence and the rise in the level of Lake Albert reduced the production of wet fish in 1961 to 5,000 tons. Most of the fishing villages were destroyed by the floods and had to be rebuilt further inland. The large area of inundated country changed the feeding pattern of the fish so that they were no longer to be found in their usual haunts.[53]

The Veterinary department reckoned the cattle population in Bunyoro in 1957 to be just over 10,000 and by 1962 it was 20,131. The increase was partly due to the importation of cattle by the Bunyoro Ranching Co. from Teso, partly due to the arrival of some 50 Nandi with some 2,500 head of cattle in 1958, partly due to vaccination against rinderpest and treatment of trypanosomiasis on a large scale, and partly due to natural increase as a result of improved management. In 1961, 1,178 cattle were sold in local

markets at an average price of Shs. 338/- each. Imported cattle, mainly for slaughter, decreased from 2,351 to 902. Because of the floods and the resurgence of tsetse fly in 1962 the Nandi, who had settled near Kimengo, left Bunyoro together with their cattle for Toro. A. J. Margach imported twelve red poll in-calf heifers from Kenya in 1961 of which four had died by the end of the year. A rabies outbreak occurred in 1960; three human deaths were reported and in the following year 4,080 dogs were vaccinated.[54]

Until 1959 it seemed that the arrangements made for reclaiming a large part of south-east Bunyoro from the tsetse fly were working satisfactorily except that the area between the rivers Ntoma and Musoma and the main road from Hoima to the river Kafu proved intractable. It was therefore decided to form a consolidation line from Isimba hill southwards to the Kafu and to settle it with people. It was known as the Ntoma settlement scheme. In 1960 tsetse fly infiltrated into the reclaimed areas of Buruli county either from across the Nile or from the gap between the Kigumba settlement scheme and the Masindi Port sisal estate. In 1961 *Glossina morsitans* broke through the north-east part of the consolidation line and *G. pallidipes* and *G. morsitans* were established in the Bunyoro Ranching Co.'s land. Barrier and focus areas were sprayed with dieldrin.[55] In 1962 it was feared that cattle could no longer be kept at Kigumba Farm or in the Bunyoro Ranching Co.'s area but fortunately control measures retrieved the situation. The reason for the lack of success was that population pressure on land in Bunyoro was slight and so it was difficult to attract people in sufficiently large numbers and in a short space of time to settle in the consolidation lines which were in relatively unfavourable country compared with most other parts of Bunyoro.

By 1957 over 150 boreholes had been sunk in Bunyoro with the result that rural water supplies were greatly improved. In 1961 there were 189 working boreholes in Bunyoro. Investigations were made into the economic possibilities of the terrace gravels of the river Kafu and into the pleistocene deposits near Kaiso during 1957.[56]

The Bunyoro Kingdom government was anxious to acquire a greater proportion of the central forest reserves held by the Protectorate government and a dispute about the undemarcated boundaries of the Bugoma central forest reserve provided an opportunity for the matter to be raised by the Rukurato. The Minister of Natural Resources, in 1958, ruled that high forest was essentially a Protectorate government responsibility and as such Budongo, Bugoma, Siba, Katigo and Nyabyeya would remain central forest reserves. Other central forest reserves would be gazetted as local forest reserves under the Bunyoro Kingdom government forest service which was functioning satisfactorily. The reduced area of the Bugoma central forest reserve was demarcated and the increase in area of the local forest reserves meant increased revenue for the Bunyoro Kingdom government.

The main work in the central forest reserves was that of regeneration. In 1961, 4,300 acres of high forest were sprayed with an arboricide to kill weed trees. The central forest reserves yielded 16,500 tons of timber and

the local forest reserves 4,800 tons. Buchanan's Budongo Sawmills, Ltd. operated in the Budongo central forest reserve and Sikh Sawmills, Ltd. in the Bugoma central forest reserve. Bubwa Sawmills, Ltd. operated in the Busaju local forest reserve and Partap Sawmills, Ltd. in the public land north of Masindi.[57]

Much building was done at Hoima and Masindi between 1956 and 1962 both by public and private enterprise. By 1958 work on the Masindi sports stadium was nearly completed. Plans were made for an inter-racial sports club at Hoima which proved a successful proposition. The main street of Hoima was covered with bitumen and given a kerb. A wholesale show-room was built at Hoima but it proved a failure. In 1959 a block of five shops was built in the main street of Hoima under the auspices of the African Trade Development Fund for letting to African traders. At Hoima five senior staff quarters were built, the police lines and hospital staff quarters were extended, and a market was built. At Masindi the railway hotel was improved and extended. In 1960 plans were drawn for a new *Karuzika* and a new block of offices for the Bunyoro Kingdom government including a hall for the Rukurato. Building started in 1961.

In 1960 the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank opened a branch office for one week each month at Hoima but the response was extremely disappointing so that it ceased to operate in March 1961. National and Grindlays Bank, Ltd. established a branch at Masindi and conducted business one afternoon each week at Hoima. This proved so successful that by 1962 business was conducted at Hoima two afternoons each week. This development was in spite of 1961 being a bad year for trade with many small African businesses closing down and several Asians becoming bankrupt.[58]

It may be of interest to note in connection with building and trade that in 1957, 8,779 people had paid employment in Bunyoro, 4,129 being privately employed and 4,650 being publicly employed. Of those who were employed 4,854 were Banyoro, about 2,000 were from West Nile and the remainder from elsewhere. About 3,000 Banyoro were in employment in other parts of Uganda[59]

In 1957 plans were made to establish a prison camp at Kigumba, the prisoners working on the Agricultural department's farm. The Protectorate government had run a prison at Masindi for many years with a small farm. The Bunyoro Kingdom government prison at Hoima caused considerable concern because it was over-crowded, poorly maintained and costly to administer.[60]

During 1959 incidents of armed robbery increased; £14,000 was stolen from a tobacco buyer. As a result the Uganda police undertook increased patrolling in rural areas.[61] In 1960 in furtherance of the policy of concentrating all heads of departments in Hoima, district police headquarters were transferred from Masindi to Hoima.[62] In October 1961, there were several incidents of unusual interest; Prince John Rukidi, son of the Mukama, was arrested by a muruka chief in Mutuba II gomborra of Singo county; the

telephone wires were cut on the Hoima—Masindi and Hoima—Kampala roads at one-half and one-quarter miles from Hoima respectively; home-made bombs were placed beside the water pumping station and the post office at Masindi.

The Protectorate government opened a new prison camp at Isimba in October.[63]

It was unfortunate for Bunyoro that in spite of all the material and political activity which had taken place in the kingdom between the years 1956 and 1962 the hopes of the Banyoro for the return of their 'Lost Counties' remained unfulfilled. As has been shown, the story of the 'Lost Counties' from the beginning to the end has been a sad and sorry one, adding neither to the reputation of the British nor of the Baganda. The Banyoro at least conducted the negotiations in a dignified and seemly manner as befitting the heirs of a proud and ancient kingdom, but it availed them nothing. Thus the joy with which the majority of the people in Uganda received the gift of independence on 9 October 1962, was not found in Bunyoro nor in the 'Lost Counties'. When the Union Jack was hauled down for the last time outside the district commissioner's office, Hoima, it was with mixed feelings that those present recalled the past, studied the present and contemplated the future. The achievement was tarnished by the thought that many Banyoro were still oppressed in the 'Lost Counties'. Many Banyoro, too, were conscious of the cumulative benefits which the work of many British officers had brought to their country. Though the British as a nation have never been popular in Bunyoro, individual British, if they have been sincere, have been respected, appreciated and sometimes even liked. Perhaps the British period in Bunyoro-Kitara, like that of the Bachwezi, will, a few centuries hence, be regarded as a brief interlude in its history when a new ideology and technology were introduced and partly assimilated but will ultimately become fused into the way of life of the people of Bunyoro-Kitara.

