

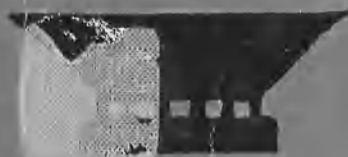
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the changing structure of a ganda village

AUDREY I. RICHARDS

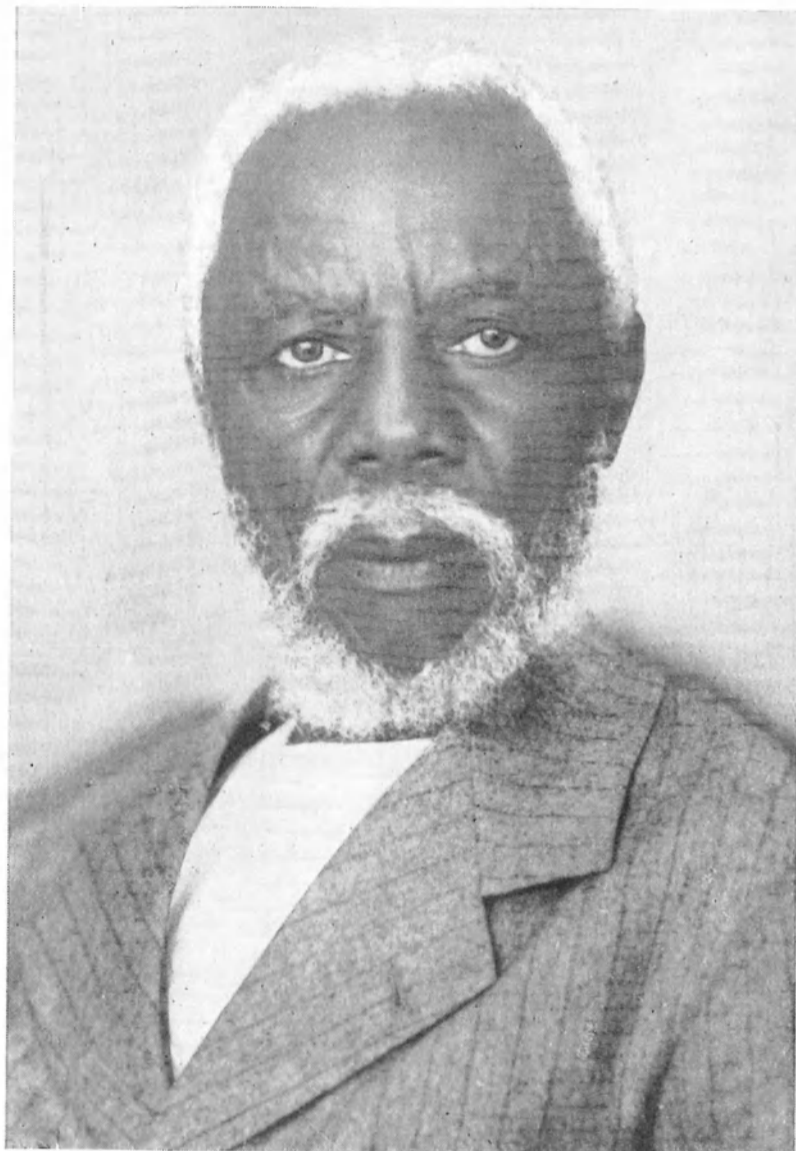


East African Studies 24

The Changing Structure of a Ganda Village

Kisozi 1892-1952

Written under the auspices of
The East African Institute of Social Research,
Kampala



Mika Sematimba

The Changing Structure of a Ganda Village

Kisozi 1892-1952

by Audrey I. Richards



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To
Nuwa Sematimba
whose help and interest made
this work possible

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Mika Sematimba	<i>Frontispiece</i>
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Foreword

Kisozi is a village which is known to many Baganda. It lies in Busiro, the central and most ancient part of Buganda, about 12 miles from Kampala, the capital of Uganda. It is built on the slopes of Budo hill where the last eleven kabakas have been installed, and hence it is a place of many historical traditions. The village also borders the site of one of the most famous secondary schools in Uganda: King's College, Budo. For this reason generations of Budo scholars and their parents must have passed through, or near, Kisozi on their way to school.

In 1952 the East African Institute of Social Research (E.A.I.S.R.) conducted a Fertility Survey in Kisozi on behalf of the Social Science Division of Unesco. The village was chosen for this purpose because it was near the Institute headquarters at Makerere College, Kampala, and because Dr. Hebe Welbourn regularly held a Mothers and Babies Clinic there. It was hoped that her contacts and her records would be a help to the survey, and so in fact it proved.

The results of this Fertility Survey, together with similar data from a village in Buhaya, have already been published in a volume entitled *Culture and Human Fertility* edited by Frank Lorimer (1954)¹.

But the E.A.I.S.R. was engaged at the time on a comparative study of village structure in Uganda and Tanganyika². It was therefore decided to collect general social and economic data in Kisozi and its two neighbouring villages, Sumba and Namagoma, as well as the maternity

1. Richards A. I. and Reining P., 1954.

2. A questionnaire similar to the one we used had been drawn up by L. A. Fallers for village surveys in Busoga (1950-52) and was also used by J. Beattie in Bunyoro (1951-2) and P. Reining in Buhaya (1950-52).

and marriage histories required for the Fertility Survey. We therefore included in our questionnaire headings on clan membership, the village of origin of the men and women, genealogies, occupational data and information on cattle and land ownership. It is the social and economic data from the single village of Kisozi which we now present, with the permission of the Unesco authorities who were responsible for financing part of the Fertility Survey.

The material was obtained by a 100% house-to-house survey carried out mainly by members of the staff of the E.A.I.S.R., A. B. Mukwaya, Christine Sempebwa, W. P. Tamukedde and myself. We also had the help of Constance Nsubuga of the Protectorate Government Health Department. The work was done in two to three weeks during agricultural plots held by the villagers and D. J. Parsons of the Agricultural Department kindly made us a report on these holdings from the point of view of land-use and organised a cattle census for us.

We had much help throughout the survey from Dr. Hebe Welbourn of the Health Department. Dr. Sembegua did some medical examinations in connection with the Fertility Survey. We are grateful to Mr. C. Odyé of the Geography department of Makerere University College for his fine sketch maps reproduced opposite pages 10 and 11.

During and after the proper survey I became interested in the history of Kisozi and was able to drive out to the village a number of times during my subsequent stay in Buganda (1952-56) in order to consult older men and women who remembered its past. Heavy administrative duties at the time made it impossible for me to settle in the village for any length of time or to become what anthropologists describe as a participant observer. Thus detailed observations on the daily activities of the major kinship groups in Kisozi were never made and some of my hypotheses remain to be tested in other villages. The account of the coronation

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ceremony at Budo has been inserted at the request of Kisozi inhabitants.

Mr. Simon Musoke, now Administrative Secretary of the East African Institute of Social Research, gave me quite invaluable assistance in checking the historical data after I had left the country, as did Mr. Fred Kamoga, also a member of the E.A.I.S.R. staff. I am most grateful for their speedy and ungrudging help on all occasions.

Mr. J. Kamulegeya kindly read Chapter IV and made some most useful corrections.

I am also much indebted to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry for reading the draft of this paper and for making a number of useful suggestions. Professor Fallers not only read the paper for me, but drew the map (opposite p. 11) showing the administrative divisions of the region around Kisozi in the year 1884 or near it. The map is based on a detailed study of the history of individual villages in the countries of Busiro and Buddu — material which is as yet unpublished. It has cleared up a number of queries in my mind and forms a most valuable addition to the paper.

We have dedicated this book to Mr. Nuwa Sematimba in gratitude for his constant help and interest in our work in Kisozi. We also want to add our thanks to the many villagers who gave us their knowledge and time, especially Prince Erika Zimbe and the late Mrs. Malyamu Bamanyagwozadde.

*Newnham College
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A. I. Richards

Chapter One

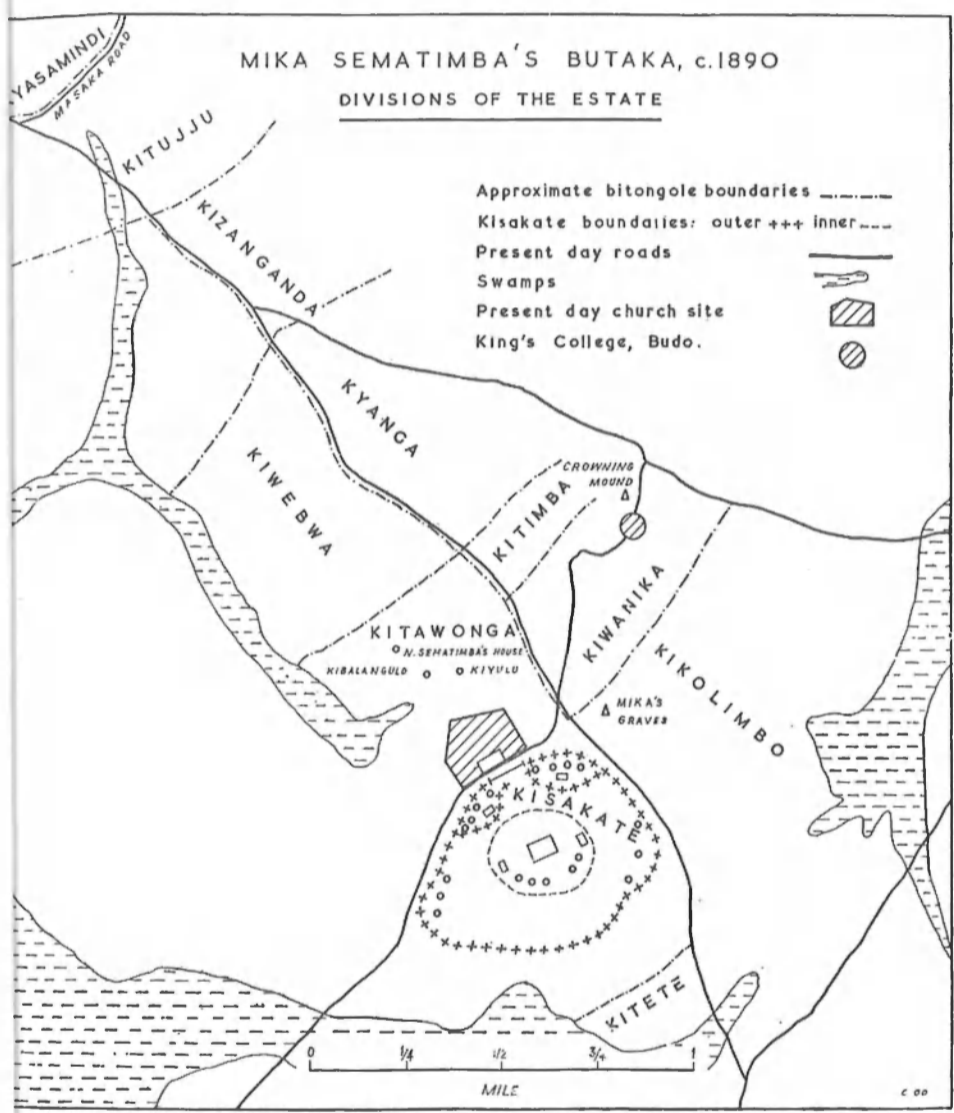
INTRODUCTION

In presenting the Kisozi data I try to use this community as a case history of 50 to 60 years of change in Ganda village structure. The changes are mainly those introduced, directly or indirectly, by the Protectorate Government since it assumed control in 1894. The spheres of action I describe are two in number; the changes in village and local administration since 1892 when Mika Sematimba, the father of the present land-owner, Nuwa, took office; and the changes in the composition of the village during that time.

A. Administrative Changes

It was possible to reconstruct the administrative system of Kisozi at the turn of the century mainly because Mika Sematimba held office in the village for such a long time. In 1892 he was appointed to the post of *Makamba*, an office associated with important ritual functions in the installation ceremony of the kabakas on Budo hill, already described as the hill-top above Kisozi village. With this liturgical office went a lordship or *kitongole* in Busiro county. Mika held the office of *Makamba* for 59 years, until his death in 1951. During his many years of rule he gathered round him a cluster of kinsmen and clients and the survivors of this group, long attached to the village, remembered the days when the *Makamba* was an important office holder, a *kitongole* chief and also one of the Kabaka's hierarchy of territorial administrative chiefs since he was appointed as the *Ssaabaddu*, or third in command, to the *Mugema*, the governor of the county of Busiro. In this capacity he ruled over lands which ran from Kisozi till beyond the boundary of the present town of Entebbe.

Older villagers remember clearly the changes made in Sematimba's position when the Protectorate Government



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introduced the famous *mailo* system (1900) by which chiefs and notables then ruling over districts at the Kabaka's command were allocated proprietary rights over these or other areas. Mika then ceased to be the chief of Kisozi and its environs and became a big land-owner in the same area. During Sematimba's long tenure of office the administration of Busiro was also changed from what Fallers has described as "a veritable jungle of overlapping and inter-digitating authorities"¹ into a three-tiered system of civil service chiefs, the county (*ssaza*), sub-county (*ggombolola*), and parish (*muluka*) chiefs. These changes have often been described as they affected Buganda as a whole². We try here to examine them within the microcosm of a single village.

During his many years of residence in Kisozi, Mika Sematimba lived in the traditional style of a Ganda lord and older men and women can still recall the exact site of his enclosure and the various houses it contained, as well as the elaborate system of minor authorities, his personal headmen (*batongole*) who administered his domain for him. Our older informants were able to trace the boundaries of these tiny named divisions (*bitongole*). Since the hierarchy of Ganda authorities has not yet been traced down to the village level, we have mapped these little units of administrative control.

B. Liturgical Changes.

The liturgical functions of the *Makamba* also give a special interest to the study of Kisozi. When we first started our Fertility Survey we were immediately told that part of the royal installation ceremony took place at ancient sites in the village and that at least seven previous holders of the office of *Makamba* had been associated with the village

1. L. A. Fallers, "Social Stratification in Traditional Buganda" in L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964, p. 96.

2. L. P. Mair 1934, Chap. VII; D. A. Low & R. C. Pratt 1964, *passim*; A. I. Richards (ed.) 1960, Chap. 2; L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964, Chaps. II-VI.

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and had played their part in the ceremony³. With the widespread acceptance of Christianity in Buganda the royal installation rites have been much modified. The last traditional ceremony was that performed for Kabaka Mwanga in 1884. We describe this rite as it lives in the memories and traditions of Kisozi villagers who were associated with Mika Sematimba over so many years. We do so because it illustrates the changes in the position of chiefs with ritual office which took place in the period under review.

C. Changes in Village Composition

Apart from village administration and village headship, I want, by means of this study, to elicit the principles of village formation in Buganda and the effects of changes in land-holding and land value on the composition of this local group. Our knowledge of Ganda society made it clear that the traditional Ganda village was the product of clientship and political allegiance as well as kinship ties and we describe these principles of residence below. In this particular instance genealogies and life-histories gave us the pattern of recruitment to Sematimba's village at the turn of the century. I make the assumption, which I think warranted, that Mika Sematimba's village grew, in the first instance, according to the traditional political and kinship principles of Ganda society, but that the composition of Kisozi gradually changed its character owing to the social and economic revolution which took place after the turn of the century. The granting of permanent freehold titles to land to some 3,954 notable persons by the terms of the Uganda Agreement (1900), and the later legislative enactment (1927) giving peasants security in the occupation of the plots they held in customary tenure, were the cause of these revolutionary changes. They altered profoundly the nature of kinship ties and particularly the relation between the Ganda father and his children. An increase in the value of

³. The names of seven past *Makambas* are remembered in Kisozi and there may have been more (see page 32).

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land followed the introduction of cotton and coffee in 1905, as well as a similar increase in the value of the new wattle and daub or brick houses as against the old-type grass huts. Both these economic changes altered still further the relation between the older and the younger generation in Buganda and also the pattern of residence in Ganda villages. It is often assumed that modern economic developments break down kinship and family groupings in African society and that they produce a new kind of individualism. It is my thesis that the changes which took place in Buganda in the early part of this century actually strengthened the ties in the individual family and the minor lineage rather than weakening them.

The industrialisation which took place rather slowly in the new towns also affected the local settlement patterns, particularly in the vicinity of the towns. These changes were important in the case of Kisozi since Kampala, now the capital of Uganda, is only 12 miles away from the village, and this gave openings in industry, government service and petty trade to those who lived in the peri-urban area. The building of schools, such as the junior secondary school at Kisozi, acted as magnets to young boys and girls. These tended to leave their parents in order to live with relatives in the school villages. For both these reasons Kisozi became a desirable residence for go-ahead people.

Lastly the influx of immigrant labourers from neighbouring Ruanda and Burundi and from the poorer districts of Uganda, which became so marked a feature of social life from 1921 onwards, resulted in the appearance of villages with older Ganda families in the centre and a ring of immigrant settlers occupying the less profitable ground on the exterior of the village and working as labourers for Ganda peasants and land-owners. Our survey figures show that Kisozi resembles other peri-urban villages in the Kampala area in this respect.

Our study of the new principles of local settlement was made easier in Kisozi because, like many other Ganda

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villages, it was almost repopulated at the end of the century. This was a time of much movement of people. The years 1884-1900 included the reigns of "four kings, three civil wars and a number of minor disturbances"⁴. Lugard's division of the country into Protestant, Catholic and Muslim counties resulted in wholesale changes of population, as did the allocation of freehold *mailo* estates by the 1900 Uganda Agreement, which involved many changes of habitation by chiefs and their followers. This process was protracted, since there were three separate allocations of land with forced evictions and forced transfers of land lasting till 1905 or later⁵. Thus most Ganda villages have a history of 50-60 years occupation. In the case of Kisozi the date is rather closely fixed since the village is said to have been deserted and overgrown when Mika Sematimba took office in 1892. We thus have a chance to study the processes of village formation within a clearly defined period — just over half a century or about two generations.

Finally I conclude this study by some reflections on the concept "village structure" in pages likely to be of interest mainly to my fellow anthropologists. I suggest first that in societies in which clientship is as important as it was in Buganda there are inevitably certain common principles of local settlement. Secondly I suggest that in societies of this kind the introduction of individual land-ownership or permanent occupier tenancy was likely to produce a limited series of village patterns and that these make it possible to group Ganda villages into a number of different types. I give a summary outline of these suggested types in the hope that it will stimulate further work in the history and composition of the villages of Buganda.

4. A. B. Mukwaya 1953, p. 5. The kings were Mwanga, 1884: Kiwewa and Kalema 1888; Mwanga 1890-1897; Daudi Chwa, 1897-1939. The wars were the Protestant-Catholic war of 1892; the war with Bunyoro, 1894-96; and the Sudanese mutiny, 1897.

5. D. A. Low describes this process fully in D. A. Low and R. C. Pratt 1960, pp. 108-110.

Chapter Two

THE TRADITIONAL GANDA VILLAGE

To understand the structure of modern Kisozi it is necessary to grasp the traditional pattern of residence in old Buganda. The Ganda village or *kyalo*¹ was a collection of large beehive huts built on the slope of a hill. The land between the top of this hill and the stream in the valley beneath was the *mutala*, the area cultivated by the villagers. We counted 165 huts in Kisozi in 1952. Mika Sematimba's village was probably smaller since a missionary writing in 1893 states that he had "106 serfs"².

How was the Ganda village composed? Was it a social unit of the close-knit kinship type which is characteristic of Bantu societies? This is a difficult question to answer shortly. When I first visited Buganda in 1944, I was told by British administrators that their work was particularly difficult because there were no "proper villages" in Buganda, meaning by this a group of kinsmen under the control of a single headman, with common interests based on joint rights over land, cattle or other economic assets. Such villages of course exist in some other parts of Uganda such as Acholiland, the Lango or Teso country, Bukiga or Bugisu. I was told by Government officials that rural welfare activities were difficult to start in Buganda because "you feel you are dealing with a set of individuals and not a community."

Anthropologists working in Buganda have sometimes come to somewhat similar conclusions. Monographs on East and Central Africa published during the past 20-25 years have accustomed them to the idea that the kin-based village under the control of the senior kinsman is typical of this

1. A term also used for a kingdom, an estate of a lord or any piece of land legitimately owned or ruled over by someone in authority.

2. *Church Missionary Gleaner*, March 1893, pp. 37, 39 lent me by J. A. Rowe.

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region whether in Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic or Bantu areas³; and that the kinship group in question has rather a uniform structure, that is to say it tends to consist of a corporate group of male agnates, such as a man and his married sons⁴ or, in the case of a matrilineal society, of a group of married sisters and their brothers⁵. With such expectations, first contact with the apparently formless Ganda village is somewhat dismaying. At least one research worker, distressed by the heterogeneity of the present day communities of Buganda, declared that in this area kinship was evidently no more important as a principle of residence than it is in a new housing estate in Great Britain, thus confirming the views of the British administrators mentioned above.

However, during my first visit I was also impressed by the fact that leading Baganda, as distinct from the European authorities, denied quite strenuously the charge that there was no sense of village community in Buganda. They pointed out that villages had names, traditions and often histories of 200-300 years — a long period of continuous occupation as compared with villages in other parts of East and Central Africa. Many Ganda villages contain the graveyards of important families which are or were associated with the community. Ganda informants were also emphatic that most men and women remember the community in which they were brought up and that they may return to visit it, to attend ceremonies held there, or to settle there late in life wherever they may have lived in their youth. They also tend to remember villages where their ancestors, paternal and maternal, lived and the centres of origin of their clans. Baganda claimed that there was considerable co-operation between villagers, not only in the performance of the traditional communal labour on roads or in times of

3. There are of course exceptions such as the age-villages of the Nyakusa described by Monica Wilson 1951.

4. For instance Lafontaine (1957 p. 105), describes a village in N. Bugisu in which 88.5% of the household heads belonged to the same lineage.

