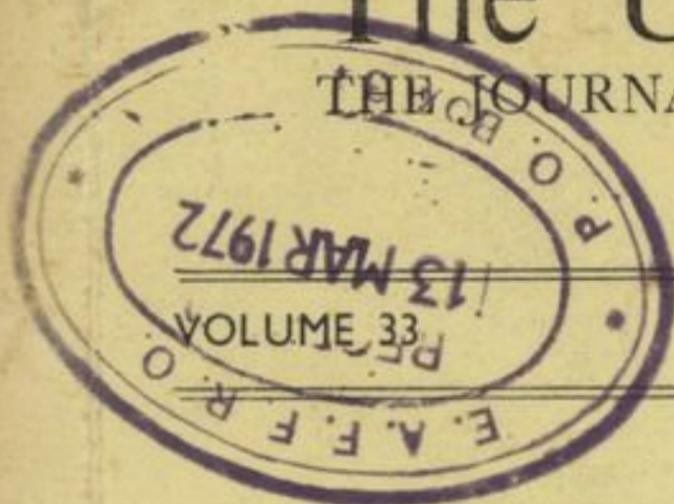


# The Uganda Journal

THE JOURNAL OF THE UGANDA SOCIETY



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## KABAKA MWANGA AND HIS POLITICAL PARTIES

By M. S. M. KIWANUKA

Presidential address delivered on 6 November 1968

The aim of this presidential address is to re-appraise the career and character of Kabaka Mwanga II, and in particular to arrive at a better understanding than hitherto as to the causes of the civil wars of 1888 and of the first revolt against him. The study will involve a detailed analysis of the events of the years 1884 to 1888.

In order to understand the history of the 1880's the historian must ask himself two questions. Why the political systems left by Kabaka Mutesa I collapsed and why there were civil wars after this collapse. There is an enormous amount of literature on this period, such as the diaries of the missionaries, books and learned articles written many years afterwards by historians and others. There are also the eye-witness accounts of the Baganda themselves. Why then add to this body of literature? The answer is that these sources, though copious are inadequate. The existing learned publications for example were based almost entirely on Christian missionary sources; but these sources contained inaccuracies which have unfortunately crept into books and learned articles<sup>1</sup>. Sir Apolo Kagwa's books which have been used as the principal Luganda sources are themselves not detailed enough.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately, a number of other Luganda sources have been discovered in recent years and are now collected in the library at Makerere. These have thrown valuable light on the events of the 1880's and 1890's. The justification for presenting this subject again is to re-examine the events of this period in the light of the new evidence.<sup>3</sup>

Writing in 1936, the Rev. Fletcher observed that it was no easy matter to deal with the life of a man about whom so much had been written and of which some should never been published.<sup>4</sup> Fletcher's contention was that few of the people who wrote about Mwanga knew the man himself. They neither understood the environment in which he grew up nor appreciated the circumstances in which he ascended the throne. I agree with Fletcher. Mwanga has for a long time been a maligned man. Maligned by the majority of the Christian missionaries as well as by his own people. Fletcher invited his readers therefore to put themselves in Mwanga's position before judging him. Fletcher himself had several advantages over other commentators on Mwanga. First of all he possessed to a remarkable degree an insight into character. Arriving in Buganda in 1893, Fletcher remained constantly in touch with Mwanga and sometimes had long conversations with him. He therefore came to know Mwanga more than many missionaries and administrators. It was because of this deep understanding which led him to write a sympathetic article, stressing especially Mwanga's environment and the difficult times in which he ascended the throne.

Fletcher correctly observed that at the commencement of Mwanga's reign, the Baganda were already a divided people and Mwanga was consequently surrounded by several factions all of which vied with each other for royal favour.

There were the Catholics, the Moslems and the Protestants and the believers in the Kiganda religion. Outside Buganda events of which Mwanga was aware, and which threatened the independence of his kingdom, were taking place. In the north the Egyptians had occupied the Sudan. In the east, European imperialism was fast establishing itself thereby reducing the authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar. These rapid and radical changes which took place in and outside Buganda inevitably confused Mwanga. It is thus tempting to attribute all his tribulations to these external movements and to the troubled times in which he ascended the throne. In an effort to salvage Mwanga's reputation, one can easily ignore the man's basic weaknesses and present him merely as the innocent victim of publicists. One way of avoiding this temptation is to divide Mwanga's career into three phases: the periods 1884—1888, 1889—1891 and 1892—1899.

During the first phase, political events in Buganda were still very much in the hands of the Baganda themselves and whatever happened then, cannot without exaggeration be attributed to external forces. The second phase was transitional. It was during this interlude that political power in Buganda passed from the hands of the Kabaka into those of the agents of the colonial government. From 1892 onwards, the colonial regime, first represented by the Imperial British East African Company took over Buganda. In this address we shall be concerned primarily with the first phase.

When Kabaka Mwanga ascended the throne in October 1884 he had every opportunity to make a good ruler. He was supported by the vast majority of the chiefs and his brothers had accepted his succession. The foreigners in Buganda, such as the Protestant missionaries and the Zanzibaris showed no marked opposition to his elevation.<sup>5</sup> Yet Mwanga fell almost at once, and the power of the monarchy was irrevocably broken. Within these four years, the Baganda had learnt that they could depose a bad ruler as they used to do in the past, but also that they could now control and dictate to him.

The most decisive factor in Mwanga's career was his character which has been widely commented upon by his contemporaries. A few traits appear vital. He is said to have been fitful, fickle, revengeful and capable of the most premeditated actions. He was also easily led. Fletcher described him as weak, frivolous, suspicious and passionate. We should add that he was a conservative and determined to be master in his own house. Yet an examination of his policies between 1884—88 suggests that there was hardly any trace of statemanship in him. As we have already pointed out, rapid and confusing changes were taking place and to steer a clear course, it needed a man with a strong character and a firm will. Unfortunately for Mwanga he possessed very few of these characteristics. Under such circumstances the immediate and most powerful influence on him was Mukasa, his prime minister.

Mukasa was one of the most remarkable men ever to appear on the Kiganda political scene. He possessed an extraordinary insight into character and he was always polite and courteous, but underlying all his politeness was a determined and bitter hostility to foreigners and their religions. Like most men of his generation he had read the Bible as well as the Koran and he knew something of each religion, but he remained closely tied to the religion of his forefathers. Mukasa's influence over Mwanga is seen in the latter's hostility to the Christian converts. He worked hard to extend his own hostility to the young man to whom he now seemed to be the political guardian. As he had been the confi-

dant of Mutesa, he naturally expected to be the confidant of his young successor. Mukasa was a powerful man and he could even carry out executions and dismissals of Mwanga's favourite chiefs without the latter's consent. He repeatedly poisoned Mwanga's mind by warning him that the Christians would one day become too powerful for him. The persecution of the Christians must be laid not only at Mwanga's feet but also at Mukasa's, for he was the one who constantly incited the king, a man already frightened by the new forces. By listening to Mukasa on this point, Mwanga became an enemy of the Christians and thereby sowed the seeds of those who were to drive him off his throne. To this limited extent therefore, Mukasa's responsibility is enormous; but it stopped there, for Mwanga was determined to have nothing to do with the old chiefs. He created his own corps d'élite and this proved his undoing.

Besides Mukasa's influence and the new and disquieting forces, was the fact that Mwanga never really settled on the throne. A series of catastrophes made his reign one of the most disturbed. Immediately after his accession there was an epidemic of plague in the capital at Nabulagala which killed many of his chiefs and wives. He went to Masajja to build a new capital, but because the site did not have a good view, he abandoned it in favour of Nkawo which was later named Mengo. About a year after the capital of Mengo had been built and every one settled, it was consumed by fire with many of Mwanga's wives and a great deal of his property. Mwanga took refuge first at the White Father's Mission, but later the Katikiro took him to his residence. Unfortunately the Katikiro's house in which he had taken refuge, became the target of Kiwanuka, the angry god of thunder.<sup>7</sup> That was in February 1886. A temporary capital was built at Munyonyo and Mwanga settled there for a great deal of 1886 while Mengo was being rebuilt. Meanwhile the Namasole's (Queen Mother's) palace caught fire and about twentyfive houses were burnt down. At the same time Mwanga learnt that his merchant boat had capsized with all his merchandise. On the war front, the news was equally alarming. A raid on Kome island was unsuccessful and the Kiganda attack on Bunyoro ended disastrously. Making full use of the remnants of the Khartoumer traders, Kabarega of Bunyoro inflicted a heavy defeat on the Baganda, killing numbers of them, and leaving the General, Tebukozza, to escape with very severe wounds. Mengo was rebuilt, but early in 1887 it was consumed by fire once again and because of the winds, the fire spread to the Katikiro residence also.

There were other happenings which disturbed Mwanga. His knowledge of the eruption of European colonial agents in East Africa has already been mentioned. Nearer home there was even more alarming news. He learnt of the approach of Bishop Hannington from Busoga. From the middle of the Nineteenth century, Busoga had been regarded by the Baganda as the back door to the kingdom. In Kiganda society, anyone who approaches a house from the back must be either an intimate friend or an enemy. Now Bishop Hannington was certainly not an intimate friend of Mwanga or Buganda for that matter. Mwanga therefore gave orders to kill him. A contemporary view of these was recorded by Miti, "With these happenings people began to whisper that they were caused by Mwanga's murder of the bishop and the martyrdom of the Christians. The destruction of the Katikiro's house was due, so the whispers went on, to his complicity in these ghastly acts of the king".<sup>8</sup> All contemporaries stressed that Mwanga never really recovered from these nightmares. Thus no sooner had the killing of the bishop been carried out, than fears of reprisals seized Mwanga. To understand Mwanga's actions therefore, one must

take into account these bad omens. They increased his irascibility and may well have accounted for his unpredictable behaviour; but by themselves they do not explain his policies.

Mwanga's fateful march to ruin is clearly marked by his intense hatred of the old chiefs who had been his father's trusted advisers.<sup>9</sup> It is not easy to account for his hostility to these old chiefs, but a few pieces of evidence can lead to some reasonable suggestions. Sometime after his accession there were rumours of a plot to overthrow him by some chiefs. He ordered Mukasa, the prime minister, to investigate the matter. Mukasa did so at once but his conclusion was that the rumours were unfounded. In spite of this, it is probable that though some of the chiefs supported Mwanga, their support may have been grudging and they did not extend the same warm enthusiasm to Mwanga as they had extended to his father. This may have frightened him and he therefore remained suspicious. Hence he retired about ten of the leading chiefs by appointing them to "guard his father's tomb" at Kasubi. They included all those who had been allegedly against him. This move was the first sign of the divide between the king and his senior chiefs.

Mwanga was on the point of retiring Mukasa, when the latter acted swiftly, especially as he had several trump cards against Andrew Kagga, the prospective future Katikiro. Kagga was a convert to Catholicism and Mukasa exploited this fact to the full. He told Mwanga to execute Kagga, but Mwanga did not readily give his consent. Mukasa therefore took matters in his own hand and working himself into a rage, he swore that he would not eat until the execution had been carried out. Anxious to save their master from hunger, the executioners carried out the Katikiro's sentence without delay. Mwanga avenged the death of his favourite page by ordering further executions. So Mukasa saved his position and continued to spread rumours against the Christians. By the end of 1886, over fifty of them including Mwanga's favourite pages had been done to death.