References

[1]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1956. District Commissioner's Office, Hoima.
[2]Ibid.
[3]Ibid.
[4]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1957. District Commissioner's Office, Hoima.
[5]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1958. District Commissioner's Office, Hoima.
[6]Ibid.
[7]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1959. District Commissioner's Office, Hoima.
[8]The Uganda Peoples' Congress, Democratic Party and Uganda National Congress had politically little difference between their purposes which were to obtain independence for Uganda as soon as possible. The Uganda Peoples' Congress relied on Protestant support and the Democratic Party on Catholic support. The Uganda National Congress were politically more radical. The Bunyoro Public was purely a Kinyoro party with the object of securing the return of the 'Lost Counties'.
[9]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1960. District Commissioner's Office, Hoima.
[10]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1961. District Commissioner's Office, Hoima.
[11]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1956. op. cit.
[12]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1957. op. cit.

[13]To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty the humble petition of Rukirabasaija Agutamba Omukama Sir Tito Gafabusa Winyi IV of Bunyoro-Kitara for himself and on behalf of the people of Bunyoro-Kitara.
[14]Molson Report. op. cit., p. 5.
[15]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1959. op. cit.
[16]Molson Report. op. cit., pp. 5, 10-15.
[17]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1961. op. cit.
[18]Munster, the Earl of (1961). *Report of the Uganda Relationships Commission*, p. 91. Entebbe: Government Printer.
[19]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1961. op. cit.
[20]Molson Report. op. cit., p. 5.
[21]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1961. op. cit.
[22]Molson Report. op. cit., p. 1.
[23]It was a coincidence that the Bunyoro Kingdom government was represented by John Forster, Q.C., the son of the Forster who resigned as civil officer, southern Bunyoro, in protest against the action taken by the Protectorate government. See Chapter 10.
[24]Administratively it would have been much simpler.
[25]Molson Report. op. cit., pp. 17-20.
[26]This did in fact happen. The Buganda Lukiko nominated 'Jolly Joe' Kiwanuka, a Muganda politician and former leader of the Uganda National Congress, as the member for north-west Mubende.
[27]Here again the commission's prediction proved correct.
[28]Molson Report. op. cit., pp. 20-22.
[29]In February, 1963, relations between the Central government and the Buganda government deteriorated and the Central government appointed an administrator, R. W. R. Tamplin, with an assistant, for Buyaga and Bugangaizi. It appeared that they would act in an advisory capacity to the Baganda chiefs who would still collect taxes. This did not satisfy the Mubende-Bunyoro committee and sporadic incidents of arson and assault against the property and persons of Baganda occurred.
[30]The cost to the Bunyoro Kingdom government during the period 1956-1962 was approximately £20,000 lawyer's fees, fares, hotel bills, etc.
A. N. W. Kamese, personal communication.
[31]Ingham (1958). op. cit., p. 261.
[32]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1958. op. cit.
[33]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1960. op. cit.
[34]Annual Reports Agricultural Department 1956-1962. Entebbe: Government Printer.
[35]Ibid.
[36]Figures from Annual Reports Bunyoro District 1956-1961. op. cit. Annual Report (Agriculture) Bunyoro District 1962. Agricultural Office, Hoima.
[37]Annual Reports Bunyoro District 1956-1961. op. cit.
[38]Ibid.
[39]Annual Reports Bunyoro District 1956, 1957. op. cit.
[40]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1950. op. cit.
[41]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1957. op. cit.
[42]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1958. op. cit.
[43]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1959. op. cit.
[44]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1960. op. cit.
[45]A. N. W. Kamese, personal communication.
[46]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1956. op. cit.
[47]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1957. op. cit.
[48]Annual Reports Bunyoro District 1959-1961. op. cit.
[49]Annual Reports Bunyoro District 1956-1961. op. cit.
[50]Ibid.
[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid.
[53]Ibid.
[54]Ibid.
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[56]Annual Reports Bunyoro District 1957, 1961. op. cit.
[57]Annual Reports Bunyoro District 1958-1961. op. cit.
[58]Ibid.
[59]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1957. op. cit.
[60]Ibid.
[61]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1959. op. cit.
[62]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1960. op. cit.
[63]Annual Report Bunyoro District 1961. op. cit.

RETROSPECT

WHAT then has been the effect of the coming of the Europeans, especially the British, on Bunyoro-Kitara and its people?[1] The first Europeans, Speke, Grant and Baker, came as explorers and were entirely at the mercy and whims of the Mukama Kamurasi. Such was their novelty and personality that they were able to do what they wanted but not without procrastination and difficulty. Even when the northern marches of the kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara were under Egyptian control the length of their lines of communication down the Nile made it virtually impossible for the cosmopolitan band of European officers in the Egyptian government's service to occupy the area without the tacit agreement of the Mukama Kabarega. It suited his purposes to have the weak Egyptian forces in his northern territories instead of the ruthless slave traders. Emin Pasha, and later Junker, Casati and Mohammed Biri, on their visits to him were under his power and he could, and did, treat them as he wished. The rescue of Emin Pasha and the evacuation of what remained of Equatoria province in 1889 left Bunyoro-Kitara in a stronger position than it had been in 1872. The first European attempt at domination had failed.

The coming of the British reversed the situation. Shorter lines of communication from the East Coast, better weapons, more efficient and competent officers and their alliance with the Baganda, presented Bunyoro-Kitara with a much stronger enemy with which it could not negotiate and which it could neither defeat nor contain. Kabarega's attempts at negotiation failed largely because of the cupidity of the principal Baganda chiefs, who saw in the British officers' lack of knowledge of the true state of affairs in the region between the great lakes, a great opportunity to extend their own influence and territories. The prolonged guerilla warfare throughout the greater part of the last decade of the nineteenth century desolated the country, decimated the population, destroyed or dispersed the herds of cattle on which depended the wealth and prestige of the Mukama and the ruling classes.

The British came to Bunyoro-Kitara as conquerors. They had defeated and captured Kabarega, destroyed his armies and his administration, and laid waste his kingdom. In Buganda the exact opposite had happened. There the British were the allies of the ruling class and ruled through them to the mutual benefit of both parties.[2] Thus the first British administrators in Bunyoro had no difficulty in securing the recognition of their authority because no other authority existed and because the predominance of British

military power, which could if necessary be brought to bear, could not be questioned.[3]

The British administrators, due to the influence of George Wilson, instead of instituting a system of direct rule did try to rule through Kinyoro institutions though these were modified as the result of experience gained in Buganda and by the introduction of Baganda chiefs. Since the Kiganda system of government had originated from Bunyoro the modifications did not worry the Banyoro but they did not like the Baganda chiefs. The rebellion of 1907 was symptomatic of this feeling and though ultimately the Banyoro rid themselves of the Baganda chiefs the decisive action taken by the British to crush the revolt reiterated their supremacy. It was not until after the second world war that the authority of the British administration in Bunyoro, as elsewhere in the colonial territories scattered throughout the world, came to be questioned. The British policy of indirect rule in the majority of the colonial territories between the two world wars was responsible for the retention of much of the indigenous systems of government, though they might be modified and adapted, and in Bunyoro its culmination came in the signing of the 1933 Bunyoro Agreement which gave increased powers to the Mukama though even he held them at the discretion of the Protectorate government. Thus successive district commissioners, assistant district commissioners, professional and technical officers never doubted their own authority, knowing that it would be upheld by those higher in the hierarchy of the civil service. This unquestioning belief in their power and in the rightness of what they did gave the British officials unchallenged moral supremacy over the Banyoro, though ultimately it created bitterness, envy and hatred which came into the open when it was realized that the British were doubtful of their right to rule and that they were abdicating their responsibilities in the Uganda Protectorate. A possible historical parallel can be found in the reign of the Bachwezi in Bunyoro-Kitara.