5. c. f. J. C. Mitchell 1956, Chap 6.

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emergency, which is known as a *bulungi bwansi* ("for the good of the land"); but also in the case of personal trouble among neighbours.

What are the facts of the case? Traditional Ganda villages were certainly units of administration. They had acknowledged heads and subordinates working under these. In the case of villages which were clan centres (*butaka* land) these heads were of course hereditary, at the level of the clan itself (*kika*), the major lineage (*ssiga*) or the minor lineage (*mutuba*)⁶ and in such communities there would be substantial groups of clan members claiming joint patrilineal descent, as well as other persons not in the line of direct descent, as we shall explain. Princes' estates were also passed on from father to son and therefore these royal villages also had hereditary heads⁷.

But in the majority of villages the local lord was appointed by a superior and did not rule by right of hereditary descent. In fact successive kabakas had done all they could to weaken hereditary claims to territorial rule⁸ and even to make the establishment of hereditary rights over small estates very difficult⁹. Clan heads were no longer

6. Clan and major lineage villages as listed by the Buganda government now total about 508. The minor lineage villages are not given; they must be numerous. See M. B. Nsimbi (1956) for a map of these clan centres.

7. Royals were allotted 122 sq. miles of land in the 1900 Agreement and this figure probably has some relation to the land they then ruled. The present Buganda Government files give the number of princes' villages as 45.

8. A. J. Cox and M. Southwold have reconstructed the process by which the kabakas substituted their own appointees for territorial clan rulers between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. See A. J. Cox (1950) and M. Southwold (1961). L. A. Fallers has documented the process by which hereditary estates were reduced and estates in the Kabaka's gift increased by reconstructing the position in two counties—Busiro and Buddu—in 1884. See L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964, pp. 77-81.

9. A. B. Mukwaya 1953, p. 12 mentions a few individual hereditary estates in Buganda which he calls *obwesengeze*, but the term seems also to have been used for the individual domain temporarily under the rule of an appointed official. This domain was inhabited by peasants cultivating their own plots under the rule of headmen personally appointed by the lord and not by the king. Used in this sense Kisozi was Mika Sematimba's "domain".

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territorial chiefs. The king owned large estates by virtue of his office and created others called after his name, by moving out other holders¹⁰.

On such royal land he appointed some of his own supporters as bailiffs, as did the queen mother on her official estates. Over the rest of the country the kabaka appointed his own governors or sub-governors and his office or benefice holders (*batongole*). These two latter offices might be combined, as we saw happened in the case of Mika Sematimba (p. 11). Each estate, whether ruled by a royal person, a clan head, an office holder or an administrative chief had a dominant village, a personal domain of the ruler, but there might be more than one village in an estate, some being ruled by (comparatively speaking) lowly officials appointed by their immediate superiors. A village head was known as the owner of the village (*nannyini kyalo*). The village was the smallest unit of administrative control.

Village heads were not necessarily linked by kinship to any of the people over whom they ruled. The king's governors and office holders and the lesser village heads were all liable to be moved from place to place and to take their relatives and clients with them so that they might stay a very short period in any one village; although of course if they stayed a long time, they or their dependants became linked by marriage to the villagers.

The villages must have been very closely administered and our researches in Kisozi revealed an amazing number of subordinate authorities in a small area. This hierarchical administration is what older Ganda probably had in mind when they strenuously denied that a *kyalo* was merely a set of individuals, but it is clear that the corporate life of the majority of villages was based on political leadership and not upon descent. Villages are much less closely

10. The Kabaka received 350 sq. miles in the 1900 Agreement. The Buganda Government now give 200 as the number of villages on his estates.

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administered nowadays for a variety of reasons which Southwold has analysed¹¹. The history of Kisozi confirms his views.

Ganda villages certainly had fixed names and, since bananas can be cultivated many years on the same spot, many such settlements may well have been in existence for 200 to 300 years. The agricultural system did not require the constant splitting off of groups of close kinsmen, which is such a feature of shifting cultivation. Buganda was not densely populated in view of the fertility of its soil and hence the expansion of permanent villages seems to have been possible. Again, the Baganda, unlike the Banyoro or the Banyankole, were not pastoral people and hence there was no necessity for them to move from place to place in search of new pastures or water.

But if the settlements did not move, their composition changed greatly. Individual mobility was unusually great, even though the regular hiving off of groups of agnates hardly existed. Those in authority in the districts changed their residence quite frequently, as we have seen, and in most chiefs' life histories we collected there were three to five changes of post and hence of residence. Ordinary citizens also moved about. Children were sent to the households of different kinsmen at the age of three or four so that they might be educated better than they would be at home and might "learn their relatives"; or as a sign of respect paid by young parents to older kinsfolk. These children often returned to their parents after a few years, but sometimes they remained in the home to which they had been sent¹². Older boys were sent to the court of the kabaka or to that of a great noble or prince. This was the custom known as *kusiga* which has often been described¹³.

11. M. Southwold "Leadership, Authority and the Village Community" in L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964.

12. The average period spent away from home was two years in the case of 164 boys and 49 girls interviewed in 1955 and 1956. A. I. Richards in L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964, p. 268.

13. See particularly L. A. Fallers, "Social mobility, traditional and modern", in L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964, pp. 170—174; and A. I. Richards, *ibid.* pp. 261-263.

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Young men attached to the king's court hoped to get appointed to administrative posts and were often promoted to a series of chieftainships or other offices in different parts of Buganda; youths attached to a lord's household often followed their patrons from place to place as the latter acquired new territorial posts. It was thus rare for a young man of ambition to live in the same community all his life or to live in the same village as his father, at any rate during his adolescence or early manhood. He depended largely on his own exertions for his promotion. Unlike his counterpart in most patrilineal societies of East Africa, he acquired rights over land through his political rather than his kinship affiliations. He often secured a wife in the same way, that is to say from his patron rather than through the economic contributions of his paternal relatives. He was thus foot-loose as compared with the young men of other Bantu societies whose fortunes were completely dependent on the elders of a local patrilineage.

Meanwhile, less ambitious men who did not seek to climb the ladder of authority, remained as peasant cultivators giving tribute and labour to a local lord, but even such peasants (*bakopi*) were able to move from village to village if they wished to. A man dissatisfied with one lord could offer his services to another in return for cultivation rights (*kusenga*) as could a young married man who wanted a plot on which to set up house. A peasant might also move to succeed to the position and status of his father or other senior male kinsman. Thus life histories of peasants often contain as many accounts of movement from village to village as do those of members of eminent families.

It is not, however, true to say that kinship ties had no effect on the traditional settlement pattern. The Muganda left his home in early youth to get experience and a powerful patron, but once established in life he tended to attract his relatives to live with him, forming a loosely organised kinship group which became the dominant core of the village in the case of a man of authority, and a group of

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influence in the case of a peasant who had lived long in a village and had a number of children. Thus the Muganda was apparently as anxious to live with his relatives as are members of societies with villages based on corporate patrilineages but his life cycle was different. He was forced to become independent of his parents in early life, often with the help of his father's or mother's brothers or his father's blood brothers, as we shall see in the case of Sematimba (p. 48). When he had acquired a post he built up a residential group both within his enclosure and near it. This group was of a much more heterogeneous composition than that of, say, a Mugisu or a Mukiga, and probably more dependant on individual preferences. In the case of male agnates a man did not usually live in his father's village, as we have seen: although a successful son might bring his aged father to live with him. A Muganda was also in a position of rivalry with brothers near to him in age, but genealogies reveal that brothers or parallel cousins much younger than him tended to attach themselves to a successful and ambitious older brother as dependant or client-kinsmen. In the past they did so to gain useful patronage, and in the present to get school fees or other help. Parallel cousins are still exchanged within the lineage in order to cement the ties within the group or indeed between two separate minor lineages (*mituba*). Children are quite often adopted permanently by men of their father's lineage.

Again in Ganda society the tie between a brother and sister is strong. The brother usually arranges his sister's marriage and later he gives her protection and a home if her marriage breaks down — a quite frequent occurrence in Buganda at the present day. The Kisozi figures for broken marriages in 1952 were 18% for women and 30% for men and these figures are certainly an under-estimate. Instability of marriage was probably also a feature of Ganda life in the past. A Ganda woman never joins her husband's clan and it is often to her brother that she goes in case of divorce or the death of her husband. Most census

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data taken in Ganda villages show the presence of women householders who are living alone, more often than not under the protection of their brothers. A man's sisters also tended to bring their children to live with him and thus a Muganda of note, who would be likely to make a good protector, often had with him not only his patrilineal clan relatives, but also his sister's sons. These uterine nephews and nieces are sometimes more numerous in a Ganda village core than the men and women of agnatic descent¹⁴. Thus the cluster of relatives living with a Ganda notable seems to have been a loosely organised bilateral group based on certain key relationships, the quasi-client relationship of younger brothers and parallel cousins on older men and the dependence of the sister and her children on her brother. When the head of the group moved in promotion many of these would accompany him.

Men who came to villages as tenants or clients of its head, built up kinship cores in much the same way as the lord of the village if they stayed long in the same community. The analysis of village genealogies and life-histories makes this clear.

Even in villages owned by the clan (*kika*) or the major lineage (*ssiga*) or minor (*mutuba*) lineage heads, the patrikin of these clan office-holders tended to congregate as well as their patrikin. Since clients of completely different clans also joined a clan head (*mukulu we kika*) from time to time the composition of clan villages was decidedly mixed, even though they were described as being for instance an elephant or a mushroom clan village. Some censuses we were able to do in the primary clan centres of two of the most ancient of the Ganda clans show this clearly. At the village of Bakka, the centre of the Wild Cat (*Ffumbe*) clan,

14. The analysis of clan distribution in Kisozi is interesting in this respect. Unlike the typical African village based on a corporate patrilineage, it will be seen from Table 5 that women members of the clan are sometimes more numerous than men. Thus in Kisozi there are 24 Lung-fish men and 28 Lung-fish women, this clan being the dominant one in the village.

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only 30 per cent. of the villagers belonged to this clan, while at Mbale, the primary centre of the Sheep (*Ndiga*), there were 32 per cent. of Sheep people. The proportion of clan members was probably higher in traditional times since Ganda villages now include some 30 to 60 per cent immigrants from Ruanda, Burundi and elsewhere, yet clan villages must always have had a heterogenous population owing to the client system. The clan analysis for Kisozi and two neighbouring villages is given in Table 5 (p. 83).

In brief, the traditional system was one in which political ties were more important to a young man's career than his links to a local patrilineage. By the middle of the 19th century, hereditary rights to land or office had been so far eliminated that a father had few assets with which to advance his sons, except the political links he or his lineage had made with different chiefs, ministers, or court functionaries or with the king or other royals. Thus sons were not economically dependant on their fathers or their father's brothers as they are in societies in which cattle is owned or the usufruct of land transmitted within a corporate kin group. But once on his upward way a boy used the help of members of his minor lineage, or even the more distantly related members of his clan to further his progress and he also called on his maternal kinsmen to support him if the latter had patronage at their disposal. He in his turn, once he had acquired a sizeable office, began to support and to house young people of his own patrilineage as well as his maternal kin. He used his sons and daughters as pawns in the making of new client linkages and marriage alliances, and for this purpose sent them to other villages, often many miles away.

This constant struggle for political advance had important effects on the village settlement pattern. Firstly there was a degree of geographical movement which is quite unusual in African society. Office holders and their dependant kin and clients moved from place to place on promotion or demotion and peasants changed their allegiance from lord to lord. These residential changes must have become

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more marked towards the middle and end of the 19th century when the power of the kabakas was at its height and when they began to give out more and more lordships over land¹⁵. Secondly there developed what seemed at first sight like a curious inconsistency in the residential pattern and the descent system. Ganda clans and lineages remained strong, corporate and segmented, and were of the utmost importance in the life of the individual, but by the 19th century these seem to have become organised as political power groups for the advance of their members and they ceased to have much relation to residence. Heads of lineages placed their young agnatic kinsmen in political positions or client relationships which were likely to advance the good of the lineage, and clan leaders made themselves responsible for collecting the boys and girls of the clan who were to be sent to the capital to wait on the king. Succession cases and affairs of inheritance and intra-clan discipline were in their hands, but the majority of villages were centred round clusters of the kin of men of note and these kinsmen were recruited on a bilateral, and often a very heterogenous basis and not by the rule of agnatic descent. Each such primary kinship cores attracted clients belonging to a variety of clans who, in their turn, built up loosely organised bilateral residential groups on their own. This process of village recruitment became clear to me in a preliminary study of villages selected for the immigrant labour survey we did in Buganda in 1954¹⁶. It is illustrated in greater detail from the Kisozi material.

It is my thesis that the changes which took place at the beginning of this century and particularly the institution of individual freehold tenure and the great increase in land-values following the introduction of cash crops began to alter the mobility of the traditional system and to strengthen the

15. It would probably be possible to study the degree of movement of individuals at different levels of society in pre-European days as compared with the mobility of today by means of a large scale analysis of genealogies and life histories.

16. A. I. Richards (ed.) 1964, Chap. 9.

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ties between father and child. Lords who had held land at the pleasure of the kabaka acquired secure possession of their *mailo* estates. They could give plots away, or bequeath them by will. On the basis of evidence secured at five or six Ganda villages, it seems possible to generalise as to the changes which probably took place. These changes were, first a collection of close relatives of the *mailo* owner on his estate where they lived, either on large and choice plots in customary tenure or as owners of pieces of land given them by their eminent kinsman. The relatives included in this first aggregation were probably mainly agnatic — brothers of the owner, fathers or sisters, but they no doubt also included some sisters' sons. Secondly these clusters of kinsmen tended to stay permanently in the villages of the new *mailo* owners since they had security of tenure in this way. Kisozi will be seen to be a case in point. Thirdly sons became dependant on their fathers to an extent that they had never been before. They began to live in the same village either in the lifetime of their father or at his death. Brothers became more closely associated as co-heirs of a single estate and competition between them became more acute in a society in which primogeniture had never been recognised¹⁷. As in other African societies already described, the testamentary freedom increased the father's power¹⁸. He could leave land to whomsoever he pleased by making a will¹⁹.

The family of the peasant was also affected by the introduction of the *mailo* system. Since *mailo* land could be sold, peasants began to buy land from the original owners with the proceeds of the sale of their crops. In the twenties, writes Wrigley, Buganda began to reckon land "not in square miles as hitherto but in tens of acres"²⁰. This meant that the number of land-owners increased rapidly. The original number of *mailo* owners was reckoned as 3,940 in 1902 but

17. See L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964 p. 269; L. P. Mair 1934 pp. 217-18.

18. e.g. E. Colson 1950.

19. Clan councils fixed succession to office but only allocated property in the case of an intestate man.

20. C. C. Wrigby "The Economic Structure of Buganda" in L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964, p. 39.

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Mukwaya gives a figure of 45-55,000 registered proprietors in 1952 and West 100,000 in 1965²¹. There were thus a large number of small as well as big land-owners who came to have something to pass on to their heirs. As the years passed and the profits accruing from the sale of cotton and coffee became more and more apparent intelligent Ganda land-owners began to see the folly of fragmenting their estates by sale and by distributing to relatives in small plots. The first selling spree began to slow down and a policy of consolidating land in the hands of one heir began to be noted²². In a sense this was traditional. Clan leaders had to pass their clan land to a single heir. In 1950 Mukwaya showed in two sample areas in Busiro and Buddu that 40 out of 98 *mailo* estates in these districts were inherited without substantial sub-divisions and of these 18.5% were inherited as single estates while in 22% more than half the land was left to a main heir²³. This chosen heir tended to take up his residence in his father's village and often to live in the dead man's house, now no longer a grass hut but a substantial wattle and daub or brick building. Subsidiary heirs who had acquired small plots from their father, or another senior relative, tended to live near by. This is presumably what Mukwaya means by stating that "a pattern of family organisation based on the ownership of *mailo* is developing in these villages"²⁴. Family organisation is a good term here since, as has been stated, it was not the group of male agnates which we find in a strictly corporate lineage system, but a group of heirs chosen at will by the testator, mainly among his sons and daughters, but also among his sisters and their children and other dependent kinsmen.

21. A. B. Mukwaya 1954 p. 30 and personal communication from H. W. West.

22. This process has been described by C. C. Wrigley in the work cited above.

23. A. B. Mukwaya 1953, p. 33.

24. *ibid.*

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Meanwhile the men holding plots in customary tenure (*bibanja*) also acquired rights to pass on the use of their land to their heirs without the permission of the land-owner. This was made possible by the *Busulu* and *Envuju* law of 1927. Mukwaya's plot survey in Kisozi was carried out mainly to find out the proportion of plot-holders who had inherited their land as distinct from those who had acquired it by the usual Ganda process of paying an entry fine to the land-owner. It will be seen from Table 7 (p. 86) that the number of those who inherited their plots in customary tenure was 38%. In other words, it is no longer true to say that a man never lives in the same village as his father and the attachment of a peasant and his son and grandson to one village is already a noticeable phenomenon.

A number of anthropologists have described the changes in kinship attitudes and obligations caused by the introduction of a money currency into a purely subsistence economy in which old men commonly provided cattle or rights of land-use for sons in return for the latter's labour, respect and obedience. In the patrilineal societies of East and South Africa, for instance, young men who took to wage labour began to substitute money for cattle in marriage payments and so became independent of their fathers and their father's brothers, who were usually in control of the cattle. In the matrilineal societies of Central Africa, young men who went to work on the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) began to send small annual sums of money to their fathers-in-law instead of clearing the bush for their gardens as in the old "marriage by service" contract and thus the traditional agricultural unit of the father and his son-in-law largely disappeared. In most matrilineal societies the rights of the father over his sons as against those of the mother's brother have also been changed by the introduction of money. A man who earns money is able to distribute it as he pleases and often gives it to his son instead of to his sister's son. We have, however, far fewer studies of the effect of the introduction of permanent freehold tenure of land in societies in which the traditional system merely gave a

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peasant temporary rights of use for his needs. The studies have been fewer because the introduction of individual land tenure is still rare in Africa and individual possession of large estates of the *mailo* type rarer still. The effects of such a revolution in land tenure on the relation between the two generations must obviously have been equally significant. We shall try to investigate them here.

Chapter Three

THE TRADITIONAL TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION OF BUSIRO

The territorial administration of the county of Busiro illustrates clearly the complex balance of political authority which existed at the time of Mika Sematimba's appointment. The authority within the county consisted of the king's governors and sub-governors, the clan heads (*bataka*) and the king's office-holders (*batongole*) and the princes. Some of the office-holders had military functions and were responsible for the collection of military levies for the kabaka; while the rest had liturgical or other functions. Both types were known by the same term — *batongole*. They were all addressed as 'Lord' — '*Omwami*'. Fallers' map opposite page 11 shows that in an area of about 54 square miles round Kisozi there were 6 royal rulers — 1 prince and 5 princesses: 17 clan heads; and 18 officials appointed by the king. Of these latter *batongole*, 10 had military functions and 8 had other duties. Ritual officers included coronation functionaries, the *Makamba* and *Semanobe*, and the keeper of a fetish, while other official included the thatchers and potters to the king, a treasury official and the guardian of the daughters of the princesses.

Busiro, one of the ten original counties of Buganda, was still under the control of the *Mugema*, or head of the Grey monkey clan and one of the last hereditary territorial rulers left in office by the time Lugard established his administration¹. The *Mugema* had three spheres of authority. He was head of his clan (*omukulu we kika*) and in this capacity he ruled over the affairs of the Grey monkey clan which had eleven major lineage centres, four in Buddu, two in Kyaddondo, two in Kyaggwe, and one in Mawokota, Busujju

1. The other hereditary county head was the *Kamuswaga* of Koki, who had only recently acknowledged the rule of the Kabaka.

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and Ssinga respectively. The head of a clan presided over discussions of the clan council which was composed of all major lineage heads in the clan and this body settled succession and similar disputes², enforced the rules of clan exogamy and incest, and collected boys and girls from the clan to be sent to serve at the kabaka's palace. The *Mugema* was in charge of the clan centre (*butaka*) on Bbira hill, where there was a shrine containing the jaw-bone of Katumba, the first *Mugema*. He presumably took charge of the important death ceremonies of clan members and the periodic legitimacy rites for groups of clan babies as well as clan fertility ceremonies.

Secondly the *Mugema* played a key part in the national rituals of Buganda. Katumba, the first ancestor, had been given the chieftainship of *Mugema* and the title of "father of the Kabaka" on account of services he had rendered to Prince Kimera, then in exile in Bunyoro, who became the third Kabaka of Buganda. The *Mugema's* person was sacred. He was the leading figure in the installation ceremony of each new king and the burial of his predecessors³. Besides this, he was in charge of the shrines (*amasiro*) erected to dead kings of which there were 29 in Busiro⁴. For this reason he was known as the Chief Minister (*Omukulu*) of the dead kings.

Lastly the *Mugema* was the king's governor over Busiro and in this capacity kept order in the county, presided over the collection of the royal tax and the raising of the military levy of the county and also over its judicial court. Like all other chiefs or office-holders he was in direct charge of his own personal domain, in this instance Bbira, the *butaka* hill of the Grey monkey clan.

2. Cases of homicide went to the Kabaka's courts under the charge of his governors.

3. Roscoe says he was also in charge of *Lube*, a special slaughter place where wives faithless to the king, men who had committed adultery with princesses or committers of incest were killed. J. Roscoe 1911, p. 156.