Mwanga's behaviour in the meantime is puzzling. Having executed the leading converts and maimed many of the survivors, he proceeded to promote the latter to important positions and eventually entrusted the political destiny of the country into their hands. The explanation for this behaviour may be found in a statement by a contemporary. According to Kirevu, after Mwanga had executed the Christians, he felt too isolated, because he had antagonised every group.<sup>10</sup> Since he found it harder to fraternise with the old chiefs, he took steps to buy back the friendship of the young. The year 1887 saw the implementation of this plan. He thus created four vast Bitongole and put the young chiefs in charge of them. Consisting of large and arrogant bands of young men, these organisations become the new storm centres of politics in Buganda. One of the Ebitongole was the Ekiwuliriza which used to include the present suburbs of Kampala, such as Nsambya, Kisugu, Makindye and extended as far as Gabba. Mwanga dismissed Kinyoro who was in many ways an hereditary chief and who used to be the medium of the god Mukasa. The new kitongole was given to Kiwanuka Katege one of the leading Moslem pages. As late as 1886 Apolo Kagga was still a junior officer in the "Stores Division", but in 1887 or thereabout Mwanga dismissed Kulugi the chief "Store Keeper" and installed Apolo Kagga. He then created a special Kitongole headed by Apolo Kagga and named it Ekyegwanika. Another huge Kitongole was named the Ekijasi<sup>11</sup> and the appointed Kapalaga, a Moslem, to head it. The greatest royal favourite of the young chiefs at this time was Henry Nyonyi-

ntono, a Catholic. Mwanga appointed him the Muyinda and dismissed Mukajanga the chief executioner from his estates as Musigula. Mwanga went further and told Nyonyintono to establish branches of Ekitongole Ekiyinda in every county; thereby cutting off huge estates of former county chieftainships including the estates of his own brothers. Similarly Apolo Kaggwa's newly created Kitongole Ekyegwanika which was on Mutundwe hill, absorbed many estates of the old chiefs including those of Prince Mutebi Kiwewa. Mwanga then told Apolo Kaggwa, now the Musigula and Kiwanuka Katege the Omuwuliriza and Kapalaga the Omujasi, to found branches of their own Bitongole in every county as Nyonyintono had done. Thus the estates of the old chiefs were further reduced.

The Baganda, a politically sensitive people, have always had a barometrical sense of knowing which way the wind is blowing. The populace therefore recognised at once that royal favour was with the young chiefs, to whose Ebitongole they flocked in large numbers. The result was that the old senior chiefs lost not only territorial jurisdiction but followers.<sup>12</sup> By 1888 it was estimated that the four Bitongole, the Ekiyinda, the Ekiwuliriza, the Ekyegwanika and the Ekijasi, which theoretically represented the armed forces, had over 100,000 men all young and arrogant. If Mwanga had stopped there, the divide between him and his senior chiefs could perhaps have been repaired; but he stripped them of political power and subjected them to frequent public humiliations and completely ignored their advice. The young chiefs and their followers became the real rulers of the country which they unfortunately terrorized with the active backing of their royal master. Their terrorism took two forms. Every new king had to make a royal tour of his kingdom in order to show himself to the people. Unfortunately for Mwanga, his tours were of death and destruction. Pillaging and every kind of brigandage became the order of the day. At first, the plundering was against the old chiefs, but once let loose on the countryside Mwanga's "Red Guards" spared no one.

A description of four such raids will illustrate the degree of misery and brigandage inflicted on the country. In 1887, Mwanga set off with a retinue of hundreds of people who swooped over his maternal uncles' estate in Kyaggwe and raided his livestock. They then descended upon Ssayi, another district in Kyaggwe, and captured many hundreds of cattle and goats. The raid which shocked the whole country most was made on Gayaza and Kijabijjo, the estates of his grandparents. With a retinue of about a thousand men he invaded the estates and his men shot dead Namasole's page as they looted the villages of several thousand cattle and goats. It was an abominable act for a king to raid his grandparents. He then descended on Kasawo where his men collected over five thousand cattle.<sup>13</sup>

There were other acts which alienated the country, particularly the old chiefs and their supporters. One was Mwanga's determination to humiliate these men, who only a few years ago were the trusted advisers of his father. After a foreign war, for example, it was the long established custom for the general to distribute the loot in the name of the king. But Mwanga ignored this custom and used to appoint one of his favourite young men to distribute the loot no matter whether he had participated in the war or not. Three famous incidents impressed contemporaries, and of which the description of one such follow incident is given in an eye-witness account by Zimbe.<sup>14</sup> Then there was the incident of Tebukozza, the veteran chief of Mutesa, who was then the Pokino. After leading a successful war on the neighbouring territories

of Kooki and Ankole, he returned only to find the power of distributing the war spoils had already been given to Nyonyintono, who went on to add many insults to the old man. The break between the king and the chiefs of the old regime became irreparable as the young terrorised the old. Every contemporary account referred to the reckless liberty given to the Abapere who plundered chief after chief. The young chiefs had a flag, a symbol of youth, and a flute which announced their arrival in any place. On seeing an old chief, Zimbe wrote: "We would bark at him, saying fool sack yourself or let the peasant hide in his pockets or let the earth swallow him up. Thereupon every one in our way would flee to the jungle otherwise he would be beaten to death. . . . While the chiefs fled, the peasants joined our bands. . . . We would thereby raid seven to ten villages a day. There was nothing to stand in our way except the silent and deep groans of the sufferers. . . . which however, were an irrelevance to us."<sup>15</sup>

The catalogue of Mwanga's bungling policies is endless, perhaps the most serious which brought him in conflict with every social group in the country was the decree of digging a lake for him. By this decree everyone, high and low, had to dig. The supervisors of work were not senior chiefs but favourite pages, bossy and anxious to lord it over those who had the misfortune of crossing their authority. The supervisors are remembered for their notoriety and imperiousness. They were Kaggwa Ndikumulaga and Musoke. These had powers of life and death. Mwanga had given them a royal drum whose sound in the early hours of the morning was like a knell. It would boom before five in the morning and by six every hand would have to be on the job. Arriving after that time incurred heavy fines: four cows, five goats, four pieces of cloth, two loads of barkcloth, two Fezes and finally as act of public humiliation, to sit in the mud.

One day chief Mukwenda, a dignified and highly respected man for his age, arrived late; whereupon Kaggwa Ndikumulaga humiliated him to the utter consternation of every one. "It was most unbearable" wrote Zimbe, "to see all the big and once most influential chiefs being humiliated by a mere palace page. . . . fining them women, slaves, livestock, loads of barkcloth and putting in the stocks those who failed to pay the fines. Thus the immediate surroundings of Musoke's house became a huge prison camp overflowing with alleged defaulters."<sup>16</sup>

As fate would have it, Mwanga did not relent in his reckless and politically suicidal policy of turning the country against himself. Worse still, he was such a faithful friend that he gave absolute support to all the activities of his youthful followers. One day Kaggwa Ndikumulaga wrongly accused Kapalaga, the Omujasi of shirking royal duty. Kaggwa is said to have ill-treated the "chief of staff", which was a political blunder to antagonise "the chief of the military". Kapalaga was so angry that he was forced to say publicly that Mwanga would not last long if he continued to rule with such tyranny. "I am myself disgusted with him", Kapalaga announced to the whole of his Kitongole.<sup>17</sup> A contemporary observed that Kapalaga's attitude and his speech to his Kitongole henceforth created a spirit of rebellion among his followers.

Meanwhile Mwanga's favourite young chiefs had humiliated another old chief, Muguluma. Now Muguluma and Kapalaga were very popular and influential Moslems chiefs, and although the Moslems had not suffered in the fires of Namugongo in 1885—86 they now began to feel that Mwanga was against them also. Katikiro Mukasa had warned Mwanga many times that he

could not succeed with his policies. The old man, famous for his political sensitivity, now realized that the explosion could not be postponed for long. Moreover any humiliation of the old chiefs naturally affected him. More important still was the fact that he was not really in control of the affairs. He therefore offered his resignation on the pretext that he had grown too old, but Mwanga would have none of Mukasa's excuses. He was now beginning to feel the growing isolation, and though in 1885 he had wanted to retire Mukasa, he now refused and appealed to him not to "desert" him. So the old man uncomfortably stayed on the job. Unfortunately, Mwanga persisted in his rule of fear and persecution. Thus by 1888, there was nothing left to inspire devotion to Mwanga among the old chiefs; yet they could do nothing to help themselves. Mwanga had stripped them of political power and they remained only with meaningless titles. Their followers had joined the Bitongole of the young chiefs. Thus although these chiefs may have arms they were like generals without armies. In spite of their militarily hopeless position, they were determined to overthrow Mwanga. They therefore thought of a plan, which, given the blessing of Mwanga's bungling policies, was bound to succeed.

A natural division existed between the old stalwarts and the youngmen. It was a division based on age and cultural adaptability. The majority of the stalwarts were staunch supporters of the Kiganda religion and hated the foreigners with their new philosophies. They were now a persecuted group without anyone to turn to. Neither could they hope to carry out a successful coup d'état by themselves. They therefore began to vocalise Mwanga's private thoughts and spread rumours that he was planning another holocaust of the converts. In effect the alleged plot was to sweep all and sundry of Mwanga's corps d'élite: Catholics, Moslems and Protestants. The whole group had needed royal support and Mwanga had given it unreservedly. He had showered privileges upon them and because of their political and cultural interests they regarded themselves as one group. How did they turn against the man who had been so generous to them and who had supported all their reckless actions?

At first the rumours of a plot to drown them were not taken seriously; but in that inflammable atmosphere, other grievances were likely to light the fire. By a peculiar coincidence the leaders of each of Mwanga's Bitongole belonged to the three new religions. Nyonyintono was a Catholic, Kiwanuka Katege, the Omuwuliriza, and Kapalaga, the Omujasi, were Moslems, Apolo Kaggwa, the Chief Store Keeper, was a Protestant. Herein lies the political importance of these religious groups, and it explains why the three uncongenial bed-fellows combined to overthrow their King. Although the Moslems had not been persecuted in 1886 they had never forgotten that Mutesa burnt to death over fifty of their co-religionists. Moreover, the devout ones among them were always bitter because they had never won the monopoly to slaughter animals. This alone would have ensured them against eating what they described as unclean meat. Mwanga himself, although not overtly hostile to Islam, had never given them such a monopoly, nor did he show any willingness to become a Moslem. Furthermore, several of his policies had resulted in the public humiliation of the Moslem leaders such as Muguluma and Kapalaga. Thus like the Christians, the Moslems also lived with the nightmare of religious and political persecution.