In the early days of British rule the British taxpayers were less inclined than they were in 1962 to subsidize the efforts of the peoples in the underdeveloped countries and it was considered that such countries should be economically self-supporting. This could only be done by taxation, firstly hut tax and secondly poll tax, later to be elaborated into graduated tax. The introduction of cash crops, particularly cotton, coffee and tobacco, which could be grown by peasants and the construction of roads to take the produce to railway stations or the piers on the lakes and rivers served by the railway steamers stimulated the economy and produced more revenue. Supervision of the assessment and collection of taxation remained one of the most important duties of administrative officers, working through the hierarchy of appointed and graded chiefs. The encouragement of the growing of cash crops, which indirectly made it possible for the peasants to pay their taxes, was a pre-occupation of administrative and agricultural officers. At first it was difficult to get money into circulation and the taxes were paid in kind, in cowrie shells or by labour. The destruction of cowrie shells.

the introduction of cash crops, the payment of labour, and the ability to commute labour obligations into a cash payment, all helped to make money flow freely, and this tendency increased as the years went by. It has been said that much money is withdrawn from circulation by being hoarded, usually in the ground, but no evidence is available to support this theory, though undoubtedly many Banyoro retain a cash reserve to guard against any unforeseen contingency.

Roads were built by the Protectorate and Bunyoro Kingdom governments making use of their powers to make taxpayers work for a specified period of time each year. Later this was commuted to a cash payment and road porters were paid. The Protectorate government soon gave up the right to compel people to work but the Bunyoro Kingdom government retained the right to call out people for so-called voluntary labour for the good of the country, *bulungi bwansi*. The road network in Bunyoro was stabilized early in the twentieth century and the main work thereafter was improving the standard of surface, bridges and culverts to take heavier and more elaborate vehicles in all weathers. Re-alignment was also done. Subsidiary roads were constructed by the Bunyoro Kingdom government, often at the direction of the district commissioner. *Bulungi bwansi* roads then gave access to the populated and cultivated areas. These might be, according to weather conditions and other circumstances, passable by motor vehicles.

Townships were laid out by the first collectors. It would be true to say that throughout Uganda these follow a similar pattern, the district offices, *boma,* lying in the centre surrounded by a golf course and sports fields. At one extremity usually on high ground were the bungalows of the Protectorate government officers, each with its own garden and servants' quarters, and normally separated from the cultivated and inhabited areas by a continuation of the golf course. Though this sounds an unnecessary extravagance the grass and bush had to be cleared round the township to prevent malaria-carrying mosquitoes breeding and so the anti-malarial vote was used to make and to maintain a golf course for the benefit of those who played the game. The junior assistant district commissioner was always responsible for grass cutting and the general tidiness and neatness of the station. Near the district offices were those of the other Protectorate government departments, the police station and lines, the hospital, the post office, and a rest-house for visitors. A European club with tennis courts would also be nearby. At the other extremity was the Asian bazaar usually comprising one main street with sanitary lanes for the night soil carts running along the backs of the shop and house compounds. On the hills or ridges to either side were the Catholic and Protestant missions. In Bunyoro at Masindi and at Hoima an additional hill or ridge was occupied by the Mukama and the Bunyoro Kingdom government offices and staff quarters.

One of the weak points of the British administration was its inability to communicate with the Banyoro. For many years Swahili or Luganda were the languages commonly spoken by the British officers and although the Protectorate government insisted on the passing of language examinations

as a prerequisite of confirmation in appointment or of passing a promotion bar, few officers were really fluent even in one or other of these languages and had to rely on interpreters. As far as the Banyoro were concerned only those who had had previous contact with the Protectorate government, or who had travelled outside Bunyoro, or who had worked with the Baganda chiefs, could speak Swahili and Luganda and in consequence the bulk of the people, especially the women and children, spoke only Runyoro.

Thinking and speaking in English the British officials were apt to express what they wanted to say in ways which were not readily translatable into Runyoro even by the best of interpreters, thus the finer shades of meaning were never put across to the people. Matters were made worse by poor interpreters and by unscrupulous interpreters who twisted what they were translating to their own advantage. Some knowledge of Runyoro, or a related language like Luganda, Runyankore or Rukiga, did permit some check on interpretation but what was more important enabled an officer to express his thoughts in English in a way which could be easily translated into Runyoro.

An officer who was able to speak directly to the Banyoro in Runyoro, even if he made mistakes, which created much amusement and which would be speedily corrected for him by his audience, was half way to gaining their confidence. He had taken the trouble to learn their language and what he said was usually believed since it issued from his own lips. Curiously enough this ability was not appreciated by the senior civil servants responsible for postings and those few officers who learnt Runyoro were normally posted elsewhere—success in a language examination being the signal—before they could put it to use.[4] Lack of continuity in posting in the Protectorate government's civil service must be responsible for much of the failure of proper understanding between the rulers and the ruled.

The missionaries placed much greater emphasis on the learning of vernacular languages and individual missionaries were left much longer in one place and in consequence were able to speak the language fluently and to know the people.

Until after the second world war it was unusual for a British officer to come out to Uganda on first appointment married, and in fact the rules and regulations of the colonial service forbade it. It was also customary for men to marry later in life, probably because salaries were inadequate, recruitment was restricted to the upper and middle classes and the standard of living was higher, so often for the first three, six or nine years of his service an officer was a bachelor. As a result he had greater opportunities for social contact with the chiefs and people and so assimilated a considerable knowledge of the Kinyoro way of life which was denied to the married officer.

Earlier marriage, and often the arrival of a married officer on first appointment, prevented this contact with subsequent detriment to understanding between the British and the Banyoro. The majority of British wives were strongly opposed to close relations between Africans, Asians and Europeans.

Thus the errors of India were repeated in Uganda and an unofficial colour bar was in existence, promoted by the establishment of clubs for Europeans only.

Another factor was that in the first decades of the century poor communications made it impossible for Protectorate government officers and missionaries once posted to Bunyoro to leave it so they had, perforce, to take their weekends, holidays and local leave there. This meant that they knew the country and the people better than their successors who could easily spend their free time in Kampala or in another station. The increasing tempo of official business, the amount of paper work, the substitution of touring by car instead of on foot or by bicycle, all contributed to the increasing lack of contact. Certainly in the period after the second world war the lack of contact between the British and the Banyoro was marked and was to be deprecated. It was partly remedied in the 1960s by the building of the Hoima Sports Club, which was inter-racial. The departure of many Europeans meant that those who remained blended more easily into the social life of Hoima which was in the years 1961 and 1962 exceptionally harmonious and pleasant. All races worked and played together happily.