4. Hence the name of the county — Busiro — "the place of shrines".

The Traditional Territorial of Busiro

This triple role of territorial chief, head of an ancient and famous clan, and liturgical functionary, made him a unique figure⁵, but the combination of two roles, one administrative and one ritual was not uncommon in the Buganda hierarchy. Fallers' list of the authorities in this area shows that three of the lineage heads had liturgical functions and two economic, the duty of thatching and providing pots for the king. One of the military officials also had a liturgical function in that this *mutongole* was in charge of the shrine of Kabaka Kaguru, while of the other office-holders one was a coronation official, the *Makamba*, one had an administrative office in the treasury, and three had economic duties as forester to the kabaka, collector of his firewood and repairer of his palace respectively (see Appendix I).

The Makambaship with which we are dealing was also an office with two functions. In 1892, when Mika Sematimba was appointed to the office of *Makamba*, this post was one of three sub-governorships in Busiro — those of the *Senkezi*, *Kabwege* and *Makamba*⁶. As one of the Kabaka's territorial administrators, Mika Sematimba held a sub-governorship directly under the *Mugema* who acted in this capacity as governor of Busiro. Mika was the *Ssaabaddu*, or third chief in order of precedence under the *Mugema*, and as such he was responsible to the *Mugema* for the collection of taxes, the provision of labour and the keeping of law and order. The *Makamba's* territory was a large one and extended from the Mayanja river to the border of the present Mawokota, roughly the area shown on Fallers' map opposite page 11. It also included most of Buwaya and the Bussi islands. Fallers'

5. These offices were separated in 1911. The *Mugema* retained his functions as head of the clan and as ritual father of the Kabaka, while a separate county chief of Busiro was appointed with the title of *Sebwana*.

6. J. Roscoe 1911, p. 253. See also L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964, pp. 96-98 for an account of the organisation of Busiro in 1884. The *Kabwege* referred to by Roscoe was a nominee of Mwanga, according to Fallers. Mwanga made him a *mutongole* by taking land from three clan heads, *Kasujju*, *Nankere* and *Mwotasubi*.

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list of officials shows that military control in this area was under yet another authority, the *Nakatema*.

The *Makamba* had under him 9 district chiefs, according to Roscoe, and these included a famous and important clan head, the *Ggabunga* of the Lung-fish (*Mamba*) clan, actually the head of Mika's own clan, and he had his clan centre at Ssagala, which fell into the administrative district of *Makamba*. The *Ggabunga* thus combined administrative and clan functions as did the *Mugema*, but at a much lower level in the hierarchy. The *Ggabunga* had also important national functions as head of the king's fleet of canoes. In this respect, he was a more important official than the *Makamba*, but he was under the latter's rule in matters of local administration.

The *Makamba* himself had a double function as the *Ssaabadu*, the third senior sub-governor of the *Mugema* but he also performed important liturgical functions, since he was in charge of those parts of the coronation ritual performed at Kisozi⁷.

The *Makamba* was not a clan official. He was appointed to his office by the kabaka. Indeed the list of names of the six recent *Makambas* include men of several different clans. These are Lusobya of the Yam clan (*Kkobe*) appointed by Kabaka Suna; Nsama of the Buffalo clan (*Mbogo*) appointed by Mutesa I; Kisule of the Colobus monkey clan (*Ngeye*), the father of Kasule, the first Speaker of the Great Council of Buganda (1955), who was appointed by Kabaka Mwanga, together with two other *Makambas*, who are said to have been promoted quickly to other posts and are therefore not

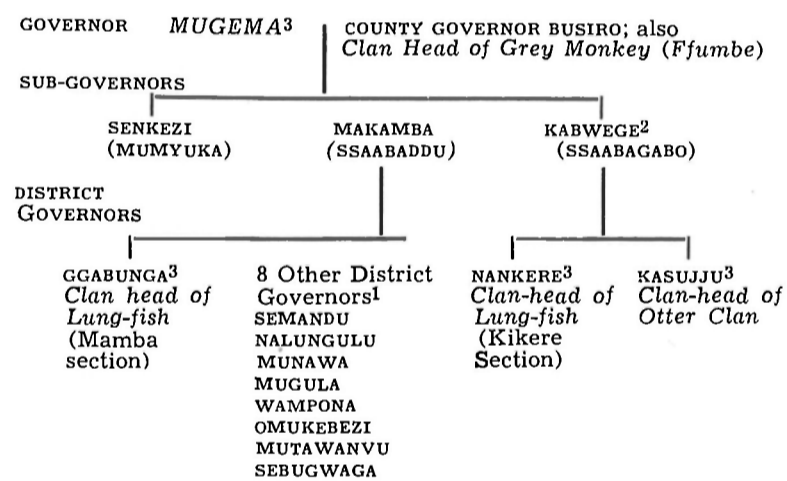
7. In the *Mugema's* own district, there were two clan heads acting as administrative district heads under him — *Walusimbi*, the head of the Wild Cat clan with his centre at Bakka hill; *Gunju*, the head of the Mushroom clan with his centre at Bukalango; *Kabwege*, who was a sub-governor of the same order as *Makamba*, was in administrative control of *Kasujju*, head of the Otter clan, living at Busujju and Nankere, the head of the Frog (*Kikere*) branch of the Lung-fish clan.

The Traditional Territorial Administration of Busiro

well remembered. They included Gwayambadde, a Moslem appointed during the religious wars and Namujulirwa of the Sheep clan⁸. Mika Sematimba, who held the office from 1892-1951 was a member of the Lung-fish clan. All these office-holders were directly appointed by the Kabaka and not by the *Mugema*, in the latter's capacity of Governor of Busiro.

Chart I

Traditional Territorial Administration of Busiro at the time of Kabaka Mwanga



N.B. (King's administrative chiefs in capitals: clan heads in italics.)

Notes The list of district governors is taken from J. Roscoe 1911, p. 253. The *Kabwege* does not feature in the list of chiefs given by Fallers in his reconstruction of the position in 1884 in the work cited. This is because his office was created later by Mwanga (see footnote on page 31). Double functionaries i.e. *clan heads* and *administrative chiefs* were the *Mugema*, the *Ggabunga*, the *Nankere*, and the *Kasujju*.

8. Welbourn states that Samwiri Mukasa was appointed *Makamba* from 1889-1892, but I did not hear him mentioned in Kisozi and think he may not have lived in the village — F. B. Welbourn 1961, p. 20.

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Although definitely part of the administrative hierarchy in the last century, yet it seems likely that the *Makamba* was once a local priest or shrine guardian and indeed Kagwa says that he was originally appointed to look after the royal fetish at Budo together with a local lineage head of the Yam clan, *Semanobe*. I think this likely because the first *Makamba* remembered in Kisozi today was a semi-mythical figure known as Sebuliba who is said to have been appointed during the reign of the first Kabaka, Kintu, and to have challenged Mukibi of the Pangolin (*Lugave*) clan for the post of chief minister (*omukulu*). Both the Yam and the Pangolin clans are described as having lived together on Budo hill. Sebuliba, according to this legend, offered to allow himself to be shut up in a house which would then be set on fire. If he escaped, he would become the minister; if not, he would surrender the title to Mukibi. Sebuliba survived the test and the house plot he occupied is still pointed out in present day Kisozi. It was recently cleared by the county chief of Ggomba, a county which formerly had associations with the Yam clan, and the Yam clan people took charge of a spear found there.

There is also the fact that the *Makamba*, on succeeding to his office, is said to have put an axe head into a very large tree now standing near the football ground in Kisozi. He is described as doing this to give himself strength and long life. This sounds like the ritual associated with a local priest rather than a ceremony for installing an administrative chief. It is difficult to give a categorical answer on this point, but it would be quite in conformity with Ganda history for a kabaka to convert a hereditary local shrine guardian into an administrative chief appointed by royal nomination or to combine old ritual functions with a position in the hierarchy of the central government and this is what I suggest may have happened in the case of the Makambaship. The organisation of the latter's own personal domain will be described later.

Chapter Four

KISOZI AND THE CORONATION OF THE KABAKA

Budo, the hill on which Kisozi lies, is renowned as the site of the installation of the kabaka. Why Budo, which is at least 12 miles from the present palace and which has never at any time been the site of a kabaka's capital?

It must be remembered that in early days of Ganda history, the different parts of the installation ritual did not all take place at one site. As Oliver points out the bodies of the first six kings were buried with their jaw-bones and their possessions on the site of the dead ruler's capital while the next 27 kabakas from Nakibinge to Suna II were buried at royal cemeteries, first at Gombe in Kyadondo where eleven kabakas lie, and subsequently at Merere where nine kabakas are buried¹. Meanwhile their jaw-bones and possessions were kept separately at the series of royal shrines called after the dead kings' names in Busiro. Again, during the period before Namugala, the 24th kabaka, new kings were selected at the capitals of their predecessors and then sent to be doctored, or endowed with magic strength and long life, at the clan centre of Nankere, the head of the Frog section of the Lung-fish clan. At a subsequent stage in the proceedings they travelled round the country to various clan centres, such as the *butaka* of the Mushroom and the Wild-cat clans where they were ritually given wives provided by the clan in question. Much of this ritual could be interpreted as a symbolic representation of a ruler establishing his position over a number of previously autonomous heads and this is of course the Ganda tradition as to the evolution of their monarchy. The formal giving of wives to the new kabaka.

1. R. C. Oliver 1959. Oliver describes Merere as being two miles from Kakiri and R. P. Ashe 1894, p. 66 calls it eight hours walk west of Mmengo.

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the giving of homage in the form of drums, spears, mats, bracelets, wooden jugs, leopard and lion skins and so forth by clan leaders²; the ritual fights between local clan shrine guardians and the kabaka elect are cases in point. The wide geographical distribution of these ceremonies may well reflect the segmentary nature of early Buganda society. Mutesa I's decision that the body and skull of the dead kings should be buried together, and that all dead kabakas should be buried in one place — Kasubi — just outside the capital, may similarly reflect the greater degree of centralisation which the government had achieved during his reign (1857-1884), as well as the influence of Arab and European cultures.

Budo is said to have become the main site of the installation ceremony in the reign of Namugala, the 24th kabaka of Buganda, and Ggomotoka, head of the Princes' clan (1919-1941) boldly dates the origin of the Budo installation as 1750; other writers are not so confident³. Roscoe gives the legend of Namugala, a prince who rebelled against the twenty-second kabaka, the unpopular Mawanda, and who obtained the fetish, which he calls the "fetish of Budo" from the Sesse islands⁴. This priest promised that the prince who stood on this horn would become king and would never be resisted. Mawanda was deposed and then killed and his successor, Mwanga I, only ruled for a few days. Namugala then became the 24th kabaka, after standing on the magic horn as he was advised to do. The Budo ceremonies are said to have started from the reign of Namugala and Roscoe describes all the installation rites subsequently carried out there as acts done in accordance with this king's directions⁵. The rebel prince thus used a magic charm against the possibility of rebellion from other princes and commanded his successors to do likewise.

2. See footnote on p. 44 for reference.

3. *Magezi Ntake* by J. T. K. Ggomotoka (date not given). Kagwa says there was no ceremony between the reigns of Kalemera and Namugala (1952, chap. 3).

4. J. Roscoe 1911, p. 223. A. Kagwa 1952, p. 8 says the priest came from Budo, which is more likely.

5. J. Roscoe 1911, p. 191.

Kisozi and the Coronation of the Kabaka

But why should Budo have been selected as the hill on which the fetish was to be kept? Legends differ, after the fashion of legends, but they all stress the fact that Budo hill, and specially one of its promontories, Nagalabi, is associated with the fight of Kintu, a legendary figure now acknowledged as the first real king of Buganda⁶, with Bemba, variously described as a snake, a local chieftain, or a brother of Kintu⁷. The battle between the two legendary heroes took place on Nakibuuka, the anthill on which the kabaka designate is now formally declared king in the installation rites. Nsimbi calls it "really the great *butaka* of the kabaka" although Kintu was buried at Magonga, some distance away in Busujju and the burial place of Bemba seems to be unknown. In fact the shrines of Budo hill, curious as this may seem at first, are not associated with any kabaka in the direct line of descent. One is named after Kibuka, the war god of Buganda, described as the son of Wanema, ruler of the Sesse islands, who was lent to Kabaka Nakibinge to give him magic help in his fight against the Banyoro. Kibuka is a legendary figure whose magic gifts included the power of flying in the air hidden by a cloud. He was shot by means of a stratagem and his body fell to the ground at Mbaale in Mawokota, the chief clan centre of the Sheep clan, where his main shrine stands today. But his umbilical cord is said to have been preserved in the House of Serutega on Budo hill. Another, and perhaps the most important shrine on the hill is the house of Budo, said to be the son of Bemba, the legendary figure from whom Kintu wrested the kabakaship.

A third shrine is named after Lumansi, the son of Kimerara, the third kabaka, a prince who never came to the throne as he was killed during a war with the Basoga. The last hut is called the House of Buganda. It celebrates the victory of Kintu over Bemba, and Namugala, the Kabaka who instituted the rites of installation on Budo hill. Thus the shrines

6. Although there are various lists of his predecessors extant.

7. M. B. Nsimbi 1956, p. 152.

8. M. B. Nsimbi 1956, p. 154.

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seem to have one thing in common. The fact that they mark a change of dynasty — Kibuka, the legendary prince brought from Sesse island; Lumansi, the son of Kimera, the prince reared in Bunyoro and brought from there to rule Buganda; and Namugala who took office after a successful rebellion against his predecessor. The new kabaka takes possession of the relics of the heads of these dynastic lines and is apparently given his legitimate rights to rule by this means. For instance, when he is taken to see the umbilical cord of Budo, his visit is said to be done “to remind them (the kabakas) how they went to the House of Budo when he was alive”⁹. When the Kabaka elect stays in the House of Buganda, it is done “so that he should understand that he had succeeded Kintu who stayed in Bemba’s house”, that is to say after conquering him¹⁰. When he visits the House of Budo he is told, “This Budo, when I make you touch it, it means you can go and eat the kabakaship”¹¹.

The main shrines on Budo hill today are therefore:

1. “The House of Serutega” (*Kasabo Serutega*). Serutega is described by Kagwa¹² as the twin of Kibuka, the war god, but it is never easy to tell whether *mulongo* means a twin or an umbilical cord. The umbilical cord of Kibuka is said to have been kept here though his other remains were at Mbale until they were taken in turn to the Haddon Museum at Cambridge, and thence to the Uganda Museum at Kampala in 1962. The shrine site is on the side of the hill which the royal procession climbs on its way from Kampala.

2. “The House of Lumansi”, the fourth Kabaka who never ruled. This hut contains or contained, the umbilical cord of Budo and that of Lumansi¹³.

3. “The House of Budo” which contains or contained the jaw-bone of Budo. This is apparently the shrine photo-

9. A. Kagwa 1952, p. 5.

10. M. B. Nsimbi 1956, p. 154.

11. A. Kagwa 1952, p. 6.

12. A. Kagwa 1952, p. 5.

13. R. A. J. Snoxall says Lumansi is the name of the umbilical cord of Budo, but other writers do not agree (see footnote 17).

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graphed by Roscoe¹⁴ when it was in good repair. It is now to be seen in a tumble-down condition in a grove on the promontory of the hill looking towards Entebbe. The open space in front of the grove is referred to as the storehouse (*bwanika*) of Budo. Snake worship is said to go on in the grove behind the shrine.

4. "The House of Buganda" said variously to have been built by Kintu after his victory over Bemba¹⁵ or by Namugala, the first kabaka to be installed at Budo. This house contains the fetish of Budo which guarantees good fortune to each kabaka who puts his foot on it. It was in a decayed condition at the time of my visit but its original form can be seen in the photograph taken by Roscoe¹⁶.

The guardian of the shrines is the *Semanobe* of the Mugula lineage of the Lung-fish clan. The first *Semanobe* is said by local informants to have been the son of Budo, and the grandson of Bemba, but by others to have been installed as a priest of Budo hill by Kintu or by Namugala. He is now referred to as the lineage head (*mutaka*) of Budo and the graves of many of his ancestors are to be seen there. Other ancestral names associated with the hill are those of Mukibi of the Pangolin clan, and of ancestors of the Oribi (*Mpewo*) clan and of the Yam clan. Mukibi is in fact said to have been the *Katikiro* of King Bemba.

Accounts of the installation ritual vary in detail. Roscoe, Kagwa, Zimbe, Snoxall, Nsimbi and Cook all give versions¹⁷. The Reverend B. M. Zimbe witnessed the installation of Mwanga and Sir Alfred Cook describes that of Daudi Chwa. Since we are mainly concerned with the part played by the *Makamba* in the rites, I have followed a narra-

14. J. Roscoe 1911, fig. 26, p. 191.

15. M. B. Nsimbi 1956, p. 154.

16. J. Roscoe 1911, p. 192, fig. 27.

17. J. Roscoe 1911, pp. 189-90; A. Kagwa 1952 Chap. 3; B. M. Zimbe 1939; J. G. Ggomotoka, *Magezi Ntakke*; R. A. J. Snoxall 1937; M. B. Nsimbi 1956, pp. 154-5; A. R. Cook 1955.

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tive left by the *Makamba*, Mika Sematimba, and by the father of the present *Semanobe* and some of their advisers.¹⁸

The first stage of the installation rites in Budo consisted of a mock fight between the local guardians of the hill, the *Semanobe* and the *Makamba* and their respective forces and the two processions which had travelled from Kampala to Budo, that of the King designate and his Queen-sister (*lubuga*) and that of the king-makers, the *Katikkiro* the guardian of the princes, *Kasujju*, and "the father of the king", the *Mugema*. The two parties were evidently large. Zimbe put that of Kabaka Mwanga at 4,000 and the *Katikkiro's* following at 6,000¹⁹.

Semanobe and *Makamba* "fought" the two royal processions with elephant grass reeds. Hence the name of the mock fight — "the war of the reeds" (*lutalo lwa birumbirumbi*). Ritual battles of this kind are common in Bantu and other installation ceremonies and are usually interpreted as symbolising the victory of the chosen candidate over rival claimants or factions. The reluctance of the shrine and relic guardians, in this case *Semanobe* and *Makamba*, to hand over the spiritual sources of royal power to any but a prince legitimately selected by the accepted process is also a common feature of such ceremonies. In Buganda where primogeniture was not the rule and a prince was selected from a number of princes by the *Katikkiro* and the *Kasujju*, it is these two latter officials who bring the prince of their choice for acceptance by the guardian of those shrines which represent the continuity of the Ganda monarchy. The mock fight is also a test in ritual form of the power of the Kabaka designate to conquer those who oppose him, just as his success in the board game played later in the ritual shows his ability to dominate his officials and to outwit them by his intelligence (see p. 43).

Once the *Semanobe* is symbolically convinced by the success of the chosen prince in the fight that he is the rightful

18. Typescript dated March 14th 1914 in the possession of Mr. Nuwa Sematimba.

19. B. M. Zimbe 1939, p. 106 (references to the English translation at the E.A.I.S.R.).

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successor to the throne he agrees to carry out the first rite of role assumption by the planting of a fig-tree which means, in Ganda ritual, the founding of an estate or a unit of government, here the kingdom itself. At Mwanga's installation, the *Semanobe* said, according to Zimbe. "If it is you, Mwanga, who has become Kabaka, I will plant a fig-tree for you"²⁰.

The *Semanobe* and the *Makamba* then led the royal party up the hill so that the new king could be shown "the things of his *butaka*"²¹, that is to say the relics in the Houses of Serutega, of Lumansi and of Buganda. In several of these rites, which lasted two or more days, the *Semanobe* held the king's right hand and the *Makamba* his left. These two local guardians fed the king-makers with a ritually cooked meal and stripped the old clothes off the king. They slept in the same house with him at night. The *Semanobe* and a clan assistant then led the Kabaka to the crowning mound, the anthill known as Nakibuuka, still to be seen surrounded by a broken-down reed fence on Budo Hill, very near to the present secondary school, King's College. When the royal pair had crawled to the mound on their knees it was the *Semanobe* who pulled them to their feet, clothed them with new bark-cloths and gave the new king a spear saying "Go and conquer all your enemies", while he gave the queen-sister a knife saying "Go and prepare food for your husband". Zimbe calls the mound a place where the Kabaka could "restore his strength so that he could give his shield, *Kamanya*, to the *Mukwenda* as no more wars were to be fought by him". As in many other African installation rites the king has to be given magic strength, in this case by standing on the horn of a predecessor who overcame opposition (see p. 38).

The *Semanobe* then exhorted the Kabaka to behave in a kingly fashion and after several rites of which our authorities give somewhat conflicting accounts, handed over the care

20. B. M. Zimbe 1939, p. 106.

21. B. M. Zimbe 1939, p. 107 and M. B. Nsimbi 1956, p. 154. The village of a clan head is known as his *butaka*. Here Budo, with its shrines, is treated as the *butaka* of the king, the ritual centre of Buganda.

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of the royal party to the *Makamba* who led the procession from Budo to his own domain, Kisozi.

In Kisozi the new king and his royal sister first visited a thicket of trees standing below the present land-owner's house. This is the traditional spot where the new Kabaka was given a spear haft. In the thicket still stands a tree known as the whetstone (*kibangulo*) since spears were sharpened with the aid of stone dust and powdered wood. *Semanobe* and *Makamba* gave the Kabaka wood from the tree to sharpen his spear in order to conquer other tribes. They then proceeded along the road and planted four banana suckers. The four participants, that is to say the Kabaka, his ritual sister, the *Semanobe* and the *Makamba*, each planted one sucker and this symbolised the Kabaka's duty to provide food for his people. The *Makamba* and the Kabaka then planted two further bark-cloth trees just as *Semanobe* and the Kabaka planted trees in the former's realm — Budo hill.