What did Mwanga himself do in the meantime? One thing is clear. He was always suspicious of the followers of the new religions. True, he had showered privileges upon them and like them, he too prided himself in the new goddess of youth; yet he must have had the commonsense to realize that one day these

young men might turn against him. Not only were they too numerous despite the persecutions of 1886, but they were almost fanatical believers in their new-found philosophies. If they were politically less powerful than the king, and this was very much in theory, militarily not even Mwanga could successfully challenge them as long as they were united. Prime minister Mukasa repeatedly warned his master that he was tying a millstone round his neck by creating a vast political organisation and giving it limitless liberty. Mwanga who was fully aware of his estrangement from the old chiefs could not expect support from them. It is therefore possible that he began to look for a convenient but effective way of removing his own created political party. It is also possible that he betrayed his uneasiness in conversation with his mother or with his Prime minister.

But did the old stalwarts incite the young chiefs too overthrow Mwanga, as contemporary Christian Baganda authors assert? It seems to me that this so-called incitement by the old chiefs, was merely the occasion rather than the cause of the young chiefs' coup. Though royal favourites, these young men had seen how their co-religionists had been burnt to death for holding beliefs which they themselves still professed. If they had any commonsense they must have realized that the political honeymoon with a man of unpredictable behaviour like Mwanga could not last long. Once it was over, there could only be one end for most of them, death. Once the occasion came therefore the young chiefs grabbed it to forestall the man who threatened not only their freedom of worship, but also their very existence.

Thus as the rumours of further persecution grew, so did the spirit of rebellion among Mwanga's once privileged class. A contemporary tells us that the three groups decided to teach Mwanga a lesson should he once again persecute them for their religious beliefs. "The lesson was to fight him. The three groups were too powerful and had tremendous confidence in themselves. Above all they had considerable support because they contained all the leading and most powerful young chiefs. There was Henry Nyonyintono the Omuyinda whom Mwanga used to address as 'Omwami Nyonyintono'. He had a considerable following with many guns. Then there was Apolo Kagawa, a Protestant and Chief Storekeeper. He had a large following and controlled the royal armoury. There was Katege Kiwanuka, a Moslem, with a very large number of retainers. Finally there was Kapalaga, the Omujasi, who was also a Moslem. Being the 'chief of staff' he had under him all the armed forces in Buganda and he was militarily the most formidable Mutongole".<sup>18</sup> To this extent therefore, the desire for religious liberty forced Mwanga's "sons" to rebel against him.

Meanwhile pangs of fear had seized Mwanga. He too heard rumours of an assassination plot by Gwayambadde, the 'mumyuka of the stores'. The rumour was that Gwayambadde would shoot him as he left the palace. Mwanga then knew that the day of reckoning had come. In a desperate mood to pretend that he was still a force to be reckoned with and in order to strike fear in everyone, he ordered the *Abatamanyangamba*, the notorious executioners, to spend the night singing and beating drums as a sign of an impending crisis.<sup>19</sup> The effect, though more psychological than real because Mwanga had no army, was all the same most frightening. Zimbe wrote that the whole country was stricken with fear of an immediate doom and all the converts became convinced that the day of reckoning had come. In reality, however, the singing and beating of drums by *Abatamanyangamba* was the barking of an old and toothless bulldog, and Mwanga himself knew that. Hence on that day he cancelled the planned sailing trip, but once again his plan was betrayed to the converts

by no other than Kasigwa the chief of the *Abatamanyangamba* himself. This clearly shows how lonely Mwanga had become. If the king could not trust "This chief of police" who else could he trust?

After being told by no other than the chief *Omutamanyangamba*, the converts could no longer doubt Mwanga's plan. The young chiefs therefore decided to precipitate the revolt. As a matter of military and psychological strategy they argued that it was better for them to provoke the king to fight while he was still weak. If he executed any of the leaders such as Nyonyintono, Kaggwa or Kapalaga, or if any one of them defected, they argued, that might demoralize the rest. What therefore had been silent defiance became open acts of rebellion. Mwanga could no longer postpone his plans. He set off for Entebbe for a sailing trip. The reasons he gave for the sailing exercise varied. The whole of the four Bitongole estimated at over 100,000 people followed him. Many of them were armed with guns. By the time they reached Entebbe, Mwanga was already on the water. He then ordered Kawuta, the chief cook, and Kasiga the chief *Mutamanyangamba* to summon everyone to embark with all their guns. But no one did. Then Mwanga called specifically upon their leaders, especially Apolo Kaggwa, Nyonyintono and Kapalaga. Kapalaga and his Kitongole are said to have refused saying, "those who wish to embark (meaning the *Abatamanyangamba*) can go with their king but not us. We shall not embark those canoes". That was a clear statement of rebellion and only Apolo Kaggwa and Nyonyintono and a few others embarked. The writing on the wall could not be clearer for Mwanga.

Then in an act of public surrender, demonstrating his unpredictable behaviour, Mwanga hastily suggested to return to the capital by way of Munyonyo while the whole body of the Batongole travelled by land. Zimbe writes, "Thereupon the vast crowd booed the king and insulted him as we used to say to old chiefs 'go with your children', 'sack yourself'..... On that day, it was clear to every one that Mwanga had been deposed". In traditional style the soldiers executed a number of people but they were warned at gunpoint that should they touch any of the converts they would be shot on the spot. On reaching the capital Mwanga did nothing, because militarily he was ignorant besides being weak. He should, for example, immediately have got the keys of the armoury from Apolo Kaggwa.

The rebels on the other hand, immediately prepared themselves for conflicts as they wanted to forestall the king while he was still weak and while they were still united. They set up a war council and meeting at Nyonyintono's residence (despite its close proximity to the palace), the rebels unanimously chose Nyonyintono to be the chairman for the discussion and also to be their Generalissimo. Then the Christian groups informed their missionaries of the decision to fight and to depose Mwanga. But believing in the sanctity of established authority, the missionaries persuaded their followers not to fight the king, and it is further claimed that the missionaries warned the Christians against collaboration with the Moslems. "They will betray you and fight you in the end". The Moslems were by far the largest and militarily the most formidable group. They had among them several dynamic leaders, nevertheless the presence of a common enemy still united the three groups and they made a blood pact as an insurance against betrayal. The Christians chose Nyonyintono to make a blood pact with Muguluma the leader of the Moslems and the various leaders also made blood pacts with their opposite numbers. Thus Kaggwa made a blood pact with Kapalaga. Having done that the next thing was for the rebels to plan the

strategy of the war.

The largest body of the armed forces under the Mujasi were to be organised in the three divisions: they would march from Busega with drums and bugles and trumpets and they were to be commanded by Kapalaga and Muguluma. Nyonyintono was to organise his regiment in four divisions and Apolo Kaggwa in three. Then all the divisions would converge on Rubaga at Kawula's, the keeper of the *Mujaguzo*. Once the strategy had been decided on, the next question was to determine the beginning of conflict; and two o'clock of the following day was decided upon. Having disposed of the military questions, the council had to tackle the political question, namely Mwanga's successor. All the vernacular sources are unanimous that the agreed choice was Prince Kalema.<sup>20</sup> Then the war council chose twelve strong men led by a Moslem member of the Ekiyinda Kitongole to force open the prison where Prince Kalema was being kept. "Bring him to Rubaga. You will find us there with the *Mujaguzo* ready. Then we shall march on Mengo." By the time the plans had been agreed on, it was already late in the night, the Christians and Moslems therefore parted. The two Christian groups again sent word to their missionaries, but still the latter advised against war. When told of the missionaries' attitude, the Christian leaders replied that what had been decided was final. "If defeat comes upon us, we shall face it like men", they declared. Meanwhile in the dead of night Apolo Kaggwa opened the royal armoury and distributed all the arms and ammunition to the rebels. On the morrow there was no one going to the palace except Nyonyintono who went to pay customary respects to the king after a journey. It was a most foolish mission on the part of the rebel leader and he was nearly kidnapped by a group of loyalist chiefs led by Lutaya, the Kauta. By midday, the three army divisions led by Muguluma and Kapalaga were approaching Rubaga hill and when they arrived the men appointed to get Prince Kalema out of the prison, descended Rubaga hill, but in a fit of excitement seized Prince Mutebe, the Kiwewa, and dragged him to where the leaders were. The Christians were shocked and Nyonyintono publicly rebuked the man responsible for this political blunder; but there was no time for recriminations and he told everyone to accept the mistake and be ready to start the conflict.<sup>21</sup>

Was this a deliberate trick of the Moslems, as it has sometimes been claimed by Christians writers, or was it a genuine neglect of duty? The following facts suggest that it was excitement and negligence which led to this political blunder. Kiwewa's enclosure was nearby, just below the present Junior Secondary School but Kalema's was a little further at Wakaliga. Furthermore, everyone, whether Moslem or not, was convinced that Kalema was the better candidate. It is therefore unlikely that the Moslems would deliberately have chosen Kiwewa. Nevertheless, whether what was done was deliberate or not, it aroused the old suspicions and reminded the Christians of the warnings of betrayed

Kiwewa himself was a tall, thin man with a very dark skin which was heavily poxed. He was already fairly advanced in age, completely devoid of political ambition and without any quality of leadership. The only good thing about him was that he was kind-hearted but conservative. He found peace with the old conservative stalwarts rather than with Mwanga's young men. When the rebels seized him he was trembling with fear pleading, "my friends, will you fight fearlessly? Shall we win". Meanwhile the *Mujaguzo* had been sounded and Apolo Kaggwa told the soldiers under the Mujasi and the Katabalwa to lead the lines to the palace gates.<sup>22</sup> The rebels had about two thousand

guns. They approached the palace from Namirembe side. Mwanga does not seem to have been fully aware of what was happening for he is said to have been sitting in one of the inner houses. On hearing the Mujaguzo he ran desperately to his armoury only to find that it was locked and Apolo had taken the keys with him. With Mwanga were about seventy palace pages including Lutaya and Kawuta.