When the Protectorate government first began to administer Bunyoro the clerks in the district office were Asians, and usually Goans. Later Banyoro were trained to take their places as clerks and a period of service as a district commissioner's clerk was often the way to a post of a sub-county or parish chief. Because of their integrity and reliability Goans were retained much longer on the financial side.

The first Banyoro to co-operate with the British were not those who were opposed to Kabarega. Some of his best and most trusted generals, like Rwabudongo, who had fought against the British came later to help them as chiefs. They recognized their defeat by a technically superior military power and were prepared to assist their conquerors because it was in the best interests of Bunyoro-Kitara to rebuild and to re-organize the kingdom. Later when the powers and perquisites of the chiefs under the new regime became known a number of the chiefs co-operated with the British for reasons of self-interest and self-advancement as the leading Baganda chiefs had done when they signed the 1900 Buganda Agreement.

The first Banyoro to oppose the British regime were those who had the traditions of Bunyoro-Kitara at heart. The uprising of 1907 was symptomatic of the opposition to the new ideology which the British had brought and which, because of the lack of contact between the British officials and the people, was associated with the Baganda chiefs as their agents. Later it was the practitioners of the old religion and magic who retreated underground to oppose the new ideas and religion introduced by the Protectorate government and the missionaries respectively. They maintained a strong hold on the Banyoro and in times of adversity or stress even the most westernized Munyoro would seek their assistance.[5] This is strenuously denied by the modern educated Banyoro who are reluctant to speak about

something of which they think Europeans would not approve and which might reflect adversely upon their progress. Nevertheless the old religion and magic still play a significant part in the Kinyoro way of life and have adapted themselves to, and found ways of coping with, the new concepts of life introduced by the Europeans.

The Banyoro believe that there are many powers and forces outside themselves of an immaterial or spiritual kind, which may have effects, beneficial or more usually injurious, on living people. Although these spirits are individualized, even personalized, so that human qualities are ascribed to them and they have their own proper names, they are thought of as somehow dispersed through space or perhaps not concerned with space at all. Several categories of these spirits exist but the most important are the ghosts left by dead people, *emizimu,* and the individualized powers called *embandwa,* especially the pantheon of Bachwezi spirits, the cult of which may be said to have constituted the traditional religion of Bunyoro-Kitara. The Bachwezi are thought of in three ways; first the wonderful race of fair-skinned people who suddenly arrived in Bunyoro-Kitara and disappeared equally suddenly two generations later; second the small group of rulers believed to be genealogically linked in the male line to the preceding dynasty, Batembuzi, and the succeeding dynasty, Babito; third the pantheon of contemporary effective spirits, each terminologically identified with one of the long dead Bachwezi and each possessing its own individuality and special competence. They are not thought of as the ghosts of real men who died long ago but are regarded as unchanging, timeless powers. Still less is the cult of the Bachwezi spirits any kind of ancestral cult.

There are nineteen of these Bachwezi spirits and they are white, or pure, spirits, *embandwa ezera,* as opposed to the black spirits, *embandwa eziragura,* of which a great number exist and by which people may also be possessed. The colour white signifies for the Bunyoro purity, auspiciousness, happiness, goodness and the white spirits are concerned with the people's well-being generally and particularly with fertility. Thus the determined attempts by the Protectorate government and the missions to stamp out the spirit possession cult was attributed by the Banyoro to the European's desire that they might not have children so that the Banyoro might die out altogether. Some Bachwezi spirits have specific spheres of influence, for instance Rubanga, associated with twins and other forms of unusual birth and also with household matters generally; Nyabuzana, concerned with travelling, childbirth and human well-being generally; Kagoro, with lightning, and Wamara, with rain. A loose association exists between particular Bachwezi spirits and particular clans, especially the extended family group or household. One member of the group was the accredited medium, known as *kibandwa w'eka* if male, and *nyakatagara* if female.

The black spirits, unlike the Bachwezi, are believed to be of foreign and relatively recent origin and many of the older ones are said to have come from Lango and Buganda. Some could be used for divination and others for sorcery. Contact can be made with them through professional or semi-

professional mediums, *babandwa,* the senior mediums being called *basegu,* who travel occasionally about Bunyoro to direct or to conduct ceremonies and who have their own conventions, techniques, equipment and terminology. After more than half a century of European contact, and despite rigorous repression by the Protectorate government and missions, the spirit possession cult is still widespread in Bunyoro but it is now nocturnal, fugitive and highly secret.

The white Bachwezi spirit cult has declined almost to the point of extinction because the large family group amongst which it functioned now no longer exists as a result of British rule. Despite its breakdown Banyoro, both men and women, have today just as much need, perhaps more, for spiritual consolation and support, a need which, for the majority, the missions cannot as yet be said fully to meet. Illness and misfortune strike as they have always done, although they may assume different forms, and their explanation is sought, as it always has been, in the activity of spiritual agents of one kind or another. A temporary consequence of the breakdown of traditional values is an increase in insecurity and anxiety with resultant recourse to occult consolations. A Munyoro who consults a diviner on account of illness or some other personal problem is likely to be told that his trouble is due to ghosts or to black spirits and that the spirit possession cult is the only means of dealing with it.

Thus within the past half century there has been a greatly increased emphasis on the individualistic aspects of spirit possession at the expense of the traditional group cult. Some of the new, that is post-European, black spirits, include *Njungu,* the spirit of Europeans, *Dakitali,* the spirit of European medicine, *Ndege,* the spirit of the aeroplane, *Kifaru,* the spirit of military tanks, and *Mpolandi,* the spirit of Polishness derived from the Polish refugees who occupied a camp in Bunyoro during the second world war. All represent a way of coming to terms in a Kinyoro context with the new, initially incomprehensible, ideas and techniques. The spirit possession cult has a capacity to absorb into itself new and frightening forces, however unfamiliar, and through the spirit possession cult the Banyoro can assimilate them into the familiar dimensions of their own culture.[6]

It is perhaps appropriate to ask what effect Christianity has had on the Banyoro. Outwardly it has had much, for the majority of the Banyoro are now baptized and bear Kinyoro versions of European Christian names in addition to the names given to them at birth and to their *empako,* pet names. Education was started and run by the missions and there are few Banyoro who have not attended school at one time or another and so have had contact with Christianity. Inwardly the effect has been slight and it would be fair to say that in Bunyoro, as in most other countries with a much longer Christian tradition, the percentage of sincere and practising Christians is small. Dr. Beattie derived much of his information about the spirit possession cult in Bunyoro from ex-members who had subsequently joined the *balokole,* 'saved', section, strongly revivalist and fundamentalist, of the former Native Anglican Church, now Church of Uganda. It is possible

that this type of showy religious activity attracts those people who would, in the pre-European days, have been leading members of the spirit possession cult which was then practised in public. Islam has a growing influence in Bunyoro, though it has been handicapped by the poor standards of its schools, because in its attitude to polygamy it follows the desires and wishes of the Banyoro.

It was often those Banyoro who through some fault of their own failed to advance under the British régime who blamed the British for their failure. Most Banyoro like other people are incapable of examining themselves for any fault. A drunken Munyoro who rides his bicycle into a wall explains away his abrasions the following day by saying the wall hit him. Failure to pass an examination or an interview, failure to secure promotion or a better position, must be due to some outside influence; it can never be due to the individual himself. Thus all those who at some time or other, through some personal defect, did not achieve the recognition which they considered that they deserved thereafter bore 'chips on their shoulders' and were in opposition to the Protectorate government, the missions or the European commercial organizations.