The party then proceeded to a special reed-bed where reeds (*byulu*), such as are used for weaving baskets, grow. This spot is in the *Makamba's* domain below the present land-owner's house (see map). The *Makamba* gave reeds to the Kabaka and to the Queen-sister and then picked some himself saying to the Kabaka, "Go and make a shield to protect Buganda at war" and to the Queen-sister "Go and make a basket so that Buganda may be at peace". The royal couple were reminded that clay pots break, but a basket will never break if it is dropped or shaken.

The four chief performers then went to an *oluiki* tree — the tree on which the seeds used for the board game (*mweso*) are grown. The *Makamba* seems to have some kind of association with the Kabaka's function as the administrator of justice. He was, as we have seen, the *Ssaabaddu* of *Semanobe*, and the *Ssaabaddu* of the Kabaka judged in cases between the Kabaka and his subjects. It was the *Makamba* who showed the Kabaka how to choose the seeds with which he was to play a ritual board-game (*mweso*) with

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his chiefs. The rite was known as "playing against Buganda". Having chosen the seeds, the party went to the house of Sebwami, another local authority described as the *Ssaabaddu* or third in command of Budo. Here they found a traditional *mwes*o board and *Makamba* said, "We have brought the new Kabaka. Give him the *mwes*o board that he may play". The ritual game had to be won by the Kabaka and he was instructed in the moves he should use. He played with the local liturgical chiefs, the *Semanobe* and the *Makamba*, sitting one on each side of him in support while his opponents, the prime minister, the *Kasujju* and the *Mugema* sat on the other side. This ritual game seems to be the symbolic assertion that the Kabaka is wiser and more cunning than his ministers and able to outwit the prime minister, the head of the hierarchy of administrative chiefs²²; the *Kasujju*, the guardian of all the princes; and the *Mugema*, the most important ritual functionary in Buganda. In this game the local shrine guardians who have been installing the king support him against his ministers and officials. The rite is also described as a public demonstration of the Kabaka's judgement. If he won in the game, then he would be able to come to right decisions in difficult court cases. Hence the emphasis by informants that the Kabaka *must* win at the installation rite²³.

After the game was finished the Kabaka and his sister each took one of the seeds (*mpiki*) which had been used and went to what Snoxall calls the "court house of *Makamba*" — presumably his main hall. Here they found the *Katikkiro*'s own *mwes*o board, which was used by him and by some of his chiefs in games played at the Great Council (*Lukiiko*) meetings. The Kabaka and his sister added the new seeds they had been given for his new reign to those already lying

22. It was common for the Kabaka to replace the *Katikkiro*, who had put him on the throne, when he had assumed power.

23. Kagwa says the *Makamba*'s instructions to the Kabaka for winning the game showed the king how he would have to judge cases at the fire place called *Ggombolola* outside the palace and tells that he is never to be exceeded in wisdom (1952, p.7).

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on the *Katikkiro's* board. Thus the Kabaka adds the seeds with which he has vanquished his ministers to those they normally play with. Perhaps by this means he is also delegating the judicial authority he has just received to his chief minister and counsellors.

From thence the party proceeded to the house of Suku, the *Ssaabagabo* or fourth in command of Budo district where the *Semanobe*, the local clan head, asked this local administrative chief to allow the Kabaka to be proclaimed to all the people of Buganda²⁴. The *Semanobe* then left, having fulfilled his ritual function of guarding the ancestral shrines on Budo hill from rival princes and having presented them to the successor who had been legitimately chosen. The work of the *Makamba* at the sacred sites in Kisozi was also over. The remainder of the ceremony included the building of a special enclosure (*kakomera*) by the new Kabaka for the mourning period, the clothing of the king afresh by the *Mugema*, the wounding of a scape-goat by the king²⁵ and the presentation of symbolic gifts by clan heads and in these rites the *Makamba* had no part to play²⁶.

As far as the local functionaries are concerned, *Semanobe* of the Lung-fish clan²⁷, the chief protector of the royal shrines on Budo hill, claims to be descended from a "grandson" of Kabaka Budo, and may thus form a link between the Kintu line and that of earlier kabakas. The *Makamba* acts as his *Ssaabaddu* or third in command during the rites on

24. According to Snoxall, the party also visited Sumba, the lineage centre of the Pangolin clan referred to in this paper. R. A. J. Snoxall 1937.

25. Zimbe claims that Mwanga shot a Nyoro boy as a scape-goat to show that the Kabaka was now full grown and also as an act of revenge for the killing of Kabaka Nakibinge by the Banyoro. B. M. Zimbe 1939, p. 112.

26. See R. A. J. Snoxall 1937, p. 184; J. Gorju 1920; A. Kagwa 1952, Chap. 33; A. J. Cook 1945, pp. 279-281. The installation of Daudi Chwa in 1914 was evidently much condensed and it is not surprising that informants' accounts are often contradictory.

27. Mika Sematimba happened also to be a member of the Lung-fish clan, but this must have been a historic accident since the last five Makambas have belonged to different clans.

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the hill top. Where one holds the king's right hand the other holds his left. In Kisozi, the *Makamba* assumes control but the two liturgical chiefs work together throughout. It is tempting to view the pair as representing the twin pyramids of authority in Buganda, the power of the clan heads over whom the kabaka under the title of *Ssabataka* is supreme, and the power of the king's appointed chiefs, of whom he is also head. But I never heard this explanation given. Roscoe evidently saw some distinction between the two dignitaries since he called the *Semanobe* a priest, and the *Makamba* a chief²⁸.

It was suggested earlier that the *Makamba* may have been a local priest with magic powers, but the last five remembered holders of the office were appointed by the Kabaka and held no hereditary rights. In the Kisozi ceremonies proper he instructs the king in the duties of a reigning sovereign by showing him the wheat stone tree by which his conquering spear is to be sharpened; the banana suckers from which his people are to be fed; and the reeds used for making the unbreakable baskets. He supports the Kabaka during two board games when competing with the head of his territorial chiefs (the *Katikkiro*), of the royal princes, (the *Kasujju*) and the most important official in the national ritual (the *Mugema*). The second of these games in which the new king plays the office-holders of Buganda takes place in the *Makamba's* own house. Finally the office of *Makamba* was associated in Mwanga's day, at any rate, with the post of *Ssaabaddu*, or third sub-governor of Busiro county and I have suggested that the title of *Ssaabaddu* was connected with legal functions in the case of the king's immediate offices (p. 42). It is interesting to note that the present *Ssaabaddu* of Busiro, in the modern bureaucratic hierarchy, has also been appointed to the Makambaship although he now lives at or near Entebbe and perhaps knows little of Kisozi legends.

28. J. Roscoe 1911, p. 193.

Chapter Five

MIKA SEMATIMBA, THE FOUNDER OF PRESENT DAY KISOZI¹

Mika Sematimba succeeded to the office of *Makamba* in 1892. Rowe suggests that this was during the scramble for office which preceded the return of Lugard from his Bunyoro campaign, a scramble which took place because it was known that he intended to divide the country between Protestants, Catholics and Moslems. This was the period known as the *kutabukatabuka* or the years of turmoil, when so many Ganda villages were resettled, as described earlier in this paper. Elderly inhabitants of Kisozi say that the village was overgrown and deserted by the time that Mika was appointed. Moslem soldiers had swept through the area and had set fire to houses, boasting that they held women in front of fires to roast them slowly "as maize cobs are roasted at a fire". Most of the inhabitants had run away. It is impossible to know how many returned when the country was pacified, but there was certainly an inter-regnum and a resettlement. It is for this reason that I have called Mika Sematimba the founder of the present village.

What was Mika's claim to hold the important post of *Makamba*, a sub-governorship, an important *kitongole* in the centre of Busiro and a liturgical office in the national coronation ceremony? Mika's life history is typical of the rise of a Muganda to a position of fame through his own efforts and intelligence and by means of royal patronage.

1. See J. A. Rowe 1954. When the present paper was in draft Mr. Rowe kindly sent me a typescript of an article on Sematimba, which was to appear in the *Uganda Journal* before my own paper went to print. Nevertheless at the risk of some duplication I decided to include the present short life of Sematimba, as I had written it, as it is so much a part and parcel of the history of Kisozi. Mr. Rowe's interesting article makes it possible for me to quote some of the excerpts from mission documents which he gives and I am grateful for his courtesy in letting me see his typescript.

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He came from the Katenda *ssiga* or major lineage of the Lung-fish clan² which had its *butaka* centre at Zziba in the country of Kyaggwe. He belonged to the minor lineage (*mutuba*) of Budde, which had its *butaka* centre at Lubongo in Kyaggwe and from the line of Sebabi, with its centre at Nyemerwa in Kyaggwe. These centres were scattered, as was usual in the case of clan estates, which are commonly tracts of land presented to a loyal or gallant clan member by the kabaka of the day, but the villages of Sematimba's lineage ancestors seem all to have been in the county of Kyaggwe. The genealogy shows that Katenda's descendants remained in that county for four generations. The first ancestor to move to Busiro was Malyankolo, Mika's father, with his brother, Mutaka, who was to become Mika's guardian. Many genealogies show a similar pattern of four or five ancestors with clan estates in one place while the fifth or sixth moves elsewhere, possibly a dispersal due to the military expansion of the nineteenth century Kabaka. This movement corresponds, I think, with the period when the kabakas started giving out benefices very freely to their favourites and created the numerous *bitongole* estates. This distribution of lordships probably became common in the middle or end of the eighteenth century³. Mika Sematimba was born of this line in 1860 or near that date⁴.

2. There have been two disputes as to his clan affiliation. First, Ndugwa, head of the Pangolin clan, claimed him as a member and said he was allocated to the Lung-fish clan merely because he had been sent as a boy to work in the household of a Lung-fish notable. Such disputes were not uncommon after periods of warfare since a clan head might have to take refuge in a neighbouring country and return some time later to claim sons who had been left behind in a friend's household. Mika was, however, definitely allocated to the Lung-fish clan by a decision of the supreme clan council taken before his death. A second dispute concerned the lineage of the Lung-fish clan to which Mika belonged, whether that of Katenda or of Mulinde. By council decision reached in 1960 Mika and his descendants were definitely allocated to the Katenda branch of the Lung-fish clan.

3. See A. I. Richards (ed.) 1960, p. 50.

4. There is some discrepancy here. J. V. Taylor 1958, p. 272 gives Mika's birth as 1860 while a newspaper published at the time of his death in 1951 gave his age as 105 which would make his birth date 1847. Mika's son dates his father's birth to the year of the

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Mika's father was killed by Mutesa I for refusing to become a Moslem, this being the faith to which the monarch leant at the time⁵. Mika himself was given as a page to the Queen Mother at the age of eight⁶. This fact probably shows that Mika's father was reckoned among the then leading families though he was not apparently an office holder. Rowe says the child received the appointment owing to the ties of blood-brotherhood between his father's brother, Mutaka, and the chief *Mukwenda*. From the court of the Queen Mother, the young Mika was appointed to a post among the king's pages, where he evidently joined the ranks of the private servants rather than those described by Taylor "as administrators to the Assembly Hall"⁷. Mika is remembered as having been the page who handed the mirror to the King while the latter was dressing and who washed his clothes. The page rose in the ranks and became head of the torch bearers, He then held a post in the treasury, then became the head of the pages and was put in charge of the distribution of salt — an important commodity at the time. He is said to have been advanced through the patronage of Nankere, the head of the Frog division of the Lung-fish clan, who was a friend of his father's. He was evidently selected early for posts of responsibility. He was sent by Mutesa I on the then long and dangerous trip to Zanzibar carrying a gift to Sultan Seyyid Bargash in 1882 — a responsible job for a man of about 22. Rowe's interesting material shows that apart from this trip to Zanzibar Mika made constant business trips for Kabaka Mwanga, who used him to lead a series of canoe expeditions across the lake either to escort missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, to fetch Arab

accession of Mutesa I, i.e. 1857. Rowe (1964) suggests 1865. I take 1860 as an intermediate figure, Rowe gives his place of birth as Kigoma, now in Busiro, and Taylor gives a village in Bulemezi. I also heard the county of Ssinga suggested.

5. Rowe says during a *kiwendo* or slaughter at royal command and we know that such slaughters occurred in 1879 and 1880 from Mackay 1890, p. 184.

6. J. V. Taylor 1958, p. 272.

7. J. V. Taylor 1958, p. 32.

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traders, to welcome the first batch of women missionaries, and to greet Stanley (1889) and Carl Peters (1890). After Mwanga's deposition the regents put him among those in charge of the infant Daudi Chwa (1875) and to make a further expedition to the coast to buy goods for them (1899)⁸. He was finally chosen to fetch Mwanga's body from the Seychelles (1910) after his death in exile. I do not know of any Ganda life history which includes so many accounts of voyages. The organisation of canoe expeditions must have required specialised knowledge and Mika may have had the help of the Ggabunga, the head of his clan, who was in charge of the canoes of the Kabaka. Informants in Kisozi told me constantly about Mika's visit to Zanzibar and his trips across the Lake but it is only from Mr. Rowe's article that I got the full sequence of these expeditions and their dates.

Mika, like other young Ganda notables of the time, was attracted by the new learning and skills. He began to study the Moslem faith round about 1878 after he had begun to work at the palace of Mutesa I. He then became attached for a short time to Bishop Lourdel, but left the Catholic party under the influence of the Ganda Protestant, H. W. Duta, at Zanzibar in 1882. He was persuaded to join the Anglican church in Kampala on his return⁹. He was baptised in December, 1883¹⁰ and evidently became a trusted member of the Protestant church. He was selected as a member of the Church Council in 1885, being then only about 25 years old. Mackay writing in 1887 refers to him as "our diligent reader and counsellor"¹¹.

From Rowe we learn that Mika escaped death three times (twice in 1885 and once in 1888) during Mwanga's sporadic bouts of persecution of Ganda Christians. He went into exile in Kabula in Ankole during the temporary deposi-

8. See J. A. Rowe 1964, p. 195.

9. J. V. Taylor 1958, p. 272.

10. A. R. Tucker 1903, p. 112.

11. Mackay 1890, p. 365.

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tion of Mwanga and the dominance of the Moslem party under Kalema (1888). He lived here for nearly a year. Rowe says he performed a useful function introducing other Ganda refugees to the court of Ntara, the Mugabe of Ankole and that he joined in two battles against the Moslem forces.

In 1892 after he had been appointed *Makamba*, Mwanga allowed him to go to England with the Rev. R. H. Walker. The Kabaka is said to have given him a branch of the *Mpinamuti* tree to remind him to return at the time when the fruits of this tree usually ripen. Mika's heir, his son Nuwa Sematimba, boasts that his father was the first Muganda to wear trousers and that when he returned to Buganda after his visit to England, Mwanga gave him a chair saying that he must sit on it in the royal presence as he had now become a European. Mika seems to have been reckoned one of the leaders of the Protestant church and he himself began to build the fine church which now stands at Kisozi and commanded that when he died the funeral gifts which used to be brought at the death of an important personage were to go to this church and not to be distributed among the family according to the usual custom. Mika Sematimba held a number of political posts as might be expected of a man of his energy. Mutesa I appointed him to be the Assistant *Mutagaanirwa* in the benefice (*kitongole*) of Kitagaanirwa, and from this post he was promoted to the *kitongole* of Kigobansonga, which he continued to hold after Mwanga became king. On his return from his flight to Ankole he was appointed to the Makambaship by Mwanga (1892).

By the allocation of freehold *mailo* estates in 1900 and the years immediately following, Sematimba became a big land-owner instead of being the holder of a liturgical office and a territorial administrator. He was already a small land-owner having bought an estate of 0.23 square miles at Nsonga near Entebbe from Kabaka Mwanga. This was then a very unusual thing to do but I was told that Sematimba came to realise the advantages of secure tenure of land held in indivi-

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dual ownership during his visit to England in 1892¹². During the *mailo* allocations Sematimba received in freehold the 2.47 square miles which included his Kisozi domain; 1.63 square miles in Ssinga (Kibisi and Kibonwa); 1 square mile in Buruli (Zengere), 0.16 square miles in Buddu and 6 square miles in Buvuma islands. This made a total of just under 12 square miles together with 12 acres at Lungujja, a small but valuable urban site on Rubaga hill in Kampala. Later Mika bought 40 acres at Mugongo near Kisozi himself¹³ (see p. 64 for an account of the distribution of these estates). 12 square miles was a large allocation of *mailo* land. It was equivalent to the estates granted to the 20 county chiefs.

Though Mika Sematimba was no longer an administrative chief, the *Ssaabaddu* of Busiro, yet he was appointed a new style sub-county chief in another area, that is to say in Buvuma islands in 1900 and later in 1907 became again a sub-county chief, the *Ssaabagabo* of Busiro, the division of territory which included Kisozi.

In 1920 he went to live on his lands in Buvuma islands, apparently alternating between this island estate and his town house on Rubaga. He died in Buvuma in August, 1951 but his body was brought back to be buried at Kisozi in the graveyard which is now called his *butaka*¹⁴.

It is clear from current newspaper accounts that Sematimba had an impressive funeral and that he had achieved a rather unique position in Buganda. He certainly never reached the top ministerial rank of the Buganda hierarchy and it is possible that he may not have wanted this kind of rank and may have been too independent a character to

12. Ham Mukasa, another shrewd businessman, also bought land from Mwanga before the 1900 Agreement and he had also visited England. Rowe describes this Nsonga estate as being a gift from Mwanga, but Mika's son denies this. J. Rowe 1964, p. 187.

13. J. Rowe 1964.

14. See L. A. Fallers (ed.) 1964, p. 70 for a photograph of this grave yard with the present landowner, Nuwa Sematimba, standing by his ancestors' graves.

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follow the pattern of clientage which would have been necessary to attain it. Rowe evidently takes this view. Nevertheless there can have been few Ganda chiefs who made more contacts by means of his business trips and other responsible missions. Rowe writes that after his retirement his son, Nuwa, used to fetch Mika from Buvuma and bring him in the sidecar of his motor-bicycle to attend the Great Council of Buganda at Mengo¹⁵. He was therefore active in the central government as well as in local politics. Sematimba was a friend of Joshua Kate, the *Mugema*, who was a very active politician as well as being, like Mika, a man of independent views.

15. J. A. Rowe 1964, p. 197.

Chapter Six

THE TRADITIONAL ORGANISATION OF KISOZI

When Mika settled in Kisozi in 1892 he built his homestead on what is now the site of the junior secondary school, the school football ground and the church. This is now a piece of open ground which forms the centre of the village.

As was then the fashion Mika lived inside a double fence, the outer and inner *kisakate*, the whole arrangement being a replica in miniature of the royal enclosure at the capital. In fact old men living in Kisozi still refer to the site of Sematimba's homestead as "the palace" (*lubiri*). The boundary of this site runs from the present village school to the swamps below (see map opposite p. 11). At the bottom of the hill lived the old men (*abatete abemanju*) who were in charge of the women of the household and the back entrance to the enclosure. Further up the hill lay the chief's banana plantations worked by his wives and, beyond, the outer fence. The main gate of this outer fence (*wankaki*) faced north-west, looking on to the present church site which was then occupied by an audience hall (*kigango*). Here guests waited while they were being announced to the chief. Inside the gate to the right and the left were small enclosures containing the huts of pages, servants, slaves or fighting men ready to be called on in a case of emergency. These shared big communal kitchens, one on each side of the gate, and a large store (*gwanika*). *Makamba* did not drink and therefore he had no store for beer calabashes as other chiefs had. The entry to the inner enclosure was usually opposite the main gate. In this inner space were the huts of older women, each with their own kitchens, and these were in charge of some of the young girls sent to

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work for the chief and, in the case of pagan nobles, to become his concubines or wives in some cases¹.

In the inner enclosure stood the main house of the chief facing the big gate, the houses of the young wives who still shared a communal kitchen and a personal house (*kekusifu*) for the chief where, in the old days, a chief would sleep with one of his wives or receive confidential messengers from the Kabaka. Old men remember the house of the *Makamba's* four lute players. Two of these lived on the site of the present shop, one where the school now stands, and one in the chief's house. They stood one each side of him at meal times and only stopped playing when he rose from his food.

The *Makamba* thus lived in semi-royal state on the site described until 1905, when he built another household near the site of his family graves. His enclosure must have been very much the centre of the village. Mika's successor, Nuwa Sematimba, lives in a large house with its own drive, some distance from the main road through the village and from his neighbours on each side.

I described the administration of the old Ganda village as a close one, and the organisation of Kisozi under Mika's rule illustrates this fact. Though his personal domain (*kitongole kyobwesengeze*) was slightly larger than the present estate of Kisozi (2.47 square miles) a good part of the land on top of the hill and in the swamps below could not be cultivated and the village site itself must have been about the same size as it is today. Its main street from the Masaka road to the end of the village now measures about 2½ miles. In this small area, the *Makamba* appointed as many as nine headmen (*batongole*) to administer the tiny divisions of land

1. Mika became a Christian in 1883 before becoming the *Makamba* but former wives, female relatives and maids would continue to live in his enclosure and were often described by our informants as wives. Young girls given to a chief by his peasants would be put to live with senior wives and might later be given in marriage to his pages or to some of the men living in his domain.

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into which he split his own domain.² Some of these divisions must have contained very few houses indeed! These small *bitongole* were given names just as the kabaka gave names to the big official *bitongole* into which Buganda was divided. The names recalled events in Mika's life and the whole process of naming illustrates the Ganda concept that a lord creates and gives out authority to those beneath him. The names are described below.