There was nothing Mwanga could do and while he contemplated taking refuge at the Catholic Mission, for Father Lourdel was his friend, the Kawuta warned him that the Christians might ambush him there. Meanwhile, Mukasa arrived at the main gate with three of his body-guards, including his son and told the king "Sekabwa Keweyolera", meaning, I told you so. He then told him to turn his eyes to Rubaga hill which was covered with the rebel forces. With these words Mukasa deserted his master and fled towards Old Kampala hill. None of the old chiefs supported Mwanga. Zimbe wrote, "All the king's Bakungu from the Batongole to the Saza Chiefs such as Namutwe, Muwemba, Masiki, the Abasunna, the county chiefs and the Prime minister were like women in this war. With their hands inside their clothes, saying 'we told him so', that these young men would be a danger even to himself. Mukajanga who used to support the king and burn the Christians and all the other executioners who killed the Christians, boasting that they were brave, all just ran to Kampala hill with the prime-minister. Other old chiefs scattered on other hills such as Makerere".<sup>23</sup>

Mwanga, however, decided to fight and fired a few shots. At that instant one of his boys was dead only a few feet away from him, and at this moment he decided to flee. He then fled towards the lake first to Kome Island and then to Sukuma in Tanganyika.<sup>24</sup> There was little exchange of fire and Mwanga's survival on that day was due to his once most favourite chief, Nyonyintono. It was he who refused his men to pursue the king and they stopped at Kibuye, a mile away from Mengo. The important preoccupation of the victorious converts was to settle the question of chieftainship, but before this was done, the rebels debated what to do with Mukasa and by a unanimous decision they dismissed him from the premiership. Even when he appealed to them to allow him a few days in which to gather his belongings, they refused. He was therefore forced into retirement at Kasubi where his master, Mutesa, was buried. After the dismissal of Mukasa all the important offices were at the disposal of the rebels. The new King, Kiwewa, was a nominee of the rebel chiefs and he retained his position at their pleasure. As the rebels had arrogated all the powers to themselves, the bargaining and the distribution of the chieftainships was made without reference to the King. In fact the kingship was part of the bargain. Kiwewa, though not a believer in any of the three religions, inclined towards Islam. Therefore in the distribution of offices the kingship was regarded by the Christians as a prize for the Moslems. The premiership went to Henry Nyonyintono who was a most popular leader. In addition he became the Sekibobo, thereby perpetuating a precedent set when Mutesa in his last days and in order to satisfy the aggrandizing spirit of Mukasa, had added a county chieftainship to the premiership. Nyonyintono's becoming prime minister, as well as Sekibobo, generated much controversy between the Moslems and Christians; but the latter insisted that even the previous prime minister was Sekibobo as well. Then the Moslems took the Kimbugwe which at that time was almost as important an office as the premiership. It went to Ali Bukuku who had been

the Mumyuka of the Ggwanika. One of the important county chieftainships was the Mukwenda to which the Christians nominated Apolo Kaggwa. But dissatisfaction with the distribution of offices had already seized the Christian groups also. Apolo refused the Mukwenda saying "I shall be content with the Ggwanika Kitongole which was given to me by Mwanga". The real reason behind this refusal was, in the words of a contemporary, Kaggwa's burning envy for not having been nominated to the premiership; but at that time he was not very popular even with the Christians. His fellow protestants, Zimbe says took him aside and appealed to him to accept the Mukwenda. He, however, did so on the condition that his brother Samuel Mukasa succeeded him in the Ggwanika, if not "I shall not vacate this office. After all I am in charge of the armoury", Kaggwa warned.<sup>25</sup> So the Christian groups accepted Kaggwa's condition and thereby increased the controversy between them and the Moslems. The Moslems accordingly demanded the most important offices: The Pokino went to Muguluma and the Kaggo to Kapalaga who had been the Omujasi. Following the precedent which had been set by Apolo Kaggwa, Kapalaga demanded that the Ekitongole Ekijasi, of which he had been the chief, should go to his brother, Luganga. Zimbe goes on to explain that because the Christians felt guilty over this issue, and because they wanted to avoid a prolonged dispute with the Moslems, they gave in and Kapalaga's brother became the new Omujasi. The Kawuta also went to the Moslems. The Ekitongole Ekiyinda or the Ekisalosalalo of which Nyonyintono had been the chief, was given to the Christians. They nominated Kaggwa Ndikumulaga who became the new Muyinda.

As it is clear, the Moslems had got the lion's share of the bargain. Militarily as well as numerically they were the most formidable group. There should therefore have been peace; but as things turned out there was none. The reasons for the breakdown of the alliance differ according to the source. The Christian sources assert that the next encounter was planned by the Moslems because they wanted to dominate the whole political scene. Seeing that they were the most numerous they saw no reason for sharing offices with their political opponents. Moslem sources on the other hand, argue that the crisis was engineered by the Christians because of their discontent over the distribution of the spoils. "The Christians remained bitter", wrote Sheik Sekimwanyi,<sup>26</sup> and they looked for the earliest opportunity when they could turn the political balance of power in their favour. In support of this view, Sheik Sekimwanyi points out that with the arrival of Dungu, a Christian warrior of repute from Karagwe, the Christians became more arrogant and self-confident. Dungu is said to have added fuel to the fire by demanding the Kawuta which had already gone to a Moslem. Both views contain some truth. The assertion by the Moslems that the Christians were bitter over the way the offices had been divided is absolutely correct. It seems only natural in the nature of Kiganda politics for the Christians to long for an opportunity to change the situation in their favour. The traditional way of doing this was by fighting rather than by negotiation; but the Christians were the weaker party and the only men among them described as brave were the two Kaggwas, Apolo and Ndikumulaga. Though a popular leader, Nyonyintono was a not a fighter. He was admired only for his wisdom and caution in handling the affairs of state. The arrival of Dungu may, as the Moslems claim, have added confidence to the Christians which led them to plan the next encounter. Nevertheless, the claim by the Christians that the Moslems wanted to dominate the whole political

scene cannot be discounted. Just as the Christians, would have had no desire of sharing the spoils had they been the more powerful group. The Moslems who were the most powerful group saw no use of sharing offices with their political enemies.

Kiwewa was inclined to favour the old chiefs who were generally hostile to the new religions, especially Christianity. He therefore gathered around him all the old disgraced chiefs who with the Moslems, became his advisers. Even then, Kiwewa's position was not strong enough, for the men who were the real power in the country did not have absolute confidence in him. These were the Moslems. His conservatism and his daily postponement of circumcision, plus his drunkenness and lack of dynamism as a leader, led to a loss of confidence in him by the Moslem party. This was of crucial importance to the king because it was the Moslems who were the arbiters of the political situation. All the palace armed guards for instance were Moslems and they even used to refuse access of the king to the prime minister, something unheard of in Kiganda history. It is not unlikely that the king agreed with this plan. The Christians got wind of the plot and Nyonyintono accordingly went to the palace for a verbal confrontation. He found Kiwewa and his Moslem chiefs and told them that they were already aware of the plot. On getting out of the palace he was obstructed by a large crowd of Moslems who threatened him with extermination. Returning to his residence he told his fellow Christian chiefs of the impending crisis. Therefore the Christians decided to ask the king for four representatives of the Moslem party to sort out the differences.

According to the Christian sources the Moslems would have none of the talks. They replied that they could not go to the prime minister's residence for talks. If he wanted he should go to the palace. With a bodyguard of sixty men including twelve leading Christian chiefs, Nyonyintono went to the palace; but because the Moslems were thirsting for conflict, so the Christian sources assert, they refused him to see the king and threatened to fight. The military position of the Christians was extremely weak. At Mengo they claim to have had about a thousand guns against the two thousand or more of their opponents.<sup>27</sup> And although another brave warrior Dungu had joined them from Karagwe, their position did not improve very much. At once the Christian chiefs decided to quit Nyonyintono's residence for fear of being killed there, but no sooner had they made this decision than conflicts began.<sup>28</sup> Shortly after hostilities had begun, one of the leading Christian warriors, Kaggwa Ndikumulaga, was killed. They fought bravely, killed a number of Moslems and drove the rest into the palace. They then hesitated to put the palace on fire and, in my view, lost the battle at that particular moment. Had they set the palace on fire, countless numbers of arms and ammunition belonging to the Moslems would have been destroyed and many Moslems and other supporters of the king would have been killed. But their consciences appealed to them and this led to their expulsion. They took refuge in Ankole and other surrounding regions.

The Moslem victory was followed by the most cruel persecution of the Christians surpassing that even of Mwanga. The Christian missionaries were dismissed, their churches and books were burnt. It is true that the Moslems did not have a monopoly of atrocities, but they left behind them a notorious tradition which persisted for more than half a century. Meanwhile, Kiwewa, attempted to strengthen his position by promoting the old conservative chiefs who had been humiliated by Mwanga's army of "Red Guards". This at once alerted the Moslems who were determined now not to tolerate a king unless

he was a circumcised Moslem. Kiwewa on the other hand was hesitant and still wavered strongly towards the Kiganda religion and he was a heavy drinker. He was also aware that the Moslems wanted to impose their religion on him and if he did not strike at them first they would do so first. He therefore plotted to assassinate all the Moslem leaders. If that plot had succeeded, it would have been the beginning of a widespread persecution of Moslems. He organised a bodyguard of about a hundred fearless men, armed them with swords spears and hid them in his house. He then invited ten of the leading Moslem leaders. As soon as the leading chiefs, Kapalaga, the former Mujasi, Bukuku, the Kimbuggwe, Mugguluma the prime minister, and others entered, the king gave a warning signal and left the house. Thereupon the soldiers began to axe the visitors to death, starting with Kapalaga who was the most feared because of his bravery, determination and cleverness. Bukulu was also killed. It was not until the noise aroused the curiosity of the chiefs' followers who had been left out side, that they went to the rescue of Mugguluma and other Moslem chiefs. That was the beginning of the Moslem war against Kiwewa.

Kiwewa himself had already fled with the old chiefs, but his palace was set on fire and everything including his arms and ammunition were destroyed. With this initial victory, the Moslems installed Kalema and then set about pursuing Kiwewa. He was soon captured, starved for seven days and shot. His body was burnt with about fifty other princes and princesses. Unlike Mwanga and Kiwewa, Kalema had already embraced Islam fully by accepting to be circumcised. He thus became first truly Moslem Kabaka.

The question may now be posed as to whether the Muslim bid for power was masterminded from outside Buganda, as is sometimes claimed. At this time one notices a growing political ferment by the Arabs throughout East Africa. This had led scholars to believe that there was a master plan from Zanzibar.<sup>29</sup> If this was true elsewhere in East Africa, there is no evidence that the Buganda situation was manufactured by the Arabs. It was the result of internal politics. The causes for the wars against Mwanga and Kiwewa were rooted in the traditional Kiganda society of factionalism, competition and a desire of fight for political offices. This tendency is clearly demonstrated by the Moslems in 1888 and by the Protestants in 1892. The civil wars, though no doubt supported by the Arabs who proudly referred to Kabaka Kalema as the "Little Seyyid", had nothing to do with Zanzibar or with the Arabs in Buganda. What is true, though, is that the internal situation was exploited by the Arabs particularly as a result of the growing encroachment of European imperialism.

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The revolt against Mwanga in 1888 was caused by a combination of circumstances, the most important of which was Mwanga himself. His persecution of the old chiefs between 1884-88 had the effect of arousing anger and a spirit of rebellion in the most natural supporters of the monarchy, that is the conservative stalwarts. His persecution of the converts forced even his new "political party" to turn against him. By plundering his people and subjecting them to the tyranny of the Abapere, Mwanga turned every social and political group against himself. By 1888, Mwanga could not inspire loyalty in a single substantial group. His defeat crystallized at once the extraordinary political change which had taken place. The four years 1884-88 had witnessed a steady erosion of royal power. Never in the history of Buganda had the country been controlled by the chiefs as it was to be in the next few years. In one sense the civil war against Mwanga was fought for religious liberty. Mwanga's

bungling policies and the growing influence of the new philosophies forced men to fight for freedom of worship. Because the converts wanted to exercise this freedom, they could no longer accept a regime under which such freedom was not assured. This common bond and the fear of persecution led to the formation of a Holy alliance between Christians and Moslems; but it was doomed to failure because of its short-term aim, namely the removal of Mwanga. As soon as the common enemy was out of the way disagreements between Christians and Moslems became inevitable. The situation was made worse because each group wanted to dominate the other and it was further complicated by the political ambitions of individual chiefs like Apolo Kaggwa. The Moslems who were numerous and militarily more powerful exercised this right of domination by expelling the Christians in 1888. This was repeated in 1892 when the Protestants expelled the Catholics. These events demonstrate that they were part and parcel of Kiganda political life. They needed no catalyst from abroad. Fletcher had observed that Mwanga may have sinned, but that he was more sinned against by his own people. This was particularly true in the case of the political groups he had created and upon which he had showered so many privileges. The so-called pagan chiefs had no hand in the overthrow of Mwanga in 1888. The most depressing result of Mwanga's policies between 1884 and 1888, was that they led to what he wanted to avoid. He had wanted to be master in his own house, but unfortunately for him and for the monarchy, chieftainship triumphed over royal authority in a manner that had never happened before. Whether the group which emerged be called an oligarchy or an aristocracy, the fact remains, that it had cornered the political power and stolen a march on the monarchy. At once the chiefs took over the prerogatives and patronage of the Kabaka for their own uses. Having captured the seat of authority, the chiefs then made their positions watertight by collaborating with the colonial regime.