At first the new régime meant little to the ordinary Munyoro peasant. Gradually he found himself with new obligations in addition to those which he already held to the chiefs and his landlord. These were liability to hut and later, poll tax, to compulsory and to voluntary labour. Later as the ramifications of the Protectorate government grew he found himself surrounded by numerous pettifogging rules, regulations, laws and by-laws, which confined his activities and which prevented him from doing many of the things that he wanted to do. To many the coming of independence meant a welcome release from what they considered unwarranted interference in their mode of life.

Undoubtedly during the period of British rule the condition of the Banyoro improved materially. The only recorded facts available which give some form of comparison, are those from the *mutala,* or *omugongo,* surveys undertaken by the Agricultural department in 1936 and 1961.[7]

It would, however, be safe to say that in 1900 the bulk of the people lived in grass beehive-shaped huts. In 1936 about three-quarters of the people lived in these huts and less than one-tenth in 1961. In 1900 the people wore barkcloth and skins and their possessions were few, except for those manufactured or grown locally. These would have been pots, pipes, hoes, spears, knives, axes, stools, drums, gourds, barkcloth, hides and skins. By 1961 the majority of the people lived in square houses built of mud-and-wattle, sometimes cement plastered and cement floored and roofed with corrugated iron. They wore clothes made from cotton or synthetic fibres, shoes or sandals made out of old motor car tyres and their possessions were many, including beds, mattresses, blankets, sheets, crockery, aluminium pots and pans, cutlery, glassware, hoes, axes, pangas, chairs, tables, mats, pictures and photographs, not least being a bicycle and frequently a radio. Even in 1961 all gradations of wealth, and consequently possessions, could

be found; some people still living in abject poverty. Manufactured soap and imported paraffin were in common use.

Changes were not so great in diet but it became more varied through the introduction of famine reserve crops, like cassava, and more settled conditions which permitted people to establish banana gardens. Finger millet and sweet potatoes as staple foods were supplemented or at times replaced by cooked bananas, rice, cassava and maize meal. The consumption of tea, sugar, cooking oil and imported salt became more general and near the towns bread was increasingly consumed by the wealthier Banyoro. Towards the end of the period the more educated and emancipated women began to eat eggs, poultry and fish, from which they had hitherto been debarred by taboo. Men also who had been debarred from eating certain foods progressively began to eat them. For instance men in Toro and Mwenge were in the old days prohibited from eating eggs, poultry and fish. They now do so. The people of Bugahya were allowed to eat elephant meat but other Banyoro could not. They now do so. The only taboo that remained was the avoidance of the clan totem, *omuziro*. Traditional banana, *embire,* beer, *mwenge,* and finger millet beer, *amasohi,* have been to a great extent replaced by sweet banana, *barwokole,* beer, *mwenge,* and maize beer, *kwete,* consumed mainly by immigrants to Bunyoro. The illegal distillation of *waragi* and its consumption has increased. European type beer, wines and particularly spirits are drunk by the wealthier Banyoro when they have the opportunity.

Security of life and limb increased during the period of British rule. Fortunately in Bunyoro there is little of the premeditated assassination by shooting which is so common in Buganda to remove people who are too successful or otherwise offend their neighbours. The method is to employ a man, sometimes from one of the northern tribes, who can best be described from want of a better term as a 'fixer'. After an advance payment the fixer will arrange through another fixer or a series of fixers for the victim to be killed and once this is done, often after a lapse of up to six months, the balance of payment is made. The fixer who actually does the shooting is either the owner of a proper firearm or a home-made one. He is generally acknowledged to be an accurate shot and may have had service in the armed forces or one of the government departments which use firearms. Possibly the Banyoro place more reliance on sorcery, *okuroga,*[8] which generally means to injure somebody by the secret use of harmful substances or techniques which contain a magical element. The Banyoro looked upon the period of British rule as an interlude when they could be certain that neither they would be killed nor their wives, children, crops nor stock, would be taken from them by invading armies or slave traders. Admittedly they were restricted from doing the same to other people which made life somewhat dull, but by and large most people considered the rule of law and order to be of benefit. Considerable nostalgia, tinged by sentiment, for the old days and ways still exists; what was good is remembered and what was bad has been forgotten.

The result of this was that the close solidarity and co-operation between descendants from the same male ancestor and the maintenance of a strong family structure, which were so essential if a Munyoro was to survive in the conditions of pre-European Bunyoro, were no longer so important as they used to be. Since the old inter-dependence had broken down men's private interests no longer required practical or ritual collaboration and it became increasingly possible for everyone to be self-sufficient. A man nowadays rarely lives in the same homestead as his father and brothers after he grows up and marries. In a cash economy a man no longer depends on his father, the household head, for the satisfaction of his wants because he can obtain money, whether to pay bride price for a wife or to buy himself a bicycle, either by growing and selling cotton or tobacco or by obtaining paid employment in Buganda, if not nearer home. Women have achieved a similar emancipation, or are in the process of achieving it.[9] The Banyoro invariably find that they never have sufficient money for their needs. The reasons for this are two. Firstly, a wealthy man is approached by other members of his extended family for financial assistance, particularly for school fees, and his customary obligations have not sufficiently broken down for him to ignore these appeals for aid. As in India the successful man bears a great burden of dependent relations and friends the number of whom increases at the same rate as his financial resources. The same problems confront the emancipated woman who has her own income or capital but since her customary obligations are fewer she may avoid them in part or altogether. Secondly, even if a man does not have these obligations he immediately takes them upon himself the moment he can afford to do so by taking another wife, with the consequent expense of building a house for her, clothing her and her children, and educating the children. Much of the bitterness felt about inadequate salaries, wages or low prices for agricultural produce is the result of these two phenomena and even if income or capital were to be doubled over-night the Banyoro would still find that they were short of ready cash.

The chief in the old days was a Babito of the ruling clan or one of the Mukama's retainers but in either case appointed by the Mukama and responsible ultimately to him. In the early days of British rule the chiefs were appointed by the district commissioner and often the more senior were Baganda. Even if they were Banyoro they were not the sort of men whom Kabarega would have appointed as chiefs. Thus they were despised. With the signing of the 1933 Bunyoro Agreement the Mukama appointed and dismissed his chiefs, subject in the case of the senior chiefs to the Governor's approval, in practice the consent of the district commissioner. A graded hierarchy of non-hereditary transferable territorial chiefs existed. The word chief was in many ways a misnomer since he was in fact an administrative civil servant who was appointed to the post of a chief. Various distinguished persons, such as landlords, were also regarded by the Banyoro as chiefs. A man appointed as a chief in order to give himself status had to obtain an estate if he did not already possess one and might

also endeavour to marry into an aristocratic family. Though the appointments made by the Mukama might be criticized on the grounds of nepotism the system certainly produced better and more efficient chiefs, even though they were selected from a small group with good connections, than those appointed following the signing of the 1955 Bunyoro Agreement. Chiefs were then appointed by the Mukama in conformity with the advice of an appointments committee composed of politicians. They frequently tended to be glorified clerks lacking the force of character of their predecessors.[10]