Each of the *Makamba's* headmen, his personal *batongole*, had a title referring to his named district and they were arranged in hierarchical order, as were the kabaka's chiefs ruling over the divisions now called counties, sub-counties or parishes. That is to say they were graded in order of precedence as the *Makamba's Mumyuka*, or second in command, his *Ssaabaddu*, or third in command, his *Ssaabagabo* and so forth. The map opposite p. 10 shows the *bitongole* of *Makamba* as described to us by Erika Zimbe, an elderly man brought up in Kisozi and Malyamu Bamanyagwozadde, who was a maternal niece of Mika. They were as follows:—

1. *Kyasammindi*, or the place where one might not smoke a pipe. This was the most distant of Mika's personal *bitongole*. It lay across the Masaka road and north of the present village road. It was ruled by *Makamba's* deputy (*musigire*) under the title of the *Mwasammindi*. It became part of the estate of another land-owner in the 1900 allocation.

2. *Kitujju* bordered *Kyasammindi* and formed the *kitongole* of *Makamba's* hunters. It was ruled by a headman referred to as the *Mutujju*, who ranked as *Makamba's Ssaabadu*, or third in command.

3. *Kizzang'anda* was a strip running from the village road, north-east up Budo hill. This was the area inherited by the chief's relatives, his *baganda*, as the name indicates. These were under the rule of the *Muzzang'anda* who was the *Makamba's Ssaabawali* or fifth in command.

2. Sematimba's own banana and other gardens, his demesne, lay within his personal domain inhabited by peasants.

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4. *Kyanga* was called after Kabaka Mwanga. This division lies along the border of Kizzanganda on the north side of the road. Its headman was known as the *Mwanga*, and he was a subordinate of the *Ssaabaddu*, (the *Mutujju*). The post was first held by Prince Walugembe Mulinde, father of Erika Zimbe, who inherited his father's plot and proved one of our most helpful informants.

5. *Kitimba* was called after Mika Sematimba and by giving the area this name he was imitating the custom of the kabakas who carved out new areas of command (*bitongole*) on ascending the throne, areas which subsequently bore their names, so that Kitesa, for instance, was the lordship of King Mutesa and Kisuna that of King Suna. This *kitongole* was ruled by the *Mutimba*, who was also a subordinate of the *Ssaabaddu*, (the *Mutujju*).

6. *Kiwanika*, the *kitongole* of the *Omuwanika* (treasurer or store-keeper) of the *Makamba*.

7. *Kikolimbo* ran from the second, eastern village road which leads to Budo Hill and the swamp which used to be below Sematimba's fenced enclosure. The name is again interesting. It is said to come from a nickname, Kakolimbo, the small hard pigeon pea, given to Sematimba because of his fortitude during the exile in Ankole. To preserve the name, by which he was often addressed, he gave it to one of his *bitongole*³. The headman he appointed to administer it combined this office with the headship of the *kitete* or old men's quarter. He ranked as the *Makamba's Ssaabagabo* or fourth in command.

8. *Kiweebwa*. This *kitongole* lay south-west of the road down to the swamp. Its headman was the *Muweebwa* who was a subordinate of *Makamba's Ssaabaddu* or third in command. *Kiweebwa* means "given" and the division was created to commemorate Mika's appointment as the *Makamba*.

1. J. A. Rowe 1964, p. 190, says that the term "*Dora Kikolimbo*" was used to conceal Sematimba's identity during his flight to Ankole in 1838 but the disguise can surely not have been very effective.

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9. *Kitawonga* lay next to Makamba's enclosure and included most of the coronation sites. *Kuwonga* means "to make an offering". The *Makamba* is said to have used the name to commemorate the coming of Christianity and the fact that he himself had become a Christian and was offering prayers for those who were still pagan. The *Mutawonga*, or headman of the *Kitawonga* division was under the rule of *Makamba's Ssaabagabo* or fourth in command. There was no *Mumyuka*, or second in command in Kisozi; nor was there a *Musaale*, or sixth in command. The latter title was given to the head of the chief's pages.

This is a very detailed account of the administration of a tiny part of Buganda. The village divisions I describe are no longer remembered by the younger villagers and are certainly of no administrative importance today. I try to depict this microcosm of local government in Buganda because it illustrates so clearly what I mean by the close organisation of the traditional Ganda village and the extraordinary multiplication of minor officials in a small geographical area, in this case under three square miles and with a population which might have consisted of 106 adult males at the turn of the century, if the missionary estimate published in 1893 is correct (see p. 15). An elderly informant living in Kisozi today admitted that some of the *Makamba's* personal headmen ruled over very few people but he added, quite in conformity with the Ganda *ethos*, that "A man always likes to have some people under him, even if they are few".

This detailed historical reconstruction also enables us to see the way in which the titles and precedence order used for the great territorial chiefs of Buganda were applied in the setting of the small village organisation, just as they were in the case of the administrators of the king's personal household and of his wives.

The small-scale analysis will be used to illustrate what I described earlier as the clustering of a village round a core formed by the family, clients and friends of the lord, in this

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case Mika Sematimba. I hope to show that the descendants of these men and women, many of them now permanently attached to the village instead of being mobile, still form the dominant groups in Kisozi.

Chart II

The personal *Batongole* of Mika Sematimba at the end of the last century

<i>Name of division</i>	<i>Precedence scale</i>	<i>Descendants in Kisozi today</i>	<i>Holder</i>
1. <i>KYASAMMINDI</i> Title Mwasammindi	Chiefs deputy (<i>Musigire</i>)	Genza	—
2. <i>KITUJJU</i> Title Mutujju	Third in order (<i>Ssaabaddu</i>)	Lazaalo Balyokwabwe	—
3. <i>KIZZANG'ANDA</i> Title Muzzang'anda	Fifth in order (<i>Ssaabawali</i>)	Bukya n'ebigambo	—
4. <i>KYANGA</i> Title Mwanga	Under <i>Ssaabaddu</i>	Mulinde Walugembe	Erika Zimbe Bulasiyo Settimba
5. <i>KITIMBA</i> Title Mutimba	" "	Zakalia Bantubaganda	—
6. <i>KIWANIKA</i> Title Muwanika	Treasurer	Tabula Antoni	Stanley Lukwago Augusto Kafeero Antoni Tamale
7. <i>KIKOLIMBO</i> Title Mukolimbo	Fourth in order (<i>Ssaabagabo</i>)	1. Danieri Bulikaalo 2. Luka (adopted son of Mika) 3. Bamulanzeeki	— Kezirone Kizito Ntwatwa
8. <i>KIWEEBWA</i> Title Muweebwa	Under <i>Ssaabagabo</i>	1. Nsibuka 2. Zaasa	— Simon Muwanga
9. <i>KITAWONGA</i> Title Mutawonga	Under <i>Ssaabagabo</i>	—	—
The personal <i>batongole</i> of Mika after the <i>mailo</i> allotment were:			
		1. Petero Sooka	Wilson Nsubuga Geresomu Sajabi Yudas Kiku
		2. Kadumya	—
		3. Joswa Tagayaala	—

Chapter Seven

CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF BUSIRO AFTER 1900

By the 1906 Native Authorities Act, the new administrative system of Buganda was defined. Busiro became one of the 20 counties recognised as territorial divisions by the Act and it was divided into ten sub-counties, which had some correspondence with the administrative divisions which existed under Kabaka Mwanga.

The *Mugema*, described as fulfilling the roles of a clan head, a ritual functionary and a governor of Busiro, lost the latter function and hence his position as a hereditary territorial chief in Buganda. A new type county chief was appointed over Busiro, with the title of *Sebwana*, originally the name of the head of a Grey monkey lineage which had its *butaka* centre in Busiro. The *Mugema* continued to fulfil his functions as clan head, and since Joswa Kate, the officeholder at the time, was a man of strong character and great individuality, it is likely that he continued to preside over clan affairs with as much authority as before. His son, Kamulegeya, who succeeded him, gives vivid accounts of the authority which his father, and subsequently he himself exercised in the Grey monkey clan council and the importance of the clan shrine at Bbira in the old days. The *Mugema* also kept his role as the ritual father of the kabaka and he officiated at the coronation of Daudi Chwa in 1902, as did his son at the installation of Mutesa II in 1939. But the *Mugema* also kept his role as the ritual father of the kabaka. By the *mailo* system, he acquired 26 square miles of land in individual freehold and this area included the village centre of the Grey monkey clan, which thus became his personal property. The distinction between the old system and the new was clearly revealed recently when Kate's son, Kamulegeya, was removed from his office as clan head. He lost his

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office but retained the land which had been the ancient clan centre.

The *Semanobe* continued to be in charge of the Budo shrines, but the hill itself became part of one of the kabaka's free-hold estates under the 1900 Agreement and the associates of the present priest complain that the *Semanobe* is no longer treated as a *mutaka*, or clan leader, but only a bailiff (*mutongole*) on one of the kabaka's estates. As for Mika Sematimba, he continued, like the *Mugema*, to practise the ritual functions associated with his office — that of *Makamba* — until his death in 1951, although he ceased to be the administrative chief in charge of the large *kitongole* he was appointed to rule in 1892. The liturgical office of *Makamba* has now been given to a sub-county chief of the Entebbe district. Whether this ritual office is to be permanently associated with this particular sub-county chieftainship is uncertain. As we saw the office has been in the gift of the kabaka for many years (p. 32).

Meanwhile the village of Kisozi became part of the parish of *Ssaabagabo* in the sub-county of *Ssaabagabo* of the county of Busiro. The sub-county was itself divided into 10 parishes of which Kisozi was again third in order of precedence. A new style parish chief was appointed to take charge of administrative duties such as tax collection, welfare measures and the keeping of order under the sub-county chief. Thus Mika was changed by legal enactment from the position of a powerful territorial chief to that of land-owner in the district which he had once ruled. These changes were not, however, as sudden as might appear from a reading of the Agreement of 1900 and the subsequent legislation since a number of the traditional authorities, the kabaka's administrative chiefs and his office-holders, (*batongole* chiefs) as well as the clan heads, were given posts in the new bureaucratic hierarchy. Though Mika Sematimba did not immediately receive such a post¹ he was appointed a sub-county

1. Rowe explains that Mika was away on a trip to the coast at the time and felt he had been forgotten in the distribution of chieftainships. He did, however, receive another sub-county chieftainship in Buvuma as has been described. J. Rowe 1964, p. 190.

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chief (*Mumyuka*) in Buvuma in 1900 and later, in 1907, became the chief of *Ssaabagabo* sub-county in Busiro, the sub-county in which Kisozi lay and which corresponded to some extent to his old *kitongole* there. It is difficult to believe that his authority in the area was not as great as it had been under the old regime, although the duties required of the new administration were different. In the same way the local clan head, the *Nalungu*, a lineage head of the Pangolin clan, who had his centre at Sumba, the village area bordering Kisozi, was appointed to be the first parish chief of the *Ssaabagabo* parish of *Ssaabagabo* county of Busiro which included both Sumba and Kisozi and thus another local traditional notable was absorbed into the new territorial bureaucracy.

Mika was now a multiple land-owner as the result of the 1900 Agreement and of his own purchase (see p. 51). From 1907 onwards he was also the sub-county chief in his home district. He came and went on various political missions, staying either at his house in Rubaga, near the centre of the Buganda government, or in Kisozi. The village affairs were presumably managed by his headmen, as they had been during his frequent absences on trips to the coast and elsewhere. He must have remained an important figure as a sub-county chief (1907-1911), and as a big land-owner and he was apparently a successful businessman until he retired to Busiri island off Buvuma island in 1920. He started the Kisozi school and built the present church. He ran a cattle business. He paid for a number of his dependants to be educated. His close kinsmen and kinswomen were buried in the family grave site at Kisozi. He had founded a *butaka* in the new sense of the word². It is interesting that his old enclosure is so well remembered considering that he probably left it when he built his new house sometime at the beginning of

2. *Butaka* formerly meant a clan or lineage centre and graveyard, but came to mean the village and grave site chosen by one of the new land-owners as the place which he regarded as particularly his own, even if he had received several other *mailo* estates.

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the century. It was remembered perhaps because Mika Sematimba had become the image of a powerful local lord in the minds of his people. What they told me about his enclosure and the state he kept in Kisozi for ten years or so, was evidently sometimes an ideal portrait of the big house of the past and sometimes an actual account of details remembered about Mika's own fenced dwelling³.

The nine headmen (*batongole*) of Mika maintained their titles till they died but they were not of course replaced. Their power and influence declined after the beginning of the *mailo* system and they are said to have become little more than tax collectors. Mika apparently appointed three men to act as his bailiffs on his new freehold estate centred on Kisozi. These were Petero Sooka, his maternal nephew, Kadumya and Joswa Tagayaala. These men had also acted as Mika's *batongole* in the old days (see p. 59). It is not clear whether they replaced the former nine headmen or whether they had different duties. In present day Buganda, where *mailo* estates have often been much divided by sale, each land-owner has one or two bailiffs, who are referred to as his *batongole*, to look after his tenants while one or two of these are chosen in each parish to act as unpaid assistants of the parish chiefs, helping them to arrest criminals, collect tax and convey information to the peasants⁴.

Nuwa Sematimba, his father's elder son, became the leading authority in Kisozi during his father's retirement in Busiri, that is to say from 1921-1951. He took over the cattle trading business which Mika had started but afterwards gave it up. In 1951 he became his father's heir and acquired the Kisozi estate of 2.7 square miles intact, as well as the Rubaga and Nsonga estates and two different pieces of land in

3. E.g., the first accounts given me mentioned brewing houses at the gate of the enclosure. Only after much questioning did it become clear that Mika had no such house because he did not, in fact, drink!

4. The whole system is well described by J. V. Taylor 1958, Chap. 5 and by Martin Southworld 1964, Chap. 5.

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Ssingo and one in Buvuma (see p. 51). He thus became a big land-owner as well as the owner of most of the village⁵. Nuwa seems to hold much the same position of authority as his father must have done and is probably more continuously resident in the area than the latter was. He controls the giving out of plots to his tenants. He is consulted as to their problems and disputes. He called meetings such as those summoned for the discussion of the survey. Three householders interviewed said they would not answer our questions until he gave permission. They said. "He is our *mubaka* (representative). We shall do what he says."

Meanwhile, as in most Ganda villages with big land-owners resident in them, there is a divided authority. The government parish chief, who lives in a nearby village, is the local administrator under the sub-county chief and is responsible for collecting tax, keeping order, arresting criminals and assisting in welfare and other social activities in his area but Nuwa Sematimba seemed to take the lead in Kisozi and indeed in sub-county affairs.

The village must be much less closely administered than formerly. Nuwa employs two bailiffs to look after the tenants on his land, and to collect his dues. One of these was an old man, long resident in the village, and a member of the Sheep clan group (see p. 78) but the other was an immigrant herdsman from Ankole.

It is difficult to decide whether Nuwa Sematimba's position is due to his hereditary status, his long residence in Kisozi and his many contacts in the region; to the fact of his wealth, or to his political activities. These have been of somewhat the same type as his father's, important but rather outside the usual pattern of political ambition. He is

5. Many original *mailo* owners divided their estates between their heirs but Mika had sufficient land elsewhere to leave to his children. His other son, Drummond, who became a sub-county chief in Ggomba, received 4½ square miles of which all but 44 acres were in Buvuma: his daughters, Lakeeri, Grace and Emily received respectively 1 square mile in Buruli, just over a square mile in Buvuma, and 2 square miles in Budo.

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said to have refused a sub-county chieftainship, but he was an elected representative on the Great Council of Buganda and a prominent member of the Progressive Party founded in 1954. He is now chairman of a local Education Committee. Like his father he probably owes a lot to his independent character and to the fact that it is known that his "Yea is Yea and his Nay is Nay".

Chapter Eight

KISOZI TODAY

What remained of Mika Sematimba's village when we first visited it in 1952? New institutions had of course grown and developed. Mika's school had become a quite flourishing junior secondary school. A government maternity clinic had been opened by Dr. Hebe Welbourn in 1950 and her fortnightly visits brought the mothers of the village into constant touch with European medicine and the hospital at Kampala. King's College, Budo was founded in 1906. Some of its teachers lived in Kisozi and its pupils came and went to visit relatives in the village. The presence of the church, the village school and the clinic in Kisozi and of the secondary school on the hill above it made the village a local educational centre. Thus though Kisozi had historic associations, it was in no sense a sleepy, traditional community. It had become, in many respects, a new-style village of the type common in the area which lies within a radius of ten to sixteen miles of Kampala — a distance which wage-earners are willing to bicycle daily to work, or school-boys to ride daily to school in town. Table I shows that over 67% of the wage-earners in Kisozi were working outside the village, mostly as artisans or unskilled labourers in Kampala. The wage-earners working in the village were mainly casual labourers for Ganda farmers or school teachers (see p. 67).

Contacts with Kampala were constant. Apart from the crowd of cycling commuters, men and women travelled to town quite frequently by the buses which crash down the Kampala-Masaka road and stop to deposit passengers at the Kisozi turn-off. The villagers marketed in Kampala and attended social functions there. They seemed to be closely involved in political activities in the town, to be keenly alive to the news and scandal going on there. Nuwa Sematimba himself inherited his father's house on Rubago hill in

Table 1

A) OCCUPATIONS OF MALE RESIDENTS IN KISOZI (1952)

<i>Self-employed</i>			
<i>Cultivators</i>	<i>Unskilled labourers¹</i>	<i>Skilled labourers²</i>	<i>Unstated</i>
46%	14%	31%	9%

B) PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OF THE 45% OF WAGE-EARNERS RESIDENT IN KISOZI

<i>Place of Work</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Non-agricultural wage-earners</i>	<i>School Teachers</i>	<i>Casual labour for Ganda farmers</i>
In Kisozi	25(33%)	11(14%)	6(8%)	8(11%)
Outside				
Kisozi	51(67%)	51(67%)	—	—
	76(100%)	62(81%)	6(8%)	8(11%)

Kampala and thus, like the traditional Ganda lord, has a town and a country residence.

As an agricultural area, Kisozi must also be reckoned as typical of the peri-urban communities of Buganda. The survey of the village done for us by the Agricultural Department, showed that the soil was considerably exhausted by some 200-300 years continuous cultivation. Though in general a fertile area, erosion had carried away much of the good soil from the higher slopes of Kisozi hill. Peasant plots were small, averaging 3 acres, a figure well below that for Buganda as a whole, though not for the densely populated areas round Kampala. The plot survey done by A. B. Mukwaya showed that only 12 cultivators had plots bigger than five acres (Table 7 p. 86). Some plot holders grew cotton and coffee as well as food crops but it was clear that the majority of those who now come to settle in Kisozi do so because they want a house-site near Kampala with a small vegetable plot attached to it, rather than because they want to secure their livelihood off the land. Table 1 shows that

1. Includes unskilled road-workers and others, plus labourers working for Ganda farmers.

2. Includes school teachers, artisans, shop assistants, etc.

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45% of the male population could be reckoned as wage-earners rather than as self-employed cultivators and of these only 11% were earning wages in agriculture as porters to Ganda farmers. Only 33% of the total wage-earners found work in Kisozi itself. Nine house-holders kept cattle and sold milk, but the herds were small and the milk yields low. Money obtained from the sale of milk did not provide a living for any herd-owner.¹ In fact it seemed clear that to many of its inhabitants Kisozi was a dormitory village rather than a typical agricultural community.

As to its composition, the most striking change since the days of Mika Sematimba's appointment is probably the number of foreign immigrants. Table 2 (p. 64) shows that 27% of the male immigrants and 13% of the female were foreigners, mainly from Ruanda or Burundi. Some of these were working as wage-labourers in Kampala, but the majority had taken up plots in customary tenure and were also working casually or permanently for Baganda cultivators. Their huts were mainly on the outskirts of the village and they seemed to live outside the ordinary social life of Kisozi. People made remarks like, "They are strangers. They have no clans". We were not able to study their family and lineage connections within their own group.

The figure of 27% for immigrants approaches the average for Busiro county — 29.5% according to the 1948 census — but it is low as compared with the average for some counties where more land has been available for settlement².

1. The average size of the herds was 14 head and the milk yield low — 49 pints of milk produced daily from 21 cows in milk of which 34 were sold in Kampala. Milk produced in this quantity does not make a substantial contribution to the people's diet, nor to their money income.

2. Busiro itself has a low rate of settlement of foreigners compared to other parts of Buganda as would be expected in an old established area in the heart of the ancient kingdom. In 1948 the figures for immigrants settled in Mawogola were 52.3%; in Kyaggwe 45.5%; and Ggomba 43.1%. See J. M. Fortt 1954, p. 95 and the figures collected by A. I. Richards *op. cit.*, Appendix C, Table II.

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Table 2

BIRTH-PLACE OF INHABITANTS OF KISOZI		
	Men (151)	Women (148)
Born in Kisozi	37%	27%
Born in other parts of Buganda	36%	58%
Immigrants (mainly from Ruanda and Burundi)	27%	13%
Unstated	—	2%

It is impossible to judge whether the population of the village was more permanent in 1952 than it was when Sema-timba took office in 1892. Present day conditions should make for an influx of new residents looking for work in Kampala and I was surprised to find as many as 37% of the men and 27% of the women had been born in the village and were still living there, for this figure makes over half of the total number of Baganda as distinct from immigrants. The number of men permanently attached to the village in 1952 would probably have been higher in communities further away from town.

Comparative material from other villages in Buganda (Table 3) show that the Kisozi figures are not unusual.