## NOTES

1. See, for example, R. Oliver, *The missionary factor in East Africa*, London, 1954, some of whose sections on Uganda are in need of revision. Sir John Gray's, *The year of three kings, Uganda Journal*, 14, 1950 pp. 15-52 gives a full account of the events of 1888 and the present author is indebted for the initial stimulus which this paper has provided.
2. Among Kaggwa's books see *Basekabaka ba Buganda* (The kings of Buganda), 1952 edition, Kampala, Uganda Bookshop., pp. 138-145.
3. See, for instance, *Ekitabo ky'etika kye Mamba*, (The history of the Lungfish clan) by E. Buliggwanya, 1916, pp. 12-130: *Munno*, 1911-1936: *Buganda ne Kabaka* (Buganda and the king) by Rev. B. Zimbe 1938 which has been drawn on heavily for this present account: *A short history of Buganda* By J. Miti and translated into English of which a copy is available at Makerere and which must have been written about 1938: *Ebyafayo ebitonotono ku ddini ye Kiyisiramu* (History of Islam) by Sheik Sekimwanyi, no date, but only a short pamphlet: *Simudda nyuma*, Vol. 2, by Hamu Mukasa: *Eddini mu Baganda* (Religion in Buganda) by Rev. Father Ddiba, 1965. J. Miti, B. Zimbe and Rev. Ddiba's works and the articles in *Munno* are the most detailed sources, but all are "Christian" sources so the reader must guard against an inevitable bias. Sheik Sekimwanyi's is the only Moslem source.
4. Fletcher, T.B., *Kabaka Mwanga and his times, Uganda J.*, 4, 1936, pp. 162-167.
5. The Catholic missionaries had withdrawn from Buganda in 1882. The term Zanzibaris is used to include all people from the east coast.
6. Emin Pasha called him "the one gentleman in Uganda", see Gray, *op.cit.*, p. 36. A more detailed account of Mukasa's career appears in M.S.M. Kiwanuka, *Mutesa of Uganda*, Kampala, 1967, pp. 17-19.
7. Ashe, P.R., *Two kings of Uganda*, London, 1889, p. 210.
8. Miti, *op.cit.*
9. Miti, Zimbe and Ddiba all stress Mwanga's hostility.

10. Kirevu is still alive and almost a centenarian. He was a participant in the events of the 1880s and was an important informant for Ddiba in the 1930s.
11. Ekitongole Ekijaasi was known as *Ekya Serikale*, but the word Serikale in Luganda could mean soldier, policeman or merely an armed man. Theoretically it represented the armed forces, but it had neither the monopoly of guns nor was it the standing army as some have assumed, since every able-bodied man was expected to defend his country. It is even doubtful whether every member had a gun.
12. Mwanga's policy of creating Ebitongole with branches in every county was extremely short-lived and it ought not to be overstressed in any study of the evolution of chieftainship.
13. This account of raids is based on Miti and Zimbe; some of the figures are of doubtful value.
14. Zimbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133. The passage can be paraphrased . . . After a raid on Busoga, Namutwe, the general, heard that the king had appointed a favourite chief to distribute the loot. Namutwe like an almighty general refused to cross over to Buganda with the army. Thereupon, Mwanga sent word that the general was defiant. Mwanga's reply was typical of his treatment of the old chiefs. . . . . Kaggwa Ndikumulaga, a youthful page.....even pushed the old man from his chair. On reaching the capital Namutwe complained to the king, only to be laughed at . . . . .
15. *Ibid.* p. 122.
16. *Ibid.* p. 117 There were two phases of digging the lake. The first phase seems to have gone off well and the supervisor was Charles Lwanga, the leader of the Christian martyrs.
17. *Ibid.* p. 166 and Miti.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
19. In modern military parlance this would be described as mobilization, or putting the army on the alert.
20. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 23 makes only a brief reference to the initial preference for Kalema and writes as though Kiwewa was an intentionally chosen leader.
21. All Luganda sources stress this point which is contrary to Sir John Gray's view that it was Nyonyintono who urged the installation of Kiwewa in defiance of custom. Whatever the converts may have thought about their old customs, Kiwewa was an unattractive choice on any count.
22. Zimbe, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Mujagu was the most important royal drum. It used to sound only once, to announce the death or deposition of an incumbent and the succession of the next Kabaka. It used to be securely guarded from aspirants to the throne.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 151-152. It is clear from this account that the so-called "pagan" chiefs had no hand (except perhaps for alleged incitement of the young chiefs )in the first revolt against Mwanga.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 152. The account given here and the description of the battle is based on Zimbe. Slight differences occur between the sources. Miti for instance, suggests that there were two phases to the war.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 155. Apolo Kaggwa himself is completely silent over this affair in his books.
26. Sekimwany, *op. cit.*
27. All the Luganda sources stress the military and numerical superiority of the Moslems; but Oliver, quoting the Rev. Abbe Nicq, claims that whereas the Moslems could muster only 300 guns, the Christians had 2000, *op. cit.* pp. 98-116.
28. This is the claim made by the Christian sources, but Moslem sources are so scanty that until new evidence is available there is no alternative but to accept them. The Christians were not unarmed as some sources have claimed (Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 107.).
29. Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-116.

MYTH, MEMOIR AND MORAL ADMONITION: LUGANDA  
HISTORICAL WRITING 1893-1969

By J. A. ROWE

Just north of Mukono the tarmac road skirts the slopes of a low hill on top of which stands a substantial house surrounded by shade trees and outbuildings. Upon entering the house, the visitor crosses a narrow verandah, passes through double doors and finds himself in a cool, dark high-ceilinged room. The furniture is large and heavy; glass fronted bookcases, an old rolltop desk, a tall chest of drawers, a round table with the initials "H.M." etched deeply into its surface. This is the home of the late Hamu Mukasa and named by him "Kwata Mpola House"—after the Luganda proverb "akwata empola atuuka wala" (he who goes slowly goes far). Like the proverb, the house and its furnishings perfectly express the personality of their owner. A sense of material attainment is evidenced in the ostentatious initials with which Mukasa decorated many of his possessions. (It is said that he was barely persuaded not to have his initials emblazoned across the door panels of his first automobile.)<sup>1</sup> A further indication of his character can be seen in the large glass fronted bookcases which housed the library of an inquisitive and well-read man. But for the historian, perhaps the most significant heritage left by Hamu Mukasa can be discovered only by opening the drawers of the tall chest for they are crammed with diaries, journals, ledgers and letter-books. Other cupboards and boxes throughout the house are stuffed with thousands of letters, maps, records and assorted documents.

Hamu Mukasa liked to write. His early letters often begin in a large flamboyant scrawl recklessly disdainful of the cost of paper. (Soon enough, however, his sense of thrift would take command and the writing become more compact and economical). He wrote many such letters and copied them into a ledger before posting them off. He also kept a diary for most of the last half century of his life.<sup>2</sup> The same strong acquisitive instinct that helped him to build up great holdings in mailo land was visible in his careful preservation of an ever growing mass of written material, much of it from his own pen.

Hamu Mukasa was a well travelled man who recorded his experiences in lively detail. A journal kept during his first trip to England (with Apolo Kagawa) for Edward VII's coronation in 1902 was subsequently translated by the Rev. Ernest Millar and published as *Uganda's Katikiro in England*.<sup>3</sup> His account of the second trip to Europe in 1913 with Kabaka Daudi Chwa is preserved in several large notebooks, as is a detailed description of a trip to Bukedi in 1917, and the day to day record of his visit to Nairobi in 1927.

But above all, Hamu Mukasa was an historian. His three volumes of historical narrative and personal memoir entitled *Simuda Nyuma* are one of the most impressive literary achievements in Luganda. The first volume, subtitled "Ebiro by Mutesa" (the reign of Mutesa), was published in 1938 in London by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Their interest in Buganda history is easily explicable in the author's choice of title; "Simuda Nyuma" means 'do not turn back'<sup>4</sup> and the narrative is interspersed with moral exhor-

tation pointing out how Christianity has brought desirable changes from wicked and destructive traditional practices. The second volume, "Ebya Mwanga" (That of Mwanga), appeared in 1942 and described in detail events surrounding Mwanga's persecution of Christians in 1886. Volume III of *Simuda Nyuma*, which dealt with religious wars after 1888 and events of the 1890's, was lost. It was allegedly sent to Bishop Willis in England who was to have seen it through publication, but the Bishop died and no trace of it was found among his papers. Subsequent enquiry by correspondence in the 1960's drew a blank. Then in March 1964 when James Mukasa and I were sorting through some papers at 'Kwata Mpola House' a thick typescript bundle was discovered which I recognized to be a carbon copy of the lost volume. It has now come to rest in the archives room of Makerere College Library.

The value of this discovery is more than simply an additional source for Buganda history. More important than the additional factual information and confirmation of other historical accounts, is Hamu Mukasa's personal view of events. Unlike many Ganda writings which follow Apolo Kagwa's dry recitation of facts (viz. Kagwa's curiously impersonal story of suffering and near death at the hands of Kabaka Mwanga in 1886: "I was beaten by him with many strokes and received three open wounds in the head". *Basekabaka*, p.141), by contrast Mukasa wrote of his feelings in situations of crisis, described the mood of his fellow Christians, and even speculated intelligently on the motivations and conversations of Kabaka Mutesa and his closest advisers.

The fortuitous discovery of a valuable new source in Mukasa's missing volume is therefore of considerable importance, but it is by no means a unique experience. In the same year that *Simuda Nyuma* III was found, a number of other Luganda histories were also discovered. More recently in 1969 the trend had continued as two published texts, whose existence had not hitherto been suspected, suddenly came to light. One of these— Albert Lugolobi's *Ekitabo Mbulire* ('The Let me Tell Book')— was printed in 1933 on Joswa Kate's press at Lugala. The book is seventythree pages in length; it begins with a detailed battle by battle account of the civil wars of 1888–1893 and concludes with thirty pages of solid sermon. I found the book among the papers of the late Paulo Kagwa Bazonona, himself an author of an unpublished biography of Kakungulu.