Education in Bunyoro as in the rest of the Uganda Protectorate was never sufficiently adapted to the needs of the people and the country. It was basically European and designed to meet the requirements of commercial and industrial instead of agricultural communities. Initially the first missionaries wished to teach their converts to read the Bible for themselves and later this was extended to cover writing and arithmetic in order to produce clerks who could cope with the administrative work of both government and the missions. The three Rs, though adequate for the requirements of the first generation of Banyoro educated in the mission schools, were not considered to be so for the second generation and increasingly the syllabus was enlarged to cater for those subjects on which formal examinations could be conducted. The result of a combination of British teachers reared in an industrial country and the influence of the Cambridge school certificate examination meant that education in Bunyoro was completely divorced from the needs of a predominantly agricultural kingdom. The subjects studied bore little relation to what the students knew of their past, saw of the present and would need in the future. As long as education was a luxury and reserved for a few who obtained employment in the Protectorate government, Bunyoro Kingdom government, missions or commercial firms it did not matter that it was out of touch, but once it was available to nearly all it resulted in a third generation of Banyoro, who found, contrary to their expectations, that it led nowhere. As the base of the educational pyramid was enlarged by the building of primary and later secondary, schools so the number of students who failed to gain places higher up the pyramid increased. They were reluctant to attend technical or vocational training schools because of the enhanced status given to academic education, and what they had learnt did not fit them for a return to the land which was the only thing left for them to do and which would have benefited the country most. Thus in the early 1960s there was a mass of youths wearing white shirts and khaki shorts, who had reached primary VI, junior secondary I or II standard, all seeking some form of clerical employment. The few white-collar jobs available were soon taken and the remainder sat at home, too well educated to help their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, in the fields and too little educated to proceed to further training. Something had gone seriously wrong with the educational system.

As has been shown the Banyoro, after the coming of the British, first assumed responsibility for the running of the Bunyoro Kingdom government

and for the hierarchy of chiefs that served it. That they did so creditably may be assumed for, though the lack of continuity in the postings of Protectorate government officials was notorious, the postings of the senior Bunyoro Kingdom government officials and chiefs were remarkably stable. By the 1930s educated Banyoro were beginning to fill responsible posts in the Protectorate government departments and to take the Agricultural department as an example the names of J. B. Lukayi, A. N. W. Kamese, Y. S. Lutwama and Z. H. Kwebiha immediately come to mind. By the 1950s the number of Banyoro in senior positions in the Protectorate government had increased and A. N. W. Kamese was the first African to hold the post of district agricultural officer in Bunyoro from 1952 to 1953 and he was followed by Z. H. Kwebiha from 1953 to 1954. At the same time R. K. Kachope was district agricultural officer, West Nile and Madi.

The responsibilities of the chiefs also tended to increase throughout the period of British rule. At first they were concerned with helping the British administrative officers, but as the number of professional and technical departments grew in the Protectorate government so their staff proliferated down to provincial and district levels. Each departmental officer working in Bunyoro expected to obtain co-operation from the chiefs for his particular work and by the 1950s the chiefs were finding that life was just 'one damn thing after another'—the agricultural officer on early cotton planting, the health inspector on digging fifteen feet deep latrines, the community development officer on women's clubs, the co-operative officer on co-operative societies, the forestry officer on wood pole lots, and in addition the extra work required by the administration on graduated taxation and the supervision of elections for both the Protectorate and Bunyoro Kingdom governments. The sub-county chief bore the brunt of the work and may have been justified in thinking that the apex of the inverted pyramid of the Protectorate government organization rested upon him. It was odd that the nearer Uganda came to independence more Europeans were required to push the people over the hump to freedom, instead as would have been expected, fewer Europeans to assist Uganda Africans to prepare for independence. The reason for this was that, mistakenly, elaborate concepts of western democracy were introduced immediately prior to independence, typified in Bunyoro by the 1955 Bunyoro Agreement, such as elections, the ministerial system and self-accounting ministries, all of which flung an increased burden on the machinery of government. It might have been better to have retained the old Protectorate system of government, run by Ugandans instead of by the British, and devised ways of making it simpler. Be this as it may, the officials and chiefs of the Bunyoro Kingdom government were carrying greatly enhanced responsibilities in 1962 compared with 1900.

In the Bunyoro of 1962 marriage was any sexual union between a man and a woman which was relatively enduring and it took a number of forms depending on whether it was a free, traditional or church marriage and whether in the case of traditional and church marriages the formal approach

and the marriage payment had been completed. Most marriages in Bunyoro were monogamous though polygamy was still the ideal.

In the pre-European times marriage was arranged by the fathers of the two spouses and usually consisted of the formal approach, *okweranga,* and marriage payment, *omukaga.* Some months later the giving away ceremony, *okugabura,* took place.[11] In post-European times the traditional marriage ceremonies were altered by the introduction of either the church, also known as ring, *okuswera mpeta,* marriage, which might include all or part of the traditional elements, or of the free, *okuswera busa,* marriage, in which neither the ring nor the traditional elements were to be found. Some other forms of marriage were also in existence.

The ring marriage indicated the power of the church whether it was Protestant or Catholic and often the first marriage took this form; other marriages, if the husband could afford to be polygamous, being traditional or free. The free marriage was the result of the instability brought about by the changes in the Kinyoro way of life after sixty years of British rule and though frequently lasting it could degenerate into mere prostitution.

Nowadays young people often choose their own mates, only informing their parents later so that the proper procedures might be initiated. Increasingly, however, young women, like young men, are taking these matters into their own hands and the ways by which they can achieve financial independence enable the more strong-minded of them to defy their parents and in some cases to free themselves from uncongenial husbands by themselves repaying the *omukaga* paid for them. Financial independence may be obtained by cotton growing, working as domestic servants or bar girls or sewing. Banyoro men are much concerned about the increased independence that women have gained as a result of changed social and economic conditions. The stability of marriage in Bunyoro is in jeopardy.[12]

Although by 1962 western medical aid was becoming increasingly available in Bunyoro, it was still exiguous and illness and death were part of everybody's experience. People contracted sudden illness and died; infant and child mortality was high. Most Banyoro do not believe that death comes by chance; it is almost always attributed to sorcerers, ghosts or other malevolent non-human agents. The rites that followed death in Bunyoro have changed little since the coming of the Europeans. They may be performed more quickly and minor modifications may have been introduced, but otherwise tradition is followed.

If the deceased was head of the household the rites were more elaborate. Instead of being wrapped in barkcloths the corpse was wrapped in blankets or sheets. The introduction of the coffin has meant that the lower cavity of the grave is no longer excavated and sometimes even if a coffin is not used it is not dug. In the days of the traditional beehive-shaped hut the central pole was wrenched out and the hut was not lived in again but with the building of permanent and semi-permanent houses these customs have lapsed. Traditionally the male mourners had to have the whole of their heads shaved but the advent of the European style hair cut has meant that

a few locks of hair are cut from the front and back of the head. The period of ritual danger, largely the avoidance of sexual intercourse by members of the household, has decreased from about two months to two weeks.[13]

It may be useful in assessing the effect of the coming of the Europeans on the Banyoro, which has pervaded and caused change in most aspects of Kinyoro culture, to consider agriculture which by its nature is fundamental and as such is likely to be most resistant to change: nevertheless changes of some significance have occurred. Agriculture in Bunyoro illustrates the predominant tendency in primitive communities, after an initial phase of disruption and maladjustment, to develop an organization in which foreign elements are combined with indigenous ones in an attempt to build a new way of life overcoming the frustrations produced by the contact of culture with culture.