Table 3

FIGURES FROM FIVE GANDA VILLAGES ³		
	Born in village	
	Men	Women
BUSIRO		
Kisozi	37%	27%
Seseriba	41%	No figures available
Mabanga	24%	" " "
KYAGGWE		
Lugala	30%	" " "
BUDDU		
Luwoko	40%	" " "

3. A. I. Richards (ed.) 1954, Appendix C.

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Colson reports that among the Tonga, a Northern Rhodesian tribe where movement from village to village is easy, that the average figures for 16 villages showed that 36% men and 20% women were living in the community in which they had been born⁴. The figure from Elmdon, an Essex village not far from Cambridge, is 35.9% for men and women together. One is tempted to think that what one means by a village population with high mobility is one in which only about a third of the inhabitants are born and live in the same village. The Buhaya figures are different, for among these more stable villages 55% men and women were living in the village of their birth according to Reining's sample⁵.

Fallers shows that in a traditional area of Busoga 77% of the men and 7% of the women were living in the village of their birth, though in more modern communities the figure approached that of Buganda and Buhaya, i.e., 27% men and 1% women⁶.

The size of the village households has probably decreased since the old days, though we only had informants' memories to guide us here. The fenced courtyards of great men had evidently virtually disappeared by 1934 when Mair was working in the country⁷ except in the case of county and sub-county chiefs' houses. I only saw a few such chiefs' establishments during 1950-1956. Some long-established couples in Kisozi lived in large houses, made of brick or wattle and daub. These often had three or four bed-rooms as well as a sitting-room with kitchen and store-houses surrounding a courtyard behind. Such well-to-do men might have young relatives living with them temporarily or permanently but the households do not reach a size or a corporate character which would justify them being described as "extended families". We were impressed by the number of

4. E. Colson 1951, p. 41.

5. P. Reining 1954, p. 356. Figures given for males and females over 16 years.

6. L. A. Fallers 1954, p. 162. Figures for men and women only.

7. L. P. Mair 1934, p. 17.

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elderly men and women in Kisozi living alone or with one or two children and suggested in our earlier publication that this might be due to the fact that "men and women who had become used to living in the vicinity of Kampala tended to retire to villages of this type in their old age."⁸

Some of these might well have cut loose from family ties during their town life. Most seemed to have some relative living in Kisozi, on whose account they claimed to have settled in the village, but a number appeared nevertheless to be living virtually on their own as regards house-keeping and cultivation.

Table 4

THE HOUSEHOLD TYPES

Couples with children	60	37%
Couples without children	35	21%
Men living alone	25	15%
Men living with an older son or daughter	3	2%
Women living alone	9	5%
Women living with children	11	7%
Women living with an adult relative	4	2%
Couples living with an adult relative	11	7%
Others	7	4%
	<hr/> 165	<hr/> 100%

8. A. I. Richards in Lorimer (ed.) 1954, p. 359.

Chapter Nine

KINSHIP CLUSTERS IN KISOZI

It was our thesis that the allocation of large freehold estates by the 1900 Agreement decreased the continual movement of chiefs and office-holders in the traditional system and that most of the 3,945 notables who first received *mailo* land remained anchored to particular localities as only clan heads had been anchored before. We also suggested that the new type of land-holding made for increased dependence of sons and daughters on their parents, a new association of men and women with particular villages, and a general strengthening of the individual family unit. Some land-owners sold all or part of their *mailo* estates but where such estates were not split up the *mailo*-owner and his descendants became attached to a district in a way would have been unusual in nineteenth century Buganda, except in the case of clan or princes' villages. Nuwa Sematimba, for instance, would not have stayed in his father's village since his birth if he had been born during the reign of Mutesa I, for he would presumably have been sent, after the fashion of the time, to serve at the king's court as a page, and might then have been posted to different minor, and then major, chieftainships all over the country.

I further suggested that when peasants acquired secure tenure of their plots in return for a quit rent in 1927 and became able to pass plots on to their heirs, they also began to build up kinship clusters in Ganda villages, albeit on a more modest scale.

Lastly I pointed out that most Ganda villages have been largely resettled since the disturbed period at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century and have there-

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fore the type of population that tends to develop in 50-60 years of settled existence¹.

To test these hypotheses on the basis of the Kisozi data, we ask ourselves the following questions:—

1. What proportion of the present residents in Kisozi are directly descended from Mika Sematimba?
2. How many of them can be shown to be descended from Mika's nine *batongole* or from close friends or clients of Mika who came to live with him at Kisozi?
3. How far have peasants passed on their plots to their sons or other kin?

If we can show that family groups of a two or three generation span have become attached to the land in the case of a sub-urban village like Kisozi we might expect to find even more definite kinship clusters in villages of a more traditional type.

1. We must of course distinguish the descendants of those who settled with the first *mailo* owner and his clients and the foreign immigrants and others who came later.

Chapter Ten

MIKA'S DESCENDANTS IN KISOZI

Mika's genealogy is given at the end of the book. It gives adult descendants only. It can be seen that he had three children who survived to adult life by his first wife Lebeeka (3). These were two daughters, Lakeeri (12) and Dina (14), and his elder son and his heir, Nuwa (15). Lakeeri (12) was still living in Kisozi at the time of the survey. Her first husband was Ernesti Mulayisa (13), who was a member of the Yam clan and who thus claimed the right to inherit the plot on which the first *Makamba*, Sebuliba, had lived (see p. 31). Lakeeri had married twice. Her plot actually belonged to her son, Mika, by her first husband, who had inherited the Yam clan plot from his father. Lakeeri had a daughter, Beatrisi (31), who was married and lived close by in Sumba village; a son, Bakyawa (32), a carpenter in Kisozi village, besides a daughter and a son living elsewhere.

Dina (14), the second daughter, also married in Kisozi and had one married daughter, Gerturida (33), living in the village, and four sons and a daughter elsewhere.

Mika's son Nuwa (15), had three living children, two grown-up daughters, Lebeeka (34) and Viktoria (35) who were working as nurses in Kampala and were as yet unmarried; and one young son Malyankolo (36). His elder son Henry was killed by lightning while still a school-boy at Budo.

By Mika's second wife, Elizabeth (5), a woman whom he married on one of his trips to the coast, he had one son, Drummond (18), who was a sub-county chief in Ggomba at the time of the survey. Two of Drummond's daughters were living temporarily in Kisozi with their paternal uncle (Nuwa) and one of his sons (37).

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Mika Sematimba had two daughters by his second wife, Grace (16) and Emily Nalongo (17). These had married elsewhere.

Thus Mika Sematimba had nine direct descendants living in Kisozi, one son and two daughters, two grandsons and four grand-daughters.

Three of Mika's sisters were married in Kisozi while three lived elsewhere. His brothers seem to have remained in Kyaggwe, in the area from which his ancestors came. In Kisozi, his eldest sister, Everina Terutta (1), married and had a son, Petero Sooka (9), who was first store-keeper (*omuwaniika*) to Mika and then became the *Sebalijja*, or keeper of his cattle, and then the bailiff on his *mailo* estate (see p. 59). Sooka later left Kisozi as he had inherited land in Ggomba, but five of his children remained living in Kisozi, Wilson Nsubuga (23), a veterinary officer, Geresomo Sajabi (26), and Yudas Kiku (27) as well as two daughters Namulwana (24) and Lusi Namuteba (25). Soko's brother Zakalya Sajabi (8) was the father of Sepirya Kiku (22) who still lives in Kisozi.

Everina Terutta also had a daughter, Malyamu Baman-yagwozadde (10), now probably the oldest woman in Kisozi¹, and to this sister Soko gave his plot when he left for Ggomba. Malyamu claimed that as a girl she was given as a slave in payment of a debt by one of her mother's brothers², but that she was redeemed by Mika, also a maternal uncle, who became her protector and later gave her in marriage in Kisozi. Malyamu had two daughters living with her, (28) and (30), and one nearby (29).

Everina's husband's brother was said to be the father of Daudi Kisitu (11), who was formerly one of Nuwa's *batongole* and still lives in the village. This makes 12 adults descended from Everina Terutta, Mika's sister.

1. She died late in 1964.

2. By the *ndobolo* right of the maternal uncle — c.f. L. P. Mair 1934, pp. 61-62.

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Another of Mika's sister, Natarya (7 a), was married to Nantayi (7), a son of Wankwasi of the Grey Monkey clan who joined Mika Sematimba during his first years in Kisozi and left his son, Tabula, and presumably also Nantayi, in the care of Mika when he died³. Nantayi had a daughter who married Yakobo Dekimu (2) and had three children, Benjamin Sajabi (44), Asano Bakera (42), and Irene Nakabuga (43), who are now living as householders in the village. Thus three adult householders, two men and one woman, are descended from this sister of Mika Sematimba's.

A third sister of Mika's, Elizabeti (6), married Andereya Kimanje (6 a) and bore a daughter, Lakeeri Tusubira (19), a very old woman who still lives in Kisozi. Lakeeri Tusubira is remembered as the wife of Daudi Baanabakintu (20), one of the early Christian converts who was buried at Namirembe in 1900. By him she had two sons, Daudi Wamala (40) on whose plot she now lives and Yakobo Mukasa (41). The latter had two adult sons, Israeri Kibuka (45) and Yesero Tamale (46) who both live in Kisozi today. Elizabeti seems to have married later Yona Kiralina (6b) and by him had two sons, Stanley Musoke (38) and Yowana Kabale (39). Kiralina divided his plot of land between them. Thus eight adult householders still living in Kisozi, one woman and seven men, trace their descent to a sister of Sematimba's.

This means that 31 out of 299 men and women interviewed in Kisozi were descended from Mika and it is perhaps worth noting that 21 of these are descended through female relatives that is to say his sisters and daughters and only nine in the agnatic line.

Added to these direct descendants of Mika Sematimba, there are at least four, and probably more old women living in Kisozi, who call themselves relatives of the late *Makamba*. Two of these are in charge of the ancestral graves and two are widows rather indirectly related. One, for instance, is the

3. Tabula became head of the large group of Grey Monkey people in Kisozi (see p. 77).

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daughter of the last wife of Mika's father and one the widow of Nuwa's wife's brother.

The addition of these women raises the number of men and women descended from Mika Sematimba to 34 or 14% of the Ganda men and women in the village. Besides this there were three adopted sons of Mika who remained in Kisozi with their descendants.

2. *Descendants of Mika's headmen.*

The chart on p. 59 gives us a list of nine officers of Mika's headmen. We cannot claim to have a complete list of all the men who filled these offices during the long life of Mika. The number of their descendants is therefore unlikely to be accurate. It should be noted also that two of these officers, (the deputies Daudi Kizito and Peter Sonko) were relatives of Mika and hence have been counted under that heading, and that one, Tabula, who filled the office of treasurer and storekeeper is counted among the descendants of Mika's friends and clients below. The living householders known to be descendants of Mika's *batongole* are shown on the chart on p. 59 to be eight.

3. *Descendants of friends and clients of Mika's.*

These form a considerable group in Kisozi and the story of the building up of these kinship cores illustrates very clearly the basis of the formation of Ganda villages, formerly by means of clientship and now by the inheritance of plots or their acquisition by the payment of "key money".

(a) *The Grey Monkey (Nkima) Group*

The largest of these kinship cores is formed by the descendants of Wankwasi of the Grey monkey clan and the numerical superiority of this clan group in Kisozi is shown on page 83. Wankwasi was a friend of Mika, before the latter was appointed *Makamba*. He accompanied Mika to Kisozi but died there and left his son, Tabula, to Mika's care. Tabula later became an important personality in Kisozi and

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as will be seen from the chart on p. 59, he acted as treasurer to Mika. Wankwasi had seven sons. The first was Kaigwa who left three sons as householders in the village. Wankwasi's second son left a son, Felix Kagwa, the old man who still acts as one of Nuwa's bailiffs. The third son was Nantayi (7), who married Mika's sister, Natarya (7a) and left two grandsons and a granddaughter in Kisozi as shown in Mika's genealogy given in Appendix II. Wankwasi's fourth son, Ndikomema, had the son, Antoni Tabula, mentioned above, who died in 1949. Tabula was under the special charge of Mika as we saw. His protector did not give him land, but had him taught carpentry so that he would be able to make a good living. He left four sons, and two unmarried daughters living in Kisozi.

It is perhaps because he lived so long and had four sons, and because he held the important position of store-keeper to Mika, that the Grey Monkey group in Kisozi is spoken of respectfully and sometimes described as "the children of Tabula". Nuwa said that these men and women were "brought up with me". Others called them "children of the enclosure" (*kisakate*). Sixteen adults, twelve men and four women can be reckoned as descendants of Wankwasi, including the descendants of Mika's sister who married Nantayi (7).

(b) *The Sheep clan (Ndiga) Group*

These are the descendants of an old man, Paulo Lwanga, a member of the Sheep clan who came to ask for rights of cultivation in Kisozi by the process known as *kusenga*. Lwanga is still alive today and said to be over 80. His story illustrates the way in which men were able to choose villages to live in through the opportunities they got when they were sent away from home as children to stay with relatives. Lwanga describes being sent, at the age of four years old, to live with his father's sister at Sumba, the next door village to Kisozi. He stayed with his aunt until "the time when the Christians came" — say 1892-94. He was then sent as a page to the minister, Mugwanya, by his father's eldest brother, who was the head of his lineage. This is the custom known as *kusiga* or to go as a page or client to a man in authority.

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Lwanga married in 1904 and began to look for somewhere to settle. He remembered Kisozi because he had been brought up in Sumba. He knew that Mika Sematimba was an important man in the district. He was also influenced by the fact that there was a group of Sheep clan members in the neighbourhood since Kuwalira of this clan had a *butaka* at Nakasozi on Budo hill, and here members of the Sheep clan used to spend the night on their way to the palace from the main clan centre at Mbale. Mbale was 14 miles from Nakasozi and this in its turn only 8 miles from Kampala. Lwanga therefore knew that at Kisozi he could keep contact with many of his people from Mbale as they came and went on business at the capital. He therefore set out with a bundle of belongings on his head and waited in the audience hall of the *Makamba* hoping to be accepted as a tenant. He has lived in Kisozi ever since.

Lwanga was the first Muganda to sell milk in Kampala and he recites the names of the Europeans and eminent Baganda whom he served for 10 years. Mika apparently had a stall for milk in Kampala, associated with his cattle business and Lwanga was in charge of it. He educated his children by the sale of plantains, and later cotton and coffee and thus paid their fees to Budo school. He now has two sons in Kisozi, one of them Aloysius Kiyingi, a teacher, and one daughter. This makes four households in all. The entire Sheep group is of course much larger than this. The descendants of Daudi Baanabakintu (no. 20 on the Sematimba genealogy), that is to say his two sons and two grandsons, belong to the Sheep clan and may well be related to Lwanga.

(c) *The Prince's (Balangira) Group*

Another friend of Mika was a member of the Princes' clan, Mulinde Walugembe. He accompanied Mika to Kisozi and acted as the headman (*kitongole*) of Kyanga, see p. 59. Two of his sons, Erika Zimbe and Blasio Setumba, live in Kisozi today, the latter with a grown-up son who is also a householder. Erika Zimbe brought up a maternal nephew in Kisozi and another relative followed him. This makes five households belonging to the Princes' group.

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Thus there are 25 descendants of clients of Mika Sema-timba (20 men and 5 women) still living in Kisozi, that is to say 10.4% of the Ganda inhabitants.

(d) *The Pangolin Clan (Lugave) Group*

The Pangolin clan has a number of members in Kisozi, as will be seen from the clan chart on p. 83. This is to be expected since Sumba, which borders Kisozi, is a major lineage centre of the Ndugwa division of the Pangolin clan. The head of the *ssiga*, in the days of Kabaka Suna, was the *Nalungu*, and he has the ritual function of looking after the *mweso* board used by the kabaka in his installation ritual. Musumbwa, the *Nalungu* who died in 1918, received 563.8 acres in the 1900 *mailo* allocation. The next *Nalungu*, 1922-1952, gave 106 acres to the head of his major lineage, the *Ndugwa*, and this was divided between Pangolin clan members in Sumba and Kisozi in 1937. Three of these Pangolin householders own 3 and 2 acre plots in Kisozi, the only small scale land-owners found there. There are also other Pangolin men on the boundaries of Kisozi and Sumba.

(e) *The Leopard clan (Ngo) group*

Another interesting, though small, group is that of the the Leopard (*Ngo*) clan. This group originated in the following manner. A young man known as Bagenda was settled on a piece of the Queen Mother's land in the neighbourhood of Kisozi as a peasant serving her hereditary *musenero* or beer steward. Here he was visited by some of his Leopard relatives from the counties of Busujju and Ssinga. These were attracted to settle in his neighbourhood owing to the richness of the soil as compared with the districts from which they came. As there was no room for expansion on the Queen Mother's land, Bagenda and his fellow clansmen asked permission to settle on the *Makamba's* land and were accepted. There are now six households belonging to this group, Bagenda himself and five married children.

(f) *Descendants of another large land-owner — the Colobus monkey (Ngeye) group.*

There is one other land-owner who has part of his area in Kisozi and part in the neighbouring village of Sumba.

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This is Bakaluba, an ex-Budo teacher who came originally from the county of Buddu, but who was allotted land in this area in the second distribution of excess land in 1909, and who added to it by purchase. Bakaluba was a member of the Colobus monkey clan. He was a well known character and the father-in-law of Apolo Kironde, a minister in the central government of Uganda at the time of the survey. He attracted a number of relatives to live on his land. These included an old man, Kakadde, of the Colobus monkey clan, who has three married sons and a daughter in Kisozi, together with two grandsons. This makes a group of 7 men and 4 women in all, with other households overlapping into the Sumba area.

These cases have been given in some detail as they illustrate most of the social processes which determine residence in Buganda — the sending of young men to act as pages or clients of local lords; the arrival of peasants asking for protection from a local lord; the sending of children to be brought up by relatives where they form local attachments; and the desire to keep in touch with members of a clan centre as in the case of Paulo Lwanga described above.

I suggested earlier that Ganda villages tended to centre round a core of men and women descended from the original *mailo* owner and his clients in cases where the estate was not fragmented by sale. I cannot claim that the Kisozi figures are complete since genealogies were only collected for major families during the time at our disposal. Connections by marriage must be much more numerous than I can indicate here. For what it is worth however the total count shows the following:

<i>Descendants of</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
1) Mika	17	17	34
2) Mika's headmen	8	—	8
3) Mika's clients	20	5	25
	45	22	67
<i>Proportion of total men and women in Kisozi⁴</i>	39%	17%	

4. Corrected for those counted twice as collateral relatives of Mika and as members of the Grey Monkey clan group.

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These old established groups appeared to us to have a higher status in the village than those composed of newcomers, whether Ganda or immigrants. The houses of Mika Sematimba's descendants were in the centre of Kisozi and bordering the main village road, as distinct from the peripheral areas mainly occupied by more recent settlers. Men from the groups long attached to Kisozi took the lead at village meetings such as those that preceded the Fertility Survey. They tended to have larger plots of land and to be among the cattle owners⁵. The seven heads of larger households given in Table 4 were among them.

In stating this we are perhaps saying no more than that long residence in any village in any society tends to give status and economic advantages. In Buganda in addition the original *mailo* owner was able to distribute land as outright gifts or to allocate superior plots in customary tenure (*bibanja*). He was also able to leave land by will. His close kinsmen tended to benefit in this way.

The definite numerical preponderance of the first *mailo* owner descendants is reflected in the pattern of clan distribution commonly found in Ganda villages. Neither the clan nor its constituent lineages are territorial units, as we have seen. Yet a clan census taken in any particular village shows that the distribution of clan members is not now a random one. On the contrary we commonly found one predominant and two or three lesser clan groups, the clan of the original *mailo* owner and usually those of the men who settled with him, or perhaps of some purchaser of land in the early days. The fifty or sixty years of settled village life in Buganda has resulted in the formation of such groups. Thus in the figures collected from Kisozi and two contiguous villages shown in Table 5 the membership of the clan of the land-owner is in each case the highest, that of the Lung-fish people, the clan of Mika Sematimba in Kisozi (23%); of the Pangolin

5. Five of Mika's descendants have plots above the average size — Benjamin Sajabi (26), Stanley Musoke (38) and Daudi Wamala have 10 acres each; Daudi Kizito (11) 20 acres; Yowana Kabale (39) 5 acres.

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clan which has a lineage centre in Sumba (17%); and of the Colobus monkey people, the clan of the main land-owner in Namagoma (19%). Hence the justification for the statements we heard that Kisozi, for instance, is a "Lung-fish village" or that "The Pangolin inhabit Sumba".

Table 5

CLAN COMPOSITION OF ADULTS IN KISOZI AND TWO NEIGHBOURING VILLAGES — SUMBA AND NAMAGOMA			
Clan	Kisozi	Men	Women
	<i>Total</i>		
LUNG-FISH	23%	24	28
Grey Monkey	17%	21	18
Sheep	9%	9	8
Pangolin	9%	17	4
Bird	6%	10	4
Buffalo	5%	5	4
Wild Cat	4%	2	9
Elephant	3%	3	8
Bushbuck	3%	5	3
Yam	3%	3	2
Colobus Monkey	3%	2	4
Leopard	3%	5	0
	<i>Sumba</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
	<i>Total</i>		
Lung-fish	14%	5	11
Grey Monkey	4%	2	2
Sheep	—	—	—
PANGOLIN	17%	15	4
Bird	3%	2	1
Buffalo	—	—	—
Wild Cat	5%	3	2
Elephant	3%	2	1
Bushbuck	11%	2	10
Yam	4%	2	2
Colobus Monkey	14%	6	10
Leopard	7%	6	2
	<i>Namagoma</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
	<i>Total</i>		
Lungfish	12%	—	8
Grey Monkey	11%	—	7
Sheep	—	—	1
Pangolin	—	—	1
Bird	—	—	1
Buffalo	—	—	—
Wild Cat	6%	3	1
Elephant	11%	2	5
Bushbuck	12%	2	5
Yam	5%	1	2
COLOBUS MONKEY	19%	6	6
Leopard	5%	1	2

(Clan members totalling less than 3% omitted).