The second book was simply pressed into my hand one day by Omw. Charles Nkongwe of Busega who knew of my research interests. It is entitled *Ekitabo Kya Basekabaka Ababiri: W.M. Mutesa ne D. Mwanga II* ('The Book of the Two Former Kabakas: Mutesa and Mwanga') and was printed on the press of G.W. Kabujeme of Busega in 1922. The author is His Highness Daudi Chwa II, Kabaka of Buganda, who was then twentysix years old. In the preface the writer explains that his narrative, which centres in fact on the life of the missionary Alexander Mackay, is derived from European published books with which he assumed Baganda readers would be unfamiliar. His stated purpose is to acquaint those readers with Mackay's heroic deeds.

Further examples of literary discoveries such as these could be added many times over. They demonstrate one point fairly conclusively, there is a rich vein of Luganda written sources, both published and unpublished, which has only begun to be mined. The wealth of family papers in particular has hardly yet been prospected.

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The interest Hamu Mukasa took in writing and the importance he attached

to preserving the written word was shared by many others of his generation. As youths they had won literacy only after exerting considerable mental effort and self-discipline, sometimes incurring physical risk in so doing. The ability to read was intimately connected to religious belief and was viewed as the key to spiritual truths. Later it came to be viewed by many as the key to social and political advancement. After the terrible testing of five years of civil warfare, the victorious Christian survivors were more confirmed than ever in the value of the new beliefs for which so many of their number had died. Church membership became the *sine qua non* for participation in the 'new order' and literacy was the test for church membership. It was understandable that the period when Christian political domination emerged in the early 1890's was followed by a veritable explosion in the number of churches throughout the countryside. Until proper schools were established after the turn of the century, instruction in literacy centred entirely in the church. Even today in some parts of the country the building that acts as a church on Sunday is a school house the rest of the week. Thus from the very beginning in Buganda, reading was of much more than utilitarian importance. It was the way to salvation.

Literacy entered Uganda in precisely this form in the late 1860's, as part of the religion of a holy book. The book, however, was not the Bible but the Quran. Traders from Zanzibar found a willing listener in young Kabaka Mukabya Mutesa soon the Kabaka was encouraging all around him to join in the new learning. Those closest to him—the youthful pages of the royal palace—responded well and some of them made excellent progress in Arabic. Many a stalwart Christian chief of later years begun his career "reading Islam" ('okusoma ekisiramu'—the word okusoma means both to read and to pray, there being no distinction between the two functions at that time). James Miti, Henry Wright Duta Kitakule, Stanislaus Mugwanya were among those reputed to have been excellent Arabic scholars, and Mugwanya in particular was singled out by the Kabaka to instruct his royal sister, the Lubuga.<sup>5</sup>

But after nearly a decade of progress, instruction in Islam and Arabic was eclipsed by a new book religion and a new literacy. In 1876 the Kabaka purged his Muslim pages for acquiring an allegiance to a higher authority (Allah) than the king, and the following year European teachers from the Church Missionary Society reached Buganda and provided an alternative belief system and literacy. In 1879 the Roman Catholic White Fathers arrived and soon, with the Kabaka's blessing, his young servants were frequenting both mission stations as well as the Zanzibari camp at Lungujja. Hamu Mukasa's memoirs recount such a period of drifting from one set of instructions to another before settling down to the deeper study of one of them. In Mukasa's case, he first inclined towards Islam but later, like many others, he changed his mind.<sup>6</sup>

The teaching of literacy as a means to the independent study of the Bible was a particular concern of the Protestant mission. A printing press had been sent with the pioneer party leaving England. It reached Buganda in 1879 and was promptly put to work printing alphabet sheets (called 'emisafu' by the Baganda). Despite loss of parts, with great ingenuity the missionary Mackay kept the press operating and eventually it turned out portions of the Gospels, first in Swahili and later in Luganda. Mackay's press continued its work after 1900 when it was taken to eastern Uganda by the missionary Crabtree. Eventually it came to rest as an historical relic in a display case of the Uganda

Museum.<sup>7</sup>

The White Fathers met their needs, as the CMS did in part, by having religious materials printed in Europe. In both missions word lists, grammars and later full scale dictionaries were produced.<sup>8</sup> These independent efforts resulted in a divergence in orthography which in the twentieth century was to become a further divisive factor. The historian, however, would find it quite useful to be able to identify the religious affiliation of a writer by the way he rendered certain words. These orthographical differences were perpetuated into the 1940's in school books and even newspapers. But the greatest degree of diversity in literacy was found in the Arabic script. Christians of either mission could read each other's writing, but those who gained literacy exclusively in Arabic were entirely cut off from the users of Roman lettering. After 1900, Muslim chiefs like Taibu Magato had of necessity to communicate in the Luganda script of the dominant Christian majority and Arabic became for all practical purposes a liturgical language like Latin in Roman Catholic masses.<sup>9</sup>

While the missions paid much attention to instruction in reading, it appears that the Baganda largely taught themselves how to write. Mackay described the scene at the royal palace in September 1885 where he saw.<sup>10</sup>

"... lads sitting in groups or sprawling on the hay covered floor—all reading, some the book of Commandments and other texts, some the church prayers, and others the Kiswahili N.T. They are besides very eager to learn to write and at all times are scribbling on boards or any scrap of paper they can pick up. Invariably some or other of them sends us a semi-legible note containing news of anything said by the King affecting us".

More often the young pages, lacking paper, practised with a stick or their fingers writing in the dust of the courtyard. There is no doubt that the first use they put their writing to was to communicate political secrets by note or letter. This was one of the contributing causes for Mwanga's persecution of Christians in 1886. Later during the civil wars, the Christians supplemented verbal reports brought by messengers with written communications.

On a wider scale written correspondence became more evident in the 1890's when it was noticeably employed in dealing with Europeans. Both the mission archives of the CMS in London and the Lugard Papers at Rhodes House, Oxford contain collections of Ganda correspondence. They sometimes form an interesting contrast. On the one hand, there is Samwili Mukasa's flowery letter of welcome to Bishop Tucker in January 1894; on the other, Apolo Kagwa's letter in Swahili dated 20 January 1892, which Lugard termed "the most grossly insulting letter I have ever received". Kagwa excused himself on the grounds of unintended misunderstanding, but it seems more likely that the Baganda were becoming quite practised in accurately conveying their thoughts on paper.<sup>11</sup>

They were also beginning to record daily events on paper. Probably these early diary entries were made in imitation of the Europeans, who as products of the Victorian age were inveterate diarists. Lugard in particular describing how he would stay up late into night writing in his diary. Very few remains of Ganda diaries for the 1890's have survived. Nicodemu Sebwtos' daily journal of the Bunyoro campaign of 1895 found its way into the CMS Archives.<sup>12</sup> Apolo Kivebulaya's diaries are preserved at Makerere, but the diary entries proper begin after 1904, earlier sections being in fact memoirs.

Sections of Teofiro Kisosonkole's diary 1908-1912 are in the possession of his heir, and probably other sets of private papers contain similar examples. Certainly Hamu Mukasa's diaries after 1914 are voluminous. In the case of Apolo Kagwa, however, only four pages of a diary from August 17 to September 22, 1897 are extant in his collected papers.<sup>13</sup> Kagwa used his diaries as the basis for sections (events from 1892 onwards) of his famous book of history, *Basekabaka be Buganda* printed in 1901. This was the first book originally written in Luganda—as opposed to Gospel translations—ever to be published.

*Basekabaka* is probably the best known book in Luganda, outside of *Ekitabo Ekitukuvu* (the Bible). First printed in an edition of 500 copies in England, it was returned to Uganda and put on sale in 1920 at 5 rupees per copy.<sup>14</sup> Evidently it did not prove an immediate success at that price, which was soon reduced to 3 rupees. Nevertheless, by 1912 Kagwa was ready with a second edition containing new material, including an account of the return of Kabaka Mwanga's body from the Seychelles where he had died in exile. A third edition followed in 1927 which included additional sections on the history of neighbouring countries, such as Ankole and Bunyoro. This edition was reprinted in 1953 by the Uganda Bookshop (and within five years was sold out). Many Baganda who have no other book, cling tenaciously to their battered copy of *Basekabaka*—as anyone who has tried to secure a second-hand copy can testify.

Kagwa began writing *Basekabaka* at the beginning of the 1890's. The CMS missionary Robert Ashe saw a portion of it in 1892 which he referred to as "Kagwa's book, 'The Wars of the Baganda' ". Ashe made use of Kagwa's account and cited it in his own book, *Chronicles of Uganda* (1894).<sup>15</sup> Apparently Kagwa wanted to have 'The Wars of the Baganda' (*Entabalo za Baganda*) printed for him in England in 1894 and Ashe took a copy with him for this purpose, but publishers did not take it up.<sup>16</sup> So Kagwa continued to work on it and pushed his researches back in time to include the first Kabaka, the legendary Kintu. Kagwa's sources were then, as in historical fieldwork today, old men who were repositories of oral tradition. On the title page of *Basekabaka* it is stated that the author "... enquired of many old people of the past, having attained great age, who knew these things in their hearts as they never forgot them". By 1897 the book was largely completed in its first edition form, but Kagwa continued to write. Four years later, *Mengo Notes*, the CMS monthly news-sheet, mentioned that a section on Ganda religion (*Lubaale*) that Kagwa had finished too late to be included in *Basekabaka* would be printed separately on the mission press.<sup>17</sup> This may have been the nucleus from which his later book on Ganda customs (*Empisa za Baganda*) took shape.

*Basekabaka* has been used by many scholars working on Buganda history. An excellent translation was made by Simon Musoke at the East African Institute of Social Research in the early 1950's. In 1964 Matias Kiwanuka made a second translation of the first half of the book up to the death of Mutesa (in 1884) and subjected Kagwa's account to searching critical examination utilizing modern research methods. Kiwanuka's conclusion, embodied in a University of London dissertation<sup>18</sup>, found Kagwa remarkably rigorous and objective in his judgements, which did not seek to make history serve any special purposes. Indeed, Kagwa's 'fault' could easily be claimed as the very reverse, that his narrative is too sterile, factual and colourless. With overt scepticism, he dismissed many of the stories surrounding Kintu and his supposed predecessors for lack of convincing evidence. Only in a few cases does the author's bias visibly intrude in *Basekabaka*. One of these occurs in the second edition

where a scant paragraph on the downfall of Mutesa's Katikkiro Kaira is replaced with five pages of overly sympathetic and detailed narrative.<sup>19</sup> The reason for this revision is not hard to find; between the two editions Kagwa experienced a serious assault on his position as Katikkiro which nearly brought about his downfall. In the aftermath, his sympathies were aroused in a remarkable way by the historical plight of Katikkiro Kaira.