The Banyoro live in scattered settlements comprised of groups of homesteads usually on a slightly raised area or ridge, *omugongo*, which is separated from others by streams and swamps. These homesteads are rarely more than shouting distance from at least one neighbour. A typical homestead comprises one or two mud-and-wattle houses or huts round a courtyard, which contains a kitchen, possibly a store and granaries, surrounded by a banana garden and two to four acres under cultivation for food and cash crops, though cotton may be grown on land considered to be more suitable as far as twenty to thirty miles away on the escarpment overlooking Lake Albert. In addition there may be half a dozen goats, some fowls and a few sheep. A cash income of approximately Shs. 200/- a year may be derived from the holding. An average holding with provision for resting land may be from eight to sixteen acres in size.

The principal food crops are finger millet and sweet potatoes. Bananas and sorghum are grown for brewing and cassava provides a famine reserve. Beans, maize, groundnuts, simsim, various legumes and vegetables are also grown and any surplus to domestic requirements is sold in local markets or to Asian traders. In central Bunyoro fire-cured tobacco is the main cash crop though cotton is also grown; robusta coffee has been increasingly planted and a few plots of cocoa have been established. In the north-eastern and escarpment areas cotton is the main cash crop. The typical rotations are as follows:

		Central	*North-Eastern*
1st year	1st rains	Cotton interplanted with beans, or maize or tobacco followed by finger millet	Cotton
	2nd rains		
2nd year	1st rains	Finger millet interplanted with sorghum and maize or simsim	Finger millet interplanted with pigeon peas
	2nd rains	Simsim or cotton interplanted with beans	Simsim or cotton

		Central	*North-Eastern*
3rd year	1st rains	Groundnuts interplanted with maize or finger millet interplanted with sorghum and maize	Beans or groundnuts
	2nd rains	Cassava interplanted with beans or maize	Sweet potatoes or cassava

and the land rests under a grass or bush fallow for three years or more. The proportion of cultivators who actually follow one of these two rotations is small, but the rotations do represent a general succession of crops which may be followed according to circumstances and further elaborated by mixed cropping. Sweet potatoes are often grown in separate small plots sometimes interplanted with beans and maize.

Agricultural changes since the advent of British rule have been limited and the indigenous system has proved surprisingly resilient to western introductions and techniques. Individual Banyoro have made little attempt to develop larger units of land by modern agricultural methods although the system of land tenure and the density of population would permit it. The wealthier people employ paid labour to cultivate bigger holdings but only a few farm in the English meaning of the word.

The agriculture of Bunyoro has been influenced by the introduction of crops, the centre of origin of which is not in Africa, and this happened before the first Europeans arrived because they saw these crops growing when they first came. The crops, such as bananas and mangoes, which have a centre of origin in south-east Asia and India respectively, were probably brought to the east coast of Africa by migrations to Madagascar in the tenth century. The new world crops, such as maize, tobacco, groundnuts, beans, cassava, sweet potatoes[14] were almost certainly brought to the east coast in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese who planted gardens to replenish their ships with fresh fruit and vegetables on the long voyage from Europe to Asia by way of the Cape. Seeds and planting material gradually spread into cultivation amongst the surrounding tribes and then diffused inland. The introduction of root crops in particular has helped to prevent famine.

The British have been responsible for the development of cotton, coffee and tobacco as cash crops. Fortunately these crops could be superimposed upon, rather than integrated with, the existing sequence of cropping and no agricultural or social revolution was caused except that men, deprived of their normal occupation of availability for defence, turned to the growing of cash crops. The demands of taxation, in the first instance, made the Banyoro grow cotton but once a money economy was established, they required little encouragement to increase production and later to grow tobacco and coffee. The Banyoro have a shrewd idea of the amount of work that they have to do in relation to the price which they eventually obtain for their produce and so the varying proportions of these crops marketed

in any one year bore a relation to the guaranteed prices, based upon world market prices, offered by the Protectorate government or the statutory marketing boards in the preceding year. The Banyoro place an enhanced value upon leisure time and so production is related to their immediate requirements rather than to what is theoretically possible.

Tobacco owed much to Philpott of the Agricultural department who devised a practical and successful system by which the Banyoro undertake all the work of tobacco cultivation from sowing to fire-curing. Curing requires patience and skill and the quality of the tobacco produced reflects the technical ability of the Banyoro. Since the 1930s Lugbara immigrants, originally encouraged to come by A. J. Margach, a planter, have grown a large proportion of the crop and in the Waki valley near Nyantonzi they have many settlements, returning home each year with their profits. The Banyoro have accepted them and have permitted them to have a parish chief of their own tribe.

Robusta coffee has been increasingly planted in the last decade and considerable interest has been aroused in cocoa but the development of permanent crops is hindered by the system of land tenure. Of the introduced food crops cassava is grown as a famine reserve; maize, beans, groundnuts and sweet potatoes are popular items of the diet and have reduced dependence on indigenous cereals. In general the effect of the introduction of cash crops has been limited except that they have resulted in a money economy which has taken a powerful hold upon the imaginations of the Banyoro.[15]

Was the advent of the colonial period a time of bondage for Bunyoro or was it a joyous renascence of widening horizons? At first the Banyoro feared the Europeans and what they brought with them, both material and immaterial, then they accepted them, sometimes uncomprehendingly, used the material things if they could afford to do so and contrived to adapt the immaterial into their culture, and finally it was with regret that they saw them depart. The terror of pre-European times was a recent memory and many Banyoro were afraid that the future might see a return to it.

Speculation upon the future of Bunyoro-Kitara is likely to be unprofitable since so much is changing in Africa at the present time. Yet it does seem that the traditions and history of Bunyoro-Kitara into which are entwined the customs of the people, do provide the Banyoro with a culture, a way of life and a method of government which they understand and with which new ideas and techniques can be integrated without destroying the whole. It seems possible that in Uganda a more authoritarian form of government may emerge which in Bunyoro-Kitara may have its roots in the traditions and history of the Kingdom which has survived for so many centuries in spite of so many vicissitudes.

References

[1]Dr. J. H. M. Beattie, Lecturer in Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford, did research in Bunyoro at intervals during the years 1951 to 1955 and has published a number of papers on various aspects of Kinyoro social institutions. A considerable

amount of information about the impact of the Europeans on the Banyoro can be gleaned from them and Dr. Beattie's article, (1960d). Bunyoro Through the Looking Glass, is particularly interesting.

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[2]See Low & Pratt. op. cit. for a detailed analysis of the relations between the British and the Baganda.

[3]I am indebted to Dr. Roland Oliver who in a review of some books about Uganda history posed some questions which I have endeavoured to answer so far as Bunyoro is concerned. See Oliver, R. (1960). Uganda Colonial and Christian. *J. African History 1*, 163-166.

[4]The author, for instance, on passing lower standard Runyoro was posted to Karamoja.

[5]Beattie (1957d). op. cit.
(1960a). op. cit., pp. 70-79.
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[6]Beattie (1961c). op. cit.

[7]Tothill, J. D. (1938). *A report on 19 surveys done in small agricultural areas in Uganda*, pp. 123-133. Entebbe: Government Printer.
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[8]Beattie (1963). op. cit., pp. 29-32.

[9]Beattie (1960d). op. cit.
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[10]Richards. op. cit., pp. 98-126.

[11]Beattie (1958a). op. cit.

[12]Ibid.
Dunbar (1962). op. cit.
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[13]Beattie (1961b). op. cit.
[14]Darlington, C. D. & Janaki, E. K. A. (1945). *Chromosome Atlas of Cultivated Plants*, pp. 13-15. London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd.
[15]Dunbar, A. R. (1961). op. cit.