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Besides the clan of the major land-owner, a village commonly has two or more numerically predominant groups descended, in the case of Kisozi, from clients of the original *mailo* owner. Here the Grey Monkey group already described accounts for 17% of the inhabitants, and the Sheep and the Lung-fish people for 9% each⁶.

Figures collected in an ancient clan centre, that of the Sheep clan, with its primary centre at Mbale in Mawokota, show a slightly higher concentration of members of the dominant clan than in the case of ordinary villages cited above but the difference is not marked.

Table 6

CLAN COMPOSITION IN A PRIMARY CLAN CENTRE, MBALE, THE CENTRE OF THE SHEEP CLAN

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Sheep	32.0%	22.4%
Bushbuck	18.0%	9.2%
Grey Monkey	11.3%	11.1%
Yam	11.1%	6.3%
Lung-fish	8.8%	12.0%
Buffalo	3.5%	1.1%
Others	15.3%	31.9%

Meanwhile the building up of new kinship clusters continues. For one thing it is usually easier for a Muganda to get land in a village by means of an introduction from an existing plot-holder. The mobility of the Ganda peasants, traditional and modern, has been stressed. Yet few men and women had come to Kisozi without the invitation of a villager who was ready to introduce his kinsmen to the land-owner or his bailiff, except in the case of teachers or

6. Unfortunately we did not get complete data on membership of major lineages as distinct from clans, in the case of Kisozi. The total clan figures given above no doubt include Lung-fish men and women who are not members of Mika's own lineage (*ssiga*) as well as those who are members of it. Martin Southwold stresses the importance of recording major lineage (*ssiga*) as distinct from clan membership in the analysis of Ganda village composition (see his unpublished thesis, 1959).

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others required to live in the village for work purposes. Indeed the one or two Ganda householders who were described to us as "having no relatives in Kisozi" were definitely thought to be unusual and unfortunate. A householder is sometimes described as having "come from Bulemezi" or some other county because of some kinship link or accident of war or work and as having then proceeded to attract others "from Bulemezi", making three or four attached households. We have records of six or seven groups of this kind in the village. This must also have happened in the past.

Apart from this process of building up related households made possible by the Ganda method of acquiring plots, we were surprised by the number of inherited plots in Kisozi in a peri-urban village in which changes of population might have been expected and in the case of a society in which it is so often stated that a son *never* lives in the same village as his father. The figures collected by A. B. Mukwaya (Table 7) show that 15% of the plot-holders had their present *bibanja* for over 30 years and 14% for 21 to 30 years. 31% had inherited their plots as distinct from 48.9% who had acquired land by the usual process nowadays, that is to say by paying key money, a figure here given as 8.50 shillings, to the land-owner.

Of those who inherited plots, as distinct from acquiring them, 35 out of 47 got their *bibanja* from their fathers (74%), seven from brothers and five from other connections such as a son, or a mother. When it is remembered that the total number of plots includes those of foreign immigrants who are largely newcomers, the figure of 31% passed on from relatives was an unexpected large one.

The Kisozi figures, incomplete as they are, do seem to suggest that where freehold tenure is introduced in a society in which joint economic ownership was not traditionally the basis of a corporate lineage or family, as in the case of Buganda, the dependence of sons and daughters on their parents, may be increased and even remoter kinsmen, patrilineal or matrilineal, attach themselves to a land-owner or a man with usufructory rights over a plot. The new possibi-

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Table 7

LAND-HOLDINGS IN KISOZI 1951

1. SIZE OF HOLDING (IN ACRES)

1	2	3	4	5	Over 5	Unknown	Total
6	29	32	28	15	12	19	141

2. LENGTH OF OCCUPATION BY PRESENT HOLDER

<i>Under</i>					<i>Over</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>1 yr.</i>	<i>1-5 yrs.</i>	<i>6-10 yrs.</i>	<i>11-20 yrs.</i>	<i>21-30 yrs.</i>	<i>30</i>			
10	33	19	28	18	19	24	151	
(7.8%)	(26.0%)	(15.0%)	(22.0%)	(14.1%)	(15.0%)			

3. NUMBER OF TIMES HOLDINGS HAVE CHANGED HANDS SINCE 1900

1	2	3	Unknown	Total
28	56	14	53	151
(29%)	(57%)	(14%)		

4. METHOD OF ACQUIRING LAND

<i>Owner opened</i>	<i>Acquired</i>	<i>Inherited</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>
28	68	43	12	151
(20.1%)	(48.9%)	(31%)		

lities of permanent occupation of land in Buganda has made for the continuous building up of bilateral kinship groups, now of two to three generations depth since 1900. Of these the descendants of the *mailo* owner and his clients are the dominant ones.

Chapter Eleven

VILLAGE TYPES

Is Kisozi a typical village? Was there in fact such a thing as a typical village in a kingdom in which social and geographical mobility was so great? There was certainly no formal "village structure" based on lines of descent, such as I mentioned in the case of the Gisu of the Eastern province of Uganda¹. This fact should be clear from the data in this study but it has also been pointed out by other observers of Ganda society². Nor do we find hereditary headmen or chiefs of Ganda villages, except in the case of the clan centres and such villages are greatly in the minority in Buganda, about 8% by my rough calculation (see p. 97). But does this mean that there were no accepted principles of residence in Ganda society? I think not. In fact I believe Ganda villages will not be found to be so unusual as was at first supposed. Settlements based entirely on principles of descent — patrilineal or matrilineal — are not in fact as common as many British anthropologists have assumed during the past twenty years, a period in which their interest has been so largely concentrated on typologies and models of kinship structure and on the variety of social groups based on unilineal descent³. A completely standardised pattern of settlement is probably only common in societies in which the residential unit is very small and consists of a two to three generation family or extended family and where there is sufficient land available to make it possible for groups formed on the original family pattern to hive-off and to set up a new settlement somewhere in the neighbourhood. The traditional Zulu kraal is a good example of such a unit since it consisted of a circular enclosure containing huts arranged

1. See p. 20.

2. e.g. L. P. Mair 1954, p. 163 and M. Southwold 1964, Chap. 5.

3. Following Evans-Pritchard's stimulating work on Nuer lineages in 1940.

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in a fixed order of precedence, with the male head of the family in the centre with his great wife and her households, his "right-hand wife" and her associated households to one side, and the "left-hand wife" to the other. Given room to expand and simple, quickly built grass-huts, there was no reason why married sons with sufficient wives and off-spring should not move out from the parental kraal and repeat the same pattern of household arrangement as existed in the settlement they had just left. The Tallensi extended family unit is of the same type with the patriarch's hut and ancestral shrine in the centre and the houses of his married sons within the same mud walls. The married son who breaks away, either at the death of his father or before it, builds his new household settlement to the same pattern and this cycle of growth from nuclear family to polygamous and then extended family is a familiar one in Africa⁴.

But where the settlements are larger and remain in existence for more than one generation, the residential pattern of course becomes untidy. The initial group passes through its cycle of development, but it also adds non-linear members, affines, slaves, or retainers or members of the non-accented line, that is to say matrikin in the case of a patrilineal society or patrikin in the case of a matrilineal one. Thus we get an initial, "dominant", "aristocratic", "land-owning" or some form of privileged group living with the rather less privileged. In the Nilotic area, the *locus classicus* of segmentary lineage structure, Evans-Pritchard speaks of the Nuer as having "a lineage core to the village community"⁵ using the term "core", which I have found useful in the case of Ganda villages. He describes in a well known passage the addition of villagers tracing descent through females, of affines and of adopted Dinka⁶. We do not

4. Fortes uses it fruitfully as the basis of his introduction to "The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups", ed. J. Goody 1958.

5. E. Evans-Pritchard 1951, p. 16.

6. *Ibid*, p. 23. Cf. also J. C. Buxton 1963 p. 42 a "hamlet always has a nucleus of close kin although all close kin do not necessarily live together and kinship ties are augmented by those of convenience and friendship".

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unfortunately know the proportion of lineage to non-lineage members in Nuer villages — nor the number of years the process of amalgamation of outsiders takes. The village developmental cycle is of course as important as that of the domestic group⁷. If a village remains in existence for several generations sub-cores develop. A central line of direct descent can be traced in the privileged group with other clusters of kinsfolk descended from lines which have become more distant from the central one⁸.

The larger and more permanent are the settlements the more possibility there is, presumably, for subsidiary cores of men and women descended from affines, clients, affiliated or adopted strangers to appear. Some descendants are likely to move out of the nuclear village to build elsewhere, but others stay. This process is well illustrated in the *khoro* or ward of a Tswana town. This is a quarter of a town built in a rough circle facing the meeting and dance place of a town with a population averaging 100-1,000 people⁹. Originally quarters of a town allotted to the chief's sons in Makapanstad, a Tswana town I worked in in 1939, they had become loosely connected groups of men, mostly connected by agnatic descent with hereditary headmen, but with alien elements of all sorts settled there for political reasons. Within the wards were linked households described by Schapera as "a form of extended family, dominantly but not exclusively patrilocal in character" and with a family-group headman chosen by right of descent¹⁰. The composition of the *khoro* had thus become more and more varied even though it was often described in lineage terms.

In permanent villages there is thus almost invariably a discrepancy between the pattern of descent structure which

7. P. Rigby has used this concept in an unpublished thesis on the Gogo of Tanganyika, (P. Rigby 1964).

8. Compare the distinction which develops in royal dynasties between 'princes of the blood' and the more distant lines.

9. I. Schapera, in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (ed.) 1950, p. 141.

10. *Ibid.*

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initially determined the nature of the settlement and the present day composition of the same village or town. This discrepancy has often been brought to our attention. The first "structuralists" tended to emphasise the lineage group ties and to neglect the other inhabitants of the village. Fortes distinguishes between the minimal lineage, consisting of the father and his sons, which he describes as a politico-jural group dominating the activities of a patrilineal people like the Tallensi, and the domestic group which includes, besides the lineage members, their spouses and other accretions to the extended household or the "family group" in Schapera's sense. The authors of a recent study of the property owning functions of the family in some African tribes speak instead of the people's "ideal concept" of the village structure, that is to say as a group based on unilateral descent, as against its actual composition at any point in time¹¹.

In trying to establish a village typology for areas with settled communities like Buganda, we do best, I think, to start with the family institution which inevitably forms the basis of family extensions, kinship clusters and dominating cores within the village, and then to examine the effects of economic, political or other factors in producing categories of villages of different types within a process of time. I use the term "family institution" as Malinowski did to cover a network of principles such as mating rules, the customs of residence at marriage, the types of economic exchange between the families of the bride and the bride-groom, the rules governing divorce and re-marriage as well as those determining the control over the children of the union, and the inheritance of property and succession.

These rules must be the primary determinants of the form of the extended family group or of the village cores and sub-cores, although a community which has been settled permanently for two or three generations inevitably becomes more heterogeneous in composition and the residential

11. Robert F. Gray and P. H. Gulliver 1964, pp. 38, 73, 115, 226-27, 227-28.

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“pattern” may become indistinct, leaving nothing more than a statistical preponderance of one category of kinsmen rather than another, as we have shown in the present study. I start therefore by listing certain important characteristics of the Ganda family institution although they have already been mentioned here and there throughout this paper.

Secondly determinants such as the environment, historical accidents, and political and economic factors are usually mainly responsible for the distinction to be seen today between different types of village composition and such factors as the density of population, the soil type, the evolution of a highly centralised government with a client-patron system, the over-rule of the British and recent economic changes such as the introduction of individual land-tenure are some of the important factors in the case of Buganda. I have emphasised the importance of the present system of land-holding in the village typology I present here.

In Buganda the characteristic features of the traditional family institution can be summarised very briefly as follows:

1. The choice of a mate was, relatively speaking, free. Marriage was certainly prohibited within the father's clan and formerly within that of the mother as well¹³, but preferential marriages, marriages resulting from previous cattle exchanges between two lineages, or infant betrothals were not characteristic of the society. Marriage partners were selected from a wide geographical area. Boys and girls were sent to serve at the courts of notables or the king. Young men probably received wives from their patrons as often as from their fathers. The pages and girl servants at a great man's household often numbered up to 100 and marriages seem to have been arranged between them. The wives of men in a local kinship cluster often came from many different parts of Buganda.

13. L. P. Mair 1934, p. 78.

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2. Marriage payments were made to the girl's father and formerly took a considerable time to collect¹⁴, but these payments could not be called bride-wealth in the sense that they secured the legitimacy of the off-spring.

The child of a casual union belonged, and belongs to the *genitor*: not to the man acting as *pater*¹⁵. Nor did the marriage payment secure the child-bearing powers of the woman for her husband's lineage. A widow could be inherited by a brother or other agnatic relative of her husband, but she could also marry into another lineage. Marriage was unstable, especially in the case of second and third wives. Deserted wives or those wishing to leave their husbands then tended to go to live with their brothers. We found a considerable number of women with their children living under their brother's protection in villages today. We do not know how common this was in the past.

3. Marriage was virilocal, but not often patrilocal. The bride went to live with her husband at marriage but the new home was often at the village of the patron for whom her bridegroom was working. Roscoe says that young men preferred to start their married life in villages which were not those of their own or of their wives' fathers¹⁶.

4. Descent was patrilineal. The clan had corporate functions at least at three levels of segmentation, with hereditary and titled heads and councils. These bodies controlled succession cases; conducted fertility and legitimacy rites for clan babies and disciplined their members in certain fields of activities. Solidarity was maintained within the constituent lineages of a clan by the exchange of children and joint attendance at ritual occasions and particularly funerals. Clan membership gave status to an individual, the

14. L. P. Mair says payments were made first in beer, then in cowrie shells and later in money, 1934, p. 81. Roscoe 1911, p. 82, mentions goats, beer and cowrie shells.

15. See the comments of M. Gluckman and L. A. Fallers on this unusual feature of Ganda society summarised in L. A. Fallers 1957.

16. J. Roscoe 1911, p. 96.

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possibility of promotion to different clan offices and support in trouble. By the nineteenth century clans had become bodies organised to secure political advance for their members by the access of their heads to a monarch who had gained control over all political appointments. Characteristic of this society was the great emphasis on the direct (*kasolya*) lines in clan and lineage succession and the concept of a single successor to office whether he be the eldest son of the clan head or some other descendant in the direct line. This emphasis on the direct line, which was in keeping with the rules of royal descent, prevented clan leaders from dividing their clan lands in the old days and has resulted in the selection of a major heir in the case of *mailo* estates as Mukwaya has pointed out¹⁷.

5. The lack of an inheritable form of wealth in the traditional society was certainly one of the most important characteristics of the Ganda family institution. Land was not owned by groups or individuals. Cattle were only sporadically owned as the result of the division of war booty by the king to military leaders, chiefs and notables and by these to their own sub-chiefs and clients. Bark-cloths used in many transactions were perishable. We have no information on the hoarding of cowrie shells as a form of capital. It may have existed. I have suggested throughout this study that it is the absence of inherited forms of wealth in the traditional society which made the introduction of individual freehold rights such a revolutionary change.

6. The control over the children of a marriage lay in the hands of the father or failing him, his brothers and this was a strongly patriarchal society. From his father a boy got his clan-membership and status as has been described and his start on the political ladder. Some boys, though not all, got help in their marriage payments from him. But in a society in which political promotion depended on client-patron relationships boys attached themselves to any kinsmen who were eminent enough to advance their interests, whether on

17. A. B. Mukwaya 1953, p. 33.

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the patrilineal or the matrilineal side. There thus developed a class of dependent or client kinsmen, some of them no doubt without the drive necessary to reach high office themselves who remained attached to an eminent relative and others, more ambitious, who occupied a subordinate position for a start in the hope of subsequent promotion. Hence the fact that the core of many villages at the end of the century seems to have consisted of client kinsmen as well as non-related clients, as did that of Sematimba. Hence also the bilateral nature of the kinship clusters in such villages since boys might attach themselves to their mother's brothers as well as their father's brothers or their own elder brothers, if it obviously paid them to do so. The loosely formed bilateral kinship cluster may, in fact, be characteristic of this type of client-patron system.

The facts given above probably give us the information we need in order to construct the developmental cycle of the domestic group in Buganda. The first form of the nuclear family was not necessarily, or even usually, part of a local extended family.

The second stage of development saw the increase of the individual family by polygamous unions and the beginning of the period in which dependent kinsmen, such as younger brothers, attached themselves to the household, as well as non-related clients. The householder was perhaps promoted and went from one territorial post to another, taking at least part of his following with him.

The last stage of development was a more settled period. The lord had his own large enclosure. He sent his own sons and daughters away, but attracted junior kinsmen and the children of clients and friends as pages or girl servants and drew clients and peasants to his domain. He was then addressed as *ssemaka* or "head of a house", a recognised stage in his life. He might continue to be promoted, and thus might have several established households, one in town and one in his domain in a rural estate as Sematimba did. Peasants never attained control over large households of this

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kind, but they also reached a stage of attachment to a lord and local roots. They also attracted grandchildren and other junior relatives and became the centre of small kinship clusters of their own as we have seen. Thus the Ganda ideal of a residential settlement was not a group of agnates, except in the case of clan centres¹⁸ but a cluster of kinsmen recruited from among his sisters' and his brothers' children as well as his relatives by marriage, non-related kinsmen, servants and slaves. The ideal included also an established family graveyard.

I believe that certain statistical regularities could be established in the case of these village cores by the analysis of the composition of a number of Ganda villages and their history at the turn of the century, though I doubt whether these regularities such as percentages of patrilineal to matrilineal kinsmen, of kinsmen to clients, of clan predominance, or what is more important, the predominance of members of a single lineage, could be called a village structure¹⁹. Such an analysis would however prove, if it needs proving, that though the Ganda village is not a corporate patrilineage, yet it is not at all like an English housing estate.

I have suggested, on the basis of the Kisozi material that families became more permanently attached to the land as the result of the *mailo* system and that hence most of the present day villages of Buganda have a 50-60 year history of cluster formation in a settled community. This is a subject to which insufficient attention has been given and Buganda would be an excellent area in which to study village composition after a period of two to three generations of settled life. The comparisons with the composition of a Tswana ward would be fruitful in this respect.

But this work has not yet been done. I raise some hypotheses based on this rather superficial study of Kisozi and

18. Conceived as inhabited by groups of clan members but not so inhabited, as we have seen (p. 85).

19. M. Southwold has interesting material on this in his unpublished thesis, 1959.

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hope further work will be done on the subject. I confine myself here to a rough classification of the types of village administration to be found in Buganda today as they are affected by the current system of land-owning. It is based on observations made in eight villages which I visited for various purposes during the years 1950-56. Four of these communities were in Busiro, one in Kyaggwe and three in Buddu²⁰, I have also used material collected by J. V. Taylor in another village in Kyaggwe²¹, by L. P. Mair in Bulemezi and Kyaggwe²² and I have seen M. Southwold's unpublished thesis but have not used the material it contains for fear of anticipating his results.

The main types of tenure we have to deal with are the following:

a) *Official estates.* The 573 square miles, including the Kabaka's estates of 350 square miles, those of the other royals, originally 122 square miles, and the official estates of the ministers and the 20 county chiefs who were allotted eight square miles each in 1900. This is land from which the holder receives dues or "rent" but which he cannot sell. West estimates that 6.4% of the land allocated under the Agreement consisted of official estates²³.

b) *Private mailo estates.* 8430 square miles were allotted as private estates including the considerable amount of land given as personal property to the Kabaka and his ministers at the time of the allocation. The size of these estates varies from the 150 square miles given to Kabaka Daudi Chwa to the 45-60 square miles given as private estates to each of the three regents acting for the infant king at the time; the 12 square miles given as private estates to each of the then twenty county chiefs; the 8-12 square miles received by the 150 more senior chiefs and the two square miles which the

20. See A. I. Richards (ed.) 1954, Chap. 9.

21. J. V. Taylor 1958, p. 127.

22. L. P. Mair 1934, p. 26-28.

23. H. W. West 1964, p. 229.

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majority of other notables received²⁴. Such land could be bought, sold or mortgaged at will, subject to various conditions such as the prohibition of sale to non-Africans.

c) *Clan estates* of which the primary (*kika*) and the secondary (*ssiga*) mostly remain intact although a number of tertiary or lesser estates were included in the land allocated to other notables. Such land can be legally sold but the main *butaka* villages should pass in hereditary succession to the heads of the respective clan and lineage. Their sale is disapproved of. There have even been cases of purchase of tertiary centres which had been alienated from the clan in the original *mailo* allocation by joint funds collected from its members.

d) *Crown land settlements*. Much of the land reserved to the Protectorate Government under the 1900 Agreement was forest and swamp but some square miles were available for settlement by "crown tenants" who paid the Government a fixed rent of 10/- a year in 1952 and these lived in something like villages.

It is difficult to estimate the amount of land held in each form of tenure but if we reckon an average of seven villages to each parish and there are roughly 900 parishes in Buganda we get a figure of about 63,000 villages. This would give us the following proportions:

Royal villages	200 or 3%
Clan villages	508 or 8%
Ordinary villages	3792 or 89%

Within these main divisions we can classify communities according to their type of administration and their composition.