*Basekabaka* was evidently seen through its printing in England by the Rev. Ernest Millar, the same man whose efforts resulted in Hamu Mukasa's journal being published in translation as *Uganda's Katikiro in England* only three years later in 1904. In fact, the turn of the century was the beginning of a busy period in Luganda literature. In September 1901 *Mengo Notes* reported that Henry Wright Duta had finished a collection of 1200 Luganda proverbs to be published with English translations. Less than a year later Apolo Kagwa had produced his first edition of Ganda Fables, *Engero za Baganda*, probably printed on the CMS mission press, which he offered at the cheap price of four annas a copy. Meanwhile he had been gathering material for the history of his clan, the Nsenene (grasshopper) clan, but could not hope to find a publisher for so esoteric a subject. This problem would never again trouble him after 1920.

That was the year that Kagwa and Mukasa visited England for Edward VII's coronation. On their departure, the Foreign Office presented the Katikkiro with a perfect gift—a small, but fully operative printing press. Back in Uganda, Kagwa at once put the press to use, and for the next few years it appears seldom to have been idle. His first production was the Grasshopper Clan history, *Ekitabo Ky'ekika Kye Nsenene*, a book 112 pages which appeared in 1904. (On the title page the date of publication is incorrectly given as 1893, probably because Kagwa had begun to write the book in manuscript form in that year.) A second edition which came out a year or two after the first included a new section detailing Apolo Kagwa's dispute with Ipuliti Kajubi, a sub-clan chief who unsuccessfully denounced Kagwa late in 1904. The accusation was that the Katikkiro was not a true member of the Nsenene Clan but a Musoga by origin. Clan members rallied to Kagwa's support and Ipuliti was stripped of office and land. It was an important case, but incidental to the book's main contribution, which was to set down in print for the first time the oral history of an important Ganda clan. Traditions of origin and migration were related as well as the ups and downs of clan favour under successive Kabakas. Perhaps the most significant sections of Kagwa's pioneering account were the brief biographical sketches of all the important chiefs who had by their successful careers brought fame and honour to the clan. These capsule biographies formed a "who was who" permanently recorded for the Nsenene Clan. Later historians could once again be grateful for Kagwa's interest in recording the past, the more so as other clans followed his example and began to document their own histories.

The Mpewo (Bushbuck) Clan was the first to emulate Kagwa's example and even employed his private press in 1905 to print their 140 page book *Ekika Kye Mpewo*. Like the Nsenene book, it contained capsule biographies as well as origins and genealogies. Meanwhile Kagwa's press was humming. It was now located on the second floor of Basima House, the imposing residence Kagwa built after his return from England. The press was operated by young men who had probably been trained by Mr. Borup on the CMS press, but there were always new apprentices and the turnover of personnel was continual. In 1906 they were printing a small work of Kagwa's, *Olutabalo*

*lwa Balumi ne Bayudaya* (the Battle of the Romans and the Jews, i.e. the seige of Jerusalem) which was hawked around Mengo at 12 pice per copy.

*Munyonyozi* barely survived its second appearance in court. Thereafter it continued on into 1925 in a more subdued tone, the irrepressible Basudde having left to become editor of *Matalisi* (Messenger or Herald), a weekly newspaper established in January 1924 by the Uganda Printing and Publishing Company. Under their commercial sponsorship Basudde's editorials were somewhat more muted, though he remained as outspoken as ever in his personal utterances. In the very same month that *Matalisi* commenced, another paper made its appearance at Kampala. This bi-weekly publication, called *Njubebirese* (The Dawn), was for a time edited by Zefaniya Sentongo, a "fearless" critic of Apolo Kagwa and the British, who had followed Basudde as editor of *Sekanyolya*. In the event, *Njubebirese* did not last more than a couple of years. Nevertheless it surpassed Apolo Kagwa's effort to launch a conservative newspaper on his own press. This defensive gesture, which seems to have been made in 1925, soon foundered on mismanagement and lack of sales. Another newspaper that was stillborn was *Bulungi Bwa Buganda* (Buganda's Welfare) sponsored by Constantine Mukuye and Yusufu Bamuta.<sup>32</sup>

Despite these failures, the newspaper boom did not abate, and optimistic promoters were on hand for every new venture provided the necessary printing plant could be acquired. The printing press of the finally defunct *Sekanyolya* soon found work under a new title *Gambuze* (Ask Me) in July 1927, again based in Nairobi though it moved to Mengo a few years later. After Apolo Kagwa's death in 1927 his heir sold the press given him by the Foreign Office to another newspaper venture, *Dobozi Lya Buganda* (The Voice of Buganda), which began in 1928 under the direction of Moses Mukibi of Busega. The editor was Yusufu Bamuta, already well known as a hostile critic of the colonial administration.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile political writings were also appearing in pamphlet form, the Bataka producing their arguments in *The Baganda Land Holding Question* (printed in English and Luganda editions) in the early 1920's. Even the Kabaka, finding himself wedged between the old-guard chiefs on the one hand and assertive British colonial officials on the other, turned to publication. In 1928 he set out all the documents surrounding the Katikkiro's resignation crisis in *Lwaki Sir Apolo Kagwa Yawumula* (Why Sir Apolo Kagwa Resigned). Though the Kabaka showed restraint in his commentary, the documents told a story of meddling intrusion on the part of the British Acting Provincial Commissioner. Daudi Chwa followed this in 1932 with a similar documentary account of Stanislaus Mugwanya's retirement (*Okuwumula Kwa S.S. Mugwanya*) and in two undated pamphlets he unburdened his heart on two important subjects: land tenure and westernization. In the first (*Memorandum on Native Land Tenure in the Kingdom of Buganda*) the Kabaka expressed concern that the British sponsored 'Busulu and Envuju law' of 1927 in its efforts to protect the peasant had crippled landlord's ability to enforce rent payment. His proposed amendments included a provision giving the right to evict tenants who refused to pay rent for more than six months. The second pamphlet (*Education, Civilisation and Foreignisation in Buganda*) surveyed Ganda pre-Christian customs through rose-tinted glasses, asserting that there had been no adultery or ritual human sacrifice in those days when personal kindness and etiquette reigned supreme. He concluded with a laudable show of Ganda patriotism, declaring that his countrymen should not abandon national pride in rushing headlong

to copy European ways.

Throughout the 1930's and 1940's newspapers were born and buried, and a variety of polemical pamphlets written by honourable predecessors of Semakula Mulumba appeared in time to meet or create political crises. Unlike French West Africa where the repressive Code Indigènat stifled publishing efforts, Buganda was replete with small privately owned printing presses. Among them, James Miti's Bataka Press was still operative in 1935. The Salambwa Press, Gambuze Press and Uganda Bookshop Press were intermittently in action, and were shortly to be joined by the energetic Baganda Co-operative Society Press which bought up the old government printing machinery from Entebbe in 1942.

Three kinds of publication were printed by these presses in addition to the steady flow of political tracts. These were—1) booklets of moral and practical instruction, 2) a sudden revival of war memoirs from the period of religious turmoil, 3) biographies.

As Daudi Chwa's treatise on 'foreignisation' indicates, many Baganda from the Kabaka downward were concerned by the strains their countrymen were undergoing in their transition to western culture. Chiefs of the older generation, who had retained a sense of Ganda identity and a confidence confirmed by victory in battle, called on the younger generation not to throw everything overboard in their quest to emulate Europeans. Prince Gomotoka's book *Magezi Ntakke* of 1931 (from a proverb: 'the Wisdom of the Termites' whose collective effort yields disproportionately great results) presented an amalgam of Roman Catholic morality with retained traditional Ganda manners, cleanliness, etc. Other authors, such as Samusoni Mazinga in *Buganda Egenda Wa?* (Whither Buganda?) advocated less specifically religious virtues while equally deploring laxity in marriage and drinking. Albert Lugolobi in *Ekitabo Mbulire* (1933; the 'Let Me Tell Book') by contrast found the answer to be wholly religious and Bible oriented. His book seemed to argue that the battles of the civil war period had been endured to encure the victory of religious truth and that truth would suffice to meet the problems of Buganda's disoriented youth. This combination of military memoir and moral exhortation was very evident in the 1930's and later.

For some, like the Rev. Bartolomayo Zimbe, recounting the history of the struggle that had established Christian supremacy in Buganda was necessary to remind wayward youth what their fathers had won. It was at once the charter validating the older generation's beliefs and a rebuke to the lax young men who had never fought and who seemed devoid of ideals. At the same time, these memoirs—like those of modern generals—were works of vanity by ageing men who in 1938 resented being undervalued or forgotten. Zimbe's *Buganda ne Kabaka*, published on the Gambuze Press, sought to revive his generation's *ekitibwa* (prestige) with a very detailed blow by blow account of the struggles of the 1880's and 1890's. He apparently consulted few outside sources, other than Kagwa's *Basekabaka*, which helps to account for the errors in his early chapters; Zimbe's memory was very good but it was not infallible. He was at his best in vivid descriptions of combat, and remarkably good on the names of a vast number of chiefs and the offices they held.

At the same time that Zimbe was recalling the days of his youth, another historian, James Miti—temporarily vacationing from Bataka political activity—was writing a large scale history of Buganda covering the second half of the 19th century. Miti, by internal evidence, appears to have consulted a wide

variety of oral informants who supplied him with invaluable information on trade and warfare in Mutesa's reign. For the events of Mwanga's period, he was able to contribute much from his own first hand experience. Miti hoped to have his book published, and to this end he commissioned G. K. Rock, a Muganda ex-seminarian, to translate it into English. This Rock did in a free-wheeling rather baroque style and a translated copy was then supposedly sent to Bishop Willis in England about the same time as Hamu Mukasa's last and lost volume of *Simuda Nyuma*.<sup>34</sup> Whether British publishers ever examined the typescript is unknown; it lies now in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies where it may have been sent for consideration as a thesis. Miti died in 1949 while the fate of his history was still undecided.

Even more than Miti, Hamu Mukasa in his trilogy *Simuda Nyuma* (Don't Turn Back) intended, as we have seen, to combine dramatic first hand history with moral admonition. And while these Protestant writers were busy, Catholic historians were similarly engaged. Father Joseph Ddiba began researching his history of Roman Catholicism in Uganda (*Eddini Mu Uganda*) in the 1930's by systematically interviewing one of the earliest Christian converts, Matayo Kirevu.<sup>35</sup> Ddiba also consulted some other informants and studied the books of Father Thoonen (*Black Martyrs*, 1941; a published doctoral thesis for the Gregorian University in Rome) and Rev. Zimbe. The latter's Protestant bias gave Father Ddiba something to chew on.

While these Christian historians were enthusiastically recalling past victories, the Muslims were glumly reviewing their history to discover why they had lost. They were also forced to defend themselves against the growing number of prejudiced Christian memoirs. Muslim historiography was a late starter; for one can ignore the 1904 manuscript history *Takulaba*—"He does Not See"—by Ameri Nantagya which blatantly plagiarized Kagwa's *Basekabaka*, simply removing Kagwa's negative adjectives when describing the Muslims. The reasons for delay were closely bound up with Muslim literacy in the foreign language, Arabic; lack of educational facilities or desire while the colonial school system was run by Christian missionaries; and an isolationist-defensive attitude that characterised the Muslims as a defeated party.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, as time passed and Christian historians revived interest in the great days when the Muslims had been smitten, such literate leaders as Sheikh Sekimwanyi, Sheikh Abdul Karim Nyanzi and Sheikh Ali Kulumba replied in kind. Sekimwanyi's "Short History of the Introduction of Islam in Buganda" (*Ebyafayo Ebitonotono Kudini Ye Kisiramu Mu Buganda*) appeared in the 1940's apparently as a second edition of his earlier (undated) "A Few Facts About Ganda History" (*Ebimu Ku Byafayo By'omu Buganda Ebitonotono*). It was widely circulated among Muslims and reminded them of the Muslim martyrs who had died for their faith a decade before the much publicised Christian persecution. But its main emphasis was on the civil war period when a Muslim Kabaka, Kalema, had briefly ruled Buganda. Much more detail on the campaigns of the Muslims was provided in Bakale Mukasa bin Mayanja's "History of the Wars of the Three Kabakas" (*Akatabo K'Ebyafayo Ebyentalo Za Kabaka Mwanga, Kiwewa ne Kalema*) first published in 1937. A second edition in 1954 added information on the Zukuli split in Muslim ranks which occurred in the 1920's. Sheikh Nyanzi's "History of the Wars of Religion" (*Ebyafayo Bye Ntalo Ze Ddini Mu Buganda*) concentrated on refuting Christian accusations of atrocities on the part of Muslim troops, and recounted the Muslim sense of betrayal when Lugard

withdrew his offer to put Prince Mbogo on the throne. Finally Sheikh Kulumba wrote several books to encourage his co-religionists; his "History of Islam in Uganda" (*Ebyafayo By'Obusiramu Mu Uganda*) in 1953 relied heavily on Sekimwanyi's work, adding little to the former account.

While these works of moral admonition and military memoir were being produced, a third and related type of literature began to be seen—books whose titles began with the words "Obulamu Bwa. . ." (The Life of . . .) so and so. It was natural that biographies, particularly of men of heroic proportions, should also be mobilized in the literary struggle against moral decline. Authors sought not only to honour former leaders, but present their lives as object lessons for the young. It is not surprising therefore that these studies were largely uncritical.

Would-be biographers began in the 1920's with a flood of writings on Semei Kakungulu. No less than nine such biographies were written (which the historian Michael Twaddle intends to analyse in an article called "The Nine Lives of Kakungulu") but only one of them was ever published. That was Yona Wajja's account which was serialized in *Munno* during 1932-1934. This explosion of biographical interest in Kakungulu was an exceptional phenomenon. It may have reflected the particular attraction of a non-conforming heroic figure who turned his back on the 'establishment', carved a kingdom for himself in the east and virtually thumbed his nose at Apolo Kagwa and the British.

After the Kakungulu era, a hiatus ensued in biographical writing, with the sole exception of a short (28 page) life of Apolo Kivebulaya in 1937. Kivebulaya, like Kakungulu, had found scope for heroic activity outside Buganda's borders, in his case as a missionary to the Congo pygmies. And his life was obviously a great moral example to the youthful readers for whom the booklet was intended. For the most part, however, biography awaited the end of the 1940's, after the founding fathers of twentieth century Buganda were no longer present to write about themselves in their moralistic memoirs. After a suitable interval, Mordecai Kaizi's "Life of Kabaka Daudi Chwa" led the way in 1947; followed by Eradade Mulira's brief *Sir Apolo Kagwa* in 1949; P.M.K. Lwanga's life of his father, James Miti, in 1954 and eventually Joseph Kasirye's full scale biography of Stanislaus Mugwanya in 1963. With the exception of Mulira's pamphlet which was hurriedly written to meet a deadline, all the above made extensive use of documents, correspondence and collected family papers. Kasirye also researched in the books written by 19th century Europeans and even collected relevant political songs from oral informants.

The era of "Obulamu Bwa . . ." studies is far from over. Just before his death in 1968, Constantine Mukuye completed a typescript biography of Sir Apolo Kagwa,<sup>37</sup> and Paulo Mukasa is currently working on the life of his father, Samwiri Mukasa Naganafa, utilizing an extensive collection of family papers. One may hope that in the near future as collections of family papers join those of Apolo Kagwa, Ezera Kabali, Hamu Mukasa and Yusufu Bamuta in the Makerere Library archives, a new generation of history students will begin to study and write on the lives of their forefathers.

In recent years the volume of published Luganda writings in a wide variety of fields has increased enormously. During the last two decades a number of specialized studies of the Baganda martyrs have appeared, mostly from the untiring pen of Msgr. Ssemogerere, and the work goes on.<sup>38</sup> Clan historians have produced pamphlet summaries of their origins and genealogies, though none of these begin to approach in quality and depth the earlier works by

Kagwa, Sekamwa or Buligwanga. In the unique field of historical place names and their significance, Michael Nsimbi is rightly unrivalled for his knowledge and research. Nsimbi's *Waggumbulizi* ("Your Intimate Friend", from a proverb) in 1952 was followed by the much more ambitious *Amannya Amaganda N'ennono Zaago* (Ganda Names and Their Origins) published by the Uganda Society in 1956 as a recognition of outstanding local scholarship. Recent years have also seen a flood of short stories, plays and novels, as well as pamphlets devoted to giving advice on such matters as sex life, dream analysis and business success. One of the most ambitious of the latter category is Daudi Mukubira's *Olugendo Lwa Buganda Empya* (The Path of Modern Buganda) which expounds for seventy-two pages on the joys of retail entrepreneurship and cites an astonishing variety of authorities from Socrates to Harry S. Truman. But pride of place has continued to belong to the perennial favourites—political pamphlets. The Kabaka's deportation in 1953 aroused many agitated authors and the approach of independence in the later 1950's brought forth dozens of further efforts. About half of them emanated from Semakula Mulumba's office in Hamstead Heath from where he lobbied Parliament and his countrymen for almost two decades, beginning as Bataka representative in London in 1947.

Quite obviously, the political writings occasioned by sudden crises, by what colonial reports used to refer to as "heated passions" and even by long range goals and ambitions were not noticeably trustworthy or accurate. A number of myths were found useful in pressing for desired ends, among them the recurring myth that the Baganda monarchs had "invited" the Europeans and therefore successive colonial authorities were always in the position of "guests". This convenient reasoning ignored Buganda's real loss of sovereignty to their colonial overlords. But politicians were only a more recent variety of myth-makers in Luganda literature. Their predecessors included partisan historians of the religious civil wars whose memories continued to play tricks some thirty or forty years after immediate antagonisms had cooled. In particular, Christian and Muslim accounts of each other's behaviour was noticeably at odds, and both scornfully dismissed religious traditionalists as hemp-smokers. Even Father Ddiba's recently published history (*Eddini Mu Buganda*) suffers from the unwitting use of discredited missionary polemics of the 1890's as authoritative documents.

Going further back in time, one finds the inevitable exaggerations and untenable claims of clan historians, all of whom seem eager to prove that their clan is the most important; was here when Kintu came or helped to establish his successors, the dynasty of Kimera. And if clans are prone to exaggerate, one may expect that immediate members of a family are equally susceptible when relating the story of the family patriarch. It is remarkable how many departed Baganda chiefs are alleged to have been well past one hundred years of age and to have narrowly missed martyrdom as pageboys in Kabaka Mwangwa's court. Evidently in their eager credulity, grandchildren seldom stop to reflect on the anomaly of a forty-year-old page boy running around the palace in the company of the twelve and sixteen-year-olds. These and various other manifestations of mythology reassure the historian that his critical judgement is as necessary in researching Buganda history as it would be working on Tudor England or twentieth century American politics.

But one of the greatest myths which have afflicted would-be authors is the belief that publications earn handsome profits. In fact they seldom cover the cost of printing. Here the experience of Samusoni Mazinga is instructive:

his ambitious history textbook, *Ebyafayo bya British East Africa* was seized by the Baganda Co-operative Society Press when they discovered that he hoped to pay the printing bill from future sales of the book. Previous experience had hardened their hearts, despite the fact that the author himself was an officer in the Co-operative Society. When interviewed, Omw. Mazinga did not even possess a copy of his book and wistfully hoped I might discover one for him. The kind of determination sometimes required to get in print is shown by Father Ddibass experience, through his thirty year effort (researched 1930's written 1940" passed censor 1950's, printed 1960's) is thankfully atypical.

While many books fail to survive the cost of publication, sometimes aging authors simply fail to survive long enough to complete a manuscript or do anything further about it. There seems to be a literary tradition in Buganda that a successful gentleman nearing retirement should set pen to paper to recount his life or expound his principles so that others may profit by his example. Many such manuscripts seem to have been altd away optimistically or absent-mindedly in dusty cupboards by the writer's heirs. Unpublished historical or biographical manuscripts lie similarly buried among family papers. Eight of the nine lives of Kakungulu, including his own autobiographical memoir, were once hidden from view among private papers, as was Mukuye's biography of Apolo Kagwa and Gomotoka's massive seven volume history of Buganda. Entitled appropriately "Makula" (Treasure), Gomotoka's great hand-written history began as a book of the *Balangira* (Princes' Clan), of which he was the head. Begun in 1920, some two decades later at his death it was not quite finished, the narrative having progressed from Kintu to the end of Mutesa's reign in 1884. The last complete in volume is written in a very lose shaky hand. Successive clan heads inherited the volumes and managed to lose two of them. The others are in the process of being micro-filmed by Makerere.

The loss of two volumes of "Makula" indicates how important it is for scholars to carry on the search for unpublished sources, and published works as well. Nothing remains in print long; most recent pamphlets are out of print the day after they appear on the street-corners. Even Apolo Kagwa was said by his son to have printed some of his books in editions just large enough to meet the demands of his immediate circle of friends. Small wonder his Nsenene history is so rarely seen! The search for these elusive works is time-consuming, involves hard travel heavy correspondence with infrequent replies, and repeated visits to hosts who are often unaccountably absent. But when one looks up from a field notebook to see an informant re-enter the room holding an unfamiliar volume, or opens a drawer at 'Kwata Mpola House' to find it crammed with old diaries, it seems well worth the effort.

#### NOTES

1. See Catherine Sebuliba, The Late Ham Mukasa, *Uganda J.* 23 1959, 184-186; also interview with Rev. Disini Mukasa and his wife Laya (a daughter of H. M.) at Entebbe, 21 Feb. 1964.
2. Hamu Mukasa died 29 March 1956. Examples of his writing style are frequent in letters to Apolo Kagwa preserved in the *Kagwa Papers* at Makerere College Library.
3. Mukasa H., *Uganda's Katikiro in England*, London: Hutchinson, 1904. In the same year, Mukasa's early memoirs were translated by Archdeacon Walker and appeared in J.D. Mullins, *The wonderful story of Uganda*, London: CMS, 1904. His eyewitness description of civil war and bloodshed, famine and plague seems far from wonderful.
4. Grammatically correct Luganda would be "temudda nyuma" but the author evidently made use of a familiar colloquial expression heard in Buddu. The first volume of *Simuda Nyuma* was reviewed by R.A. Snoxall in the *Uganda J.* 6, July, 1938 pp. 58-59, expressed

- disappointment with the book's organization, typographical errors and expensive price (Sh