APPENDIX

Collectors and District Commissioners, Bunyoro, 1900–1962

From mid-1900–17.11.01	G. Wilson	Collector	Hoima
17.11.01– . 6.02	S. S. Bagge	,,	,,
. 6.02– 9. 3.03	S. Tompkins	,,	,,
. 3.03– 9. 4.03	T. Grant	,,	,,
9. 4.03– 2. 1.04	F. A. Knowles	,,	,,
2. 1.04–15. 5.04	H. Prendergast	Ag. Collector	,,
15. 5.04– . 1.05	T. Grant	Collector	,,
. 1.05– . 4.05	A. G. Speke	Ag. Collector	,,
. 4.05–19. 5.05	G. P. V. Jervoise	Ag. Collector	,,
19. 5.05–27. 9.06	R. D. Anderson	Ag. Collector	,,
27. 9.06–17.12.06	F. M. Isemonger	Ag. Collector	,,
17.12.06–30. 4.07	L. H. Cubitt	Collector	,,
1. 5.07– 1.11.07	C. W. Guy Eden	,,	,,
2.11.07– 6. 1.08	S. Browning	,,	,,
6. 1.08– 4. 5.08	F. H. Leakey	,,	,,
4. 5.08– 7. 7.08	F. A. Knowles	,,	,,
7. 7.08– 9. 1.09	F. M. Isemonger	Ag. Collector	,,
9. 1.09– .10.10	T. Grant	Collector	,,
.10.10–24.11.10	Dr. G. C. Strathairn	M.O. Ag. Collector	,,
24.11.10–18.12.10	J. de G. Delmege	Ag. Collector	,,
28.12.10– 3. 2.11	E. B. Place	Ag. Collector	,,
3. 2.11–26. 4.11	F. M. Isemonger	Collector	,,
26. 4.11–18. 5.11	E. B. Place	Ag. Collector	,,
18. 5.11–16. 7.12	R. D. Anderson	District Commissioner Masindi w.e.f. 30.6.12	,,
16. 7.12–24. 1.14	C. F. H. Henry	Ag. D.C. (appt'd. D.C. 1.6.13)	Masindi
25. 1.14–20.11.14	R. D. Anderson	District Commissioner	,,
21.11.14–30. 6.18	C. F. H. Henry	,, ,,	,,
1. 7.18–31.12.20	H. A. Mackenzie	Ag. D.C. (appt'd. D.C. 21.8.19)	,,
1. 1.21–16. 5.22	G. P. V. Jervoise	District Commissioner	,,
17. 5.22–28. 2.23	F. H. B. Sandford	Ag. District Commissioner	,,
1. 3.23– 7.11.23	C. S. Nason	Ag. District Commissioner	,,
8.11.23– 1. 3.26	F. H. B. Sandford	District Commissioner Hoima w.e.f. .10.24	,,
2. 5.26–27. 8.26	E. E. Filleul	Ag. District Commissioner	Hoima

28. 8.26–24. 9.26	F. L. Williams	Ag. District Commissioner	Hoima
25. 9.26–27. 8.27	B. H. M. Simpson	Ag. District Commissioner	,,
27. 8.27–23. 7.28	J. R. P. Postlethwaite	District Commissioner	,,
23. 7.28–19. 8.28	D. W. Robertson	,, ,,	,,
	(No further acting appointments made)		
20. 8.28–28. 5.29	A. B. Trewin	District Commissioner	,,
28. 5.29– 8.10.29	A. E. O. Black	,, ,,	,,
8.10.29–18.11.29	E. T. James	,, ,,	,,
18.11.29–31. 3.31	B. H. M. Simpson	,, ,,	,,
1. 4.31–30. 4.31	C. M. A. Gayer	,, ,,	,,
1. 5.31–12.10.32	O. G. L. P. Powell	,, ,,	,,
13.10.31–31. 8.32	E. Dauncey-Tongue	,, ,,	,,
1. 9.32–30. 9.32	O. G. L. P. Powell	,, ,,	,,
1.10.32–10. 6.36	E. Dauncey-Tongue	,, ,,	,,
11. 6.36– . 9.37	G. C. Whitehouse	,, ,,	,,
. 9.37–31. 1.40	E. M. Persse	,, ,,	,,
1. 2.40–14. 6.40	G. C. Whitehouse	,, ,,	,,
15. 6.40–24. 6.42	E. M. Persse	,, ,,	,,
25. 6.42– 5. 8.42	C. M. A. Gayer	,, ,,	,,
6. 8.42– 5. 2.43	E. M. Persse	,, ,,	,,
5. 2.43–16. 2.45	C. M. A. Gayer	,, ,,	,,
16. 2.45–14.10.46	G. B. Moss	,, ,,	,,
15.10.46–14.12.47	G. C. Whitehouse	,, ,,	,,
15.12.47– 2.12.48	G. M. Fletcher	,, ,,	,,
3.12.48–21.12.48	J. D. Gotch	,, ,,	,,
22.12.48–14. 8.49	B. I. Slaughter	,, ,,	,,
15. 8.49–18. 6.51	M. J. Bessell	,, ,,	,,
19. 6.51–26. 3.53	C. G. R. Amory	,, ,,	,,
27. 3.53–21.10.53	T. W. Gee	,, ,,	,,
22.10.53–27. 5.55	K. P. Gower	,, ,,	,,
28. 5.55– 1. 9.55	J. Strong	,, ,,	,,
2. 9.55–13. 5.57	K. P. Gower	,, ,,	,,
14. 5.57–17.10.57	E. R. Norris	,, ,,	,,
18.10.57– 7.11.58	T. J. R. Barty	,, ,,	,,
8.11.58– 4. 2.59	E. R. Norris	,, ,,	,,
4. 2.59–22. 7.60	T. J. R. Barty	,, ,,	,,
22. 7.60–26.10.60	D. Brown	,, ,,	,,
26.10.60–28. 3.61	T. J. R. Barty	,, ,,	,,
29. 3.61–30. 5.61	D. Brown	,, ,,	,,
31. 5.61– 1.10.61	F. Wood	,, ,,	,,
1.10.61– 6. 7.62	K. V. Arrowsmith	,, ,,	,,
6. 7.62 to early 1963	S. W. M. Wanamwa	,, ,,	,,

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N.B. Much detailed information is available in the back numbers of the *Uganda Journal*, published by the Uganda Society, Kampala.

When the quarterly, half-yearly and annual reports for Bunyoro District were consulted in 1961, the reports up to 1951, with the exception of that for 1936, were deposited in the Provincial Commissioner Western Province's Office, Fort Portal. I understand that they are now to be found in the District Commissioner's Office, Fort Portal.

Similarly the annual reports for the Northern Province were deposited in the Provincial Commissioner Northern Province's Office, Gulu. I understand that they are now to be found in the District Commissioner's Office, Gulu.

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Printed by The English Press Limited, P.O. Box 30127, Reata Road, Nairobi, and published by Oxford University Press, Eastern Africa Branch, at Church House, Government Road, P.O. Box 12532, Nairobi

This history of Bunyoro-Kitara is divided into three sections:

(1) The Traditions, pre-1862

(2) Early European Travellers, 1862–1899

(3) British Rule, 1900–1962

The last part is an original historical study and gives detailed information about the development of the modern kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. The personalities and the policies which played a part in this process are discussed. In order to understand the reaction of the Banyoro to the new ideas and the reason Britain became involved in Bunyoro, there is an account of the traditions of the kingdom and of the impact of the Europeans upon it. Many of the books in which this information is to be found are now out of print; therefore the first two parts provide a useful summary of what is not now readily available to the ordinary reader.

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