I. *Villages with no land-owners*, These include:

(a) *The Kabaka's official estates*²⁵. The system of the administration of the kabaka's villages is quite unique. The

24. H. B. Thomas and A. E. Spencer 1938, p. 62.

25. I take this account mainly from A. B. Mukwava 1953, pp. 44, 45.

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kabaka's 350 square miles is divided into 42 divisions (*bitongole*) which resembled very much the traditional benefices given out by the kabakas in early days. Each has a chief with a traditional title called *owekitongole* and under him are a series of bailiffs who give out plots of land and collect dues from the peasants. This revenue is all submitted to a special officer, the private treasurer of the kabaka; while administrative problems connected with the estates, especially the appointment and transfer of bailiffs, are under the charge of another special officer, the *katikkiro* of the kabaka's lands. There was thus a double system of administration since the Buganda Government also appointed its own parish chiefs as in other parts of Uganda. These collected the Protectorate Government tax, and kept law and order. Villages on the kabaka's estates have probably been settled longer than in other parts of the country as they are unlikely to have been repopulated in the beginning of the century and land on these estates has never been sold, as it has elsewhere, since the signing of the 1900 Agreement. A traditional way of life is said to be preserved here. The area includes a number of princes' and princesses' estates. We found 8 princesses on a royal estate in the second *muluka* of Mutuba III, a sub-county of Busiro; 7 princes and 6 princesses in the 7th parish and 4 princes and 4 princesses in the 8th and 9th parishes²⁶. There were also fewer immigrants on the royal estates in Busiro than in other parts of Buganda, probably again on account of its longer settlement. On the other hand administration was difficult. The kabaka's *batongole* chiefs and the Government's parish chiefs were potentially in a position of conflict. The heads of the 42 divisions of the kabaka's estates seemed to be men of note. They had their own councils which dealt with land cases between tenants. These cases went on appeal to the *katikkiro we byalo*, in charge of the central office for the kabaka's estates and hence, if necessary, to the ordinary Buganda courts. The parish chiefs, by comparison, often seemed to be men of little social standing. They could not of course be land-owners on the kabaka's land and were often poor men.

26. A. I. Richards (ed.) 1954, p. 227.

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From the village point of view there was less continuity of authority than in the case of land-owner dominated communities. The Kabaka's *batongole* chiefs at all levels were the Buganda Government chiefs and they could be removed on promotion from place to place. The phenomenon of the wealthy land-owner founding a local dynasty cannot have been common although some of the princes and princesses living on small estates on the kabaka's land may have held high status and probably collected relatives round them. Kinship clusters of peasant origin must have been frequent in this long established area. We did not make any kinship studies in such villages but I had the personal impression that some of the inhabitants of the single royal estate I visited felt resentful that the land-owning opportunities of other parts of Buganda were denied them.

(b) *Chiefs' official estates.* In the official eight square miles allotted for the use of the county chiefs no *mailo* rights had been allocated. The chief in office at the time appoints his own nominees to act as his bailiffs and hence there may be little or no continuity from the period of office of one chief to that of the next. Parish chiefs could not be chosen out of the class of local land-owner, as is done in so many parts of Buganda, and the chiefs' own bailiffs changed also.

(c) *Ex-soldier settlements.* Two settlements of ex-soldier crown tenants visited in Buddu in 1952 seemed to consist of a collection of unrelated households, many of them occupied by foreign immigrants and there appeared to be no traditional leadership at all. There were naturally no large land-owners. Kinship clusters may have developed in the years that followed the war but the settlements we visited in Buddu seemed to be leaderless and outside the main structure of local government.

II. Villages with single land-owners.

(a) *Mailo estates undivided.* These include the villages of which the original *mailo* owner did not fragment his land by sale or by division among his children during his

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life-time or by bequest to a number of heirs after his death. Such villages are naturally not common. They seem to exist where the original *mailo* owner acquired several estates so that he did not need to fragment any single one among his children. Kisozi falls into this category since Mika Sematimba was a multiple land-owner, who acquired by grant or subsequent purchase, land in Busiro, Ssinga, Burule and Buvuma. He was therefore able to provide his second son, Drummond, and his three daughters with separate estates (see p. 64) while leaving the Kisozi estate almost intact for his elder son, the present land-owner.

Such villages seemed to me to conform most closely to the traditional pattern of village chieftainship. A land-owner who got his estate by virtue of his eminence, national or local, who lived a long time and founded a *butaka* by burying his relatives on the estate and who attracted a cluster of kinsmen as Mika Sematimba did, seems able to maintain something of his old status, even in a village as near to an urban centre as Kisozi is. He, and his heir after him, retain the right to allocate unused plots to peasants on his estate and hence his relatives tended to be favoured.

Such villages are rare and will become rarer as time goes on. Ganda custom favours the appointment of a main heir with smaller pieces of land left to subsidiary heirs, but naturally the portion of the main heir gets smaller and smaller with each death.

Where the *mailo* is undivided, but the land-owner is an absentee, kinship clusters may remain from the time of the original *mailo* settlement, but the 'squire' type of village authority is unlikely to survive.

(b) *Mailo estates bought by a single land-owner* will presumably also be further from the traditional pattern of a lord's domain either if the purchaser of the land resides in the village but has few connections by kinship with the other residents, or if he is an absentee. I never lived in such a village but they must be quite numerous.

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(c) *Major clan estates.* Clan or major lineage villages are not usually sold although this would be legal, as clan heads got their original grants under the same individual *mailo* tenure as other citizens. The authority and prestige of important clan officials is still great and even though a number of clan heads now live in Kampala or elsewhere and not on their *butaka* lands, yet the predominance of clan members on the village centre (see Table 7) and the presence of ritual officials, shrine guardians and others, produces a more traditional village pattern. Lower clan officers such as *mutuba* or *lunyiriri* heads no doubt often live in villages which they no longer own completely. Clan estates of the primary and secondary type seem likely to survive intact but not those of lesser orders of segmentation.

III. Villages with multiple land-owners.

(a) *Villages divided* between the original *mailo* owner's sons, daughters or other close relatives — during his life or after it. Lugala, a village I visited in 1952, illustrates this type of estate. Nasanaira, the original *mailo* owner, got one square mile including Lugala in 1900. He was joined by four brothers and a sister in what I have called the primary settlement of the *mailo*. Nasanaira gave small pieces of land amounting to 915 acres as out-right gifts, or as customary plots, to his brothers, his sister, and the son Kifulukwe, who acted as his bailiff (187 acres). He lived 45 years in Lugala after receiving his *mailo* estate and became the parish chief of the area under the new administration. He left a further 304 acres to Kifulukwe, who had been managing his estate and who later became parish chief in his stead. But, unlike Sematimba, he divided his Lugala estate at his death, leaving 20 acres to another son, 75 to each of his two daughters, 25 acres to a father's brother's son's son and so forth. I counted 13 separate land-owners in 1952 of which ten were close members of Nasanaira's family and three were strangers. Southwold, who subsequently lived six months in the same village in 1954, corrected some of the genealogical data I had collected during the course of the immigrant labour:

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survey²⁷, and gives a figure of 17 land-owners descended from Nasanaira. Such a distribution of land gives a dominant family with a major heir but great opportunities for intra-kin rivalry and Southwold found bitter enmity between Kifulukwe and one of his classificatory brothers during his visit.

A similar land division is reported by J. V. Taylor in the case of Makindu on an estate of eight square miles in Kyaggwe, given to Kaddu, once a page of Mutesa I. Makindu gave away or sold half of his land in his life-time but left the remainder among three sons (100 acres each), another son and a daughter (40 acres each), two other daughters (30 acres each) while the main heir was the fourth son. This made eight land-owners in one village area²⁸.

I believe this type of village with multiple land-owners drawn from the family of the original *mailo* owner is the most common of all the varieties to be found in this generation in Buganda. Such villages will become more fragmented presumably and a system of administration which depended on a land-owner authority based on traditional lordships must break down where it has not already done so.

(b) *Villages with a change of dynasty.* Another type of village is one in which former tenants of a *mailo* owner have gradually ousted the dominant family from power. This happens perhaps more often in the case of an absentee land owner. One such village was Seseriba²⁹, an estate of 404 acres in Busiro, given to a Moslem chief, Kisasa, at one of the later distributions of *mailo* land in 1909. He sold parts of this estate, as did his son and heir, until only 39 acres were left by 1949. One main purchaser was a Moslem prince, a grandson of Kabaka Suna and a follower of Lugard. He had bought 122 acres of the original estate by instalments and by 1943 lived in some state with a kinship cluster of five sons,

27. A. I. Richards (ed.) 1954, p. 242.

28. J. V. Taylor 1961, p. 110.

29. A. I. Richards 1954, pp. 228, 229.

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two brothers' sons and two grandsons. The other was a Moslem peasant, Muise, who bought 127 acres of land from the *mailo* owner in 1933 and another 24 from another landowner in two instalments in 1943 and 1944. This gave him 151 acres in Sesariba and the next door village, land bought through the sale of cotton and coffee. He became the parish chief and his son succeeded him in the post.

Here we get the original *mailo* owner, who seems to have had no long connection with the area, selling the bulk of his estate and two big family groups, those of a prince and of a thrifty peasant, becoming the dominant land owners.

Luwoko³⁰ in Buddu was another such village in which a Moslem *mailo* owner, Kakembo, had divided his land between 15 of his sons of whom four remained farming in the village. The bulk of the estate had, however, been purchased by an outsider. Kasujju, who had come from Butambala, bought 20 acres of land in 1931 with the proceeds of the sale of some cattle. He continued to buy land whenever the descendants of Kakembo or others were ready to sell. He owned 165 acres in 1952 and had married into the *mailo*-owning family since two of his wives were daughters of Kakembo. He was chosen as a parish chief in 1936. His many sons formed a joint family owning land and two shops. Luwoko had eight land-owners of whom three owners of 110, 90 and 100 acres respectively, were sons of the first *mailo*-owner, and two holders of small plots of 10 and 5 acres were near relatives, thus making 315 acres in all. Kasujju, the new owner, had 165 acres, two stores and the parish chieftainship and a family of sons ready to work in his enterprises.

We did not stay in these villages long enough to know whether this new type of land-owner was accepted with more or less conflict than a family with long associations with the village.

30. A. I. Richards, (ed.) 1954, pp. 247-248.

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(c) *Villages in which the mailo-owning family has disappeared.*

Some *mailo* owners sold most of their land during their life-times, sometimes in large portions but often in small plots. An instance is the fourth parish of the seventh sub-county of Kyaggwe, land that lay near the main road and the sugar plantations at Lugazi. Here an eight square mile estate had almost disappeared and many plots had been sold to the employees of the sugar factory we found here. In 1952 31 land-owners with plots averaging two to five acres in one village. Here the system of government by land-owners and their agents had practically broken down. The new land-owners had few local connections and used their plots as residences rather than as farming units.

IV. *Urban areas.*

The Kabuga area of Kampala also falls mainly into *mailo* land, but the situation has become so complex through the sale or renting of plots to tenants or sub-tenants that it is difficult to include these areas as "village" types. We made no special study of the existence of kinship clusters in these urban areas.

I give here only one suggestion for the classification of Ganda villages. There could well be a number of others. I try to show that residence is still mainly determined by reliance on some form of kinship tie, but that the form of the village depends on historical factors such as a long association of the *mailo*-owner's family with the area and that it is also affected by the subsequent fragmentation of the original estates. This fragmentation produces multiple authorities in village communities and causes confusion in a society which still has not introduced paid officials at the village level of organisation to do the work of the old village chief-land-owners.

The quality of the administration obviously varies in the case of official estates of mobile chiefs and the areas

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with absentee land-owners. We do not know the proportion of these, but in the case of the 685 land-owners in two sub-counties in Busiro and one in Kyaggwe in which we made a count, there were respectively 26%, 28% and 18% absentee land-owners³¹.

The answer to my question at the beginning of this section is therefore, that Kisozi village with a single land-owner, is not typical and that it is likely to become even less so.

On the general issue of village studies the Kisozi material shows that here, as in other long established communities, a general pattern of social grouping emerges, based on marriage rules, family organisation, various political and economic determinants, yet it is a pattern which allows for a wide variety of individual choice within the accepted rules and one which is constantly subject to change. The attempt to apply the concept of structure that has been used for so long in the analysis of descent groups, has blinded us to the variety of the kinship patterns which emerge in African villages. In societies based on clientship as well as kinship, the possibilities of individual choice of residence are particularly numerous; and where a major economic change such as the introduction of individual land tenure has taken place the term "village structure" is hardly applicable. Buganda is a society of this type.

31. A. I. Richards (ed.), 1954 p. 181.

Appendix I
 NOTES ON THE MAP ENTITLED
Environs of Budo, Circa 1884

(an area roughly 6 x 9 miles or 54 square miles)

Villages

UNDER CLAN OR LINEAGE HEADS = 17

			Additional Offices
<i>Lung-fish</i> (6)			
<i>Budo</i> — lineage head	<i>Semanobe</i> ,		Liturgical office.
<i>Kaga</i> " "	<i>Bagalya</i>		
<i>Kansiri</i> " "	<i>Sendigya</i> ,		Thatcher to Kabaka.
<i>Katale</i> " "	<i>Nakasaulu</i> ,		Keeper of the fetish Nakasaulu.
<i>Seguku</i> " "	<i>Kabega</i> ,		Guardian of the daugh- ters of princesses.
(Katulaga — Princes descended from Queens belonging to the Lung-fish clan)			
<i>Pangolin</i> (5)			
<i>Mukono</i> — lineage head	<i>Nalungu</i>		
<i>Sumba</i> " "	" "		
<i>Nsagu</i> " "	?		
<i>Magota</i> " "	<i>Senkota</i>		Keeper of the Kabaka's fire.
<i>Nakilama</i> " "	" "		
<i>Elephant</i> (1)			
<i>Bukomye</i> — lineage head	<i>Sebukoko</i>		
<i>Bushbuck</i> (1)			
<i>Katalemwa</i> " "	" "		?
<i>Bird</i> (1)			
<i>Mayanja</i> " "	<i>Kasimbazi</i>		
<i>Grey Monkey</i> (1)			
<i>Nabingo</i> " "	<i>Mugerwa Sewankambo</i>		
<i>Cow</i> (1)			
<i>Nakigalala</i> " "	<i>Banda</i> ,		Potter to the Kabaka.
<i>Grass-hopper</i> (1)			
<i>Namugoga</i> " "	<i>Kikambi</i> ,		Maternal Uncle to Kaba- ka Kamanya.

Appendix I

VILLAGES OF MILITARY OFFICE-HOLDERS (*batongole*) (10)

<i>Buga</i>	under	Mujasi also in charge of shrine of Kabaka Kaguru.
<i>Kyerima</i>	"	?
<i>Makokoto</i>	"	<i>Zikwa</i>
<i>Maugulu</i>	"	<i>Nakaima</i>
<i>Maya</i>	"	? <i>Nkata</i>
<i>Mpogo</i>	"	<i>Musambi</i>
<i>Nakatema</i>	"	<i>Bulusi</i> (in command of forces at capital and those of <i>Makamba's</i> area)
<i>Namagoma</i>	"	<i>Bulusi</i>
<i>Nanziga</i>	"	? <i>Mujasi</i>
<i>Wabusanke</i>	"	?

VILLAGES OF OTHER *Batongole* — office or "benefice holders" (8)

<i>Bubali</i>	under	<i>Mbalangu</i> — Officer in Treasury.
<i>Kasenge</i>	"	<i>Walusu</i> — Forester to King.
<i>Kisozi</i>	"	<i>Makamba</i> — Coronation official.
<i>Kiwatule</i>	"	<i>Munawa</i> — Repairer of King's palace.
<i>Nakandwa</i>	"	<i>Mukebezi</i> — Collector of King's fire-wood.
<i>Nalubude</i>	"	<i>Mukebezi</i> — "
<i>Nakasozi</i>	"	? "
<i>Nalumunyi</i>		a <i>mutongole</i> of <i>Katikkiro</i>

VILLAGES UNDER PRINCES (1)

Munkabira under Princess Kagere.

VILLAGES UNDER PRINCESSES (5)

<i>Bulabi</i>	under	?
<i>Bulwanyi</i>	"	the <i>Nasolo</i> , or eldest daughter of reigning Kabaka
<i>Jandira</i>	"	Princess <i>Nasiwa</i> .
<i>Nankonge</i>	"	Princess <i>Katekeso</i> .
<i>Nantongo</i>	"	?

THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF A GANDA VILLAGE

In 41 villages in this part of Busiro in 1884 the rulers were of the following types:

Clan heads	17
Military office- holders	10
Other office- holders	8
Princes	1
Princesses	5

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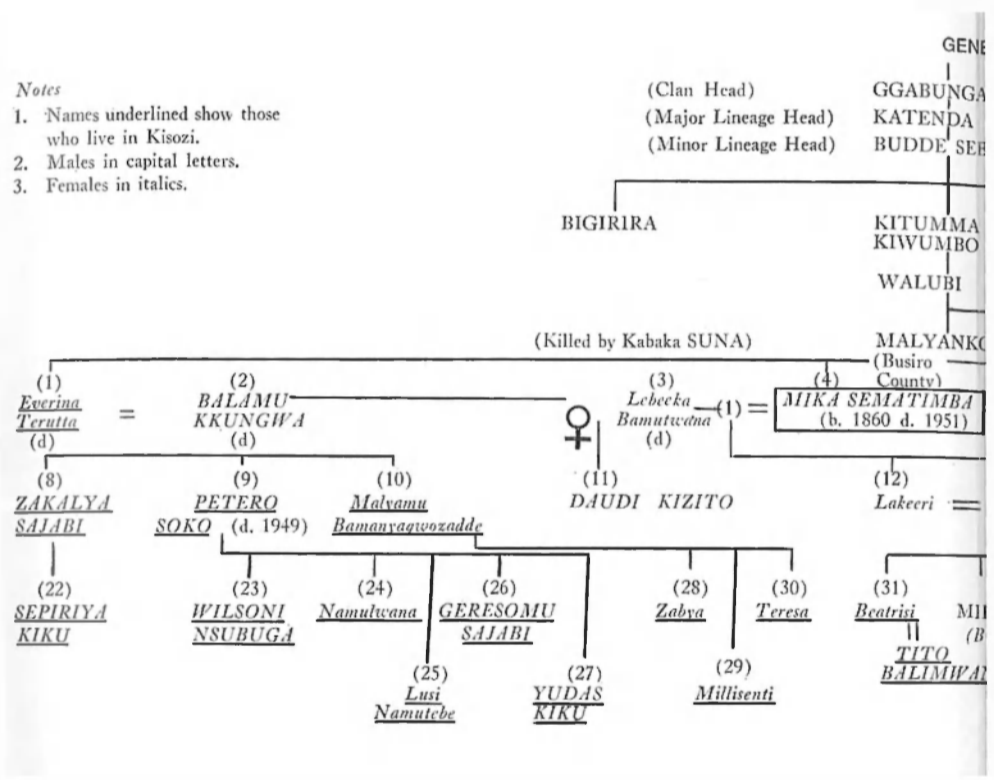
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- Notes
- Names underlined show those who live in Kisozi.
 - Males in capital letters.
 - Females in italics.

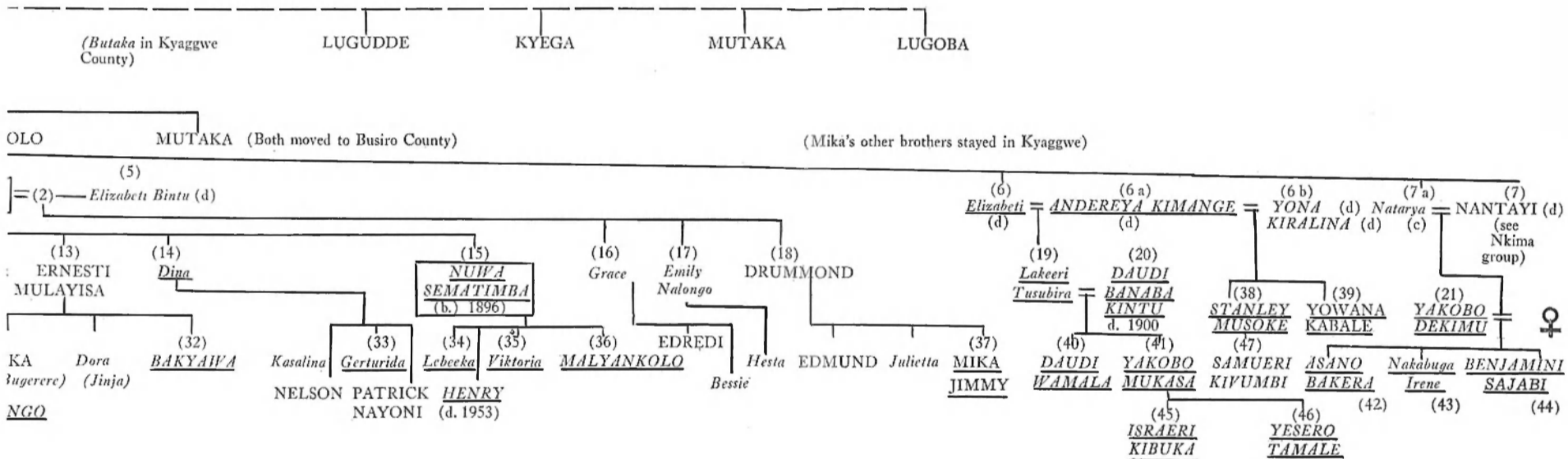


THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF A GANDA VILLAGE

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DEMOGRAPHY OF NUWA SEMATIMBA 1952

- A (Butaka in Busiro County-Sagala)
- (Butaka in Kyaggwe County-Zziba)
- BABI (Butaka in Kyaggwe County-Lubongo)



Zulu, p. 01, 00.

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THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF A GANDA VILLAGE

AUDREY I. RICHARDS

Dr. Richards' unique study of the developing social structure of a village in Buganda will be warmly welcomed by social scientists both for its conclusions and its methodology. Delving into sixty years of social history she has made a brilliant analysis of the complex patterns of evolving traditional roles in an era of profound social change.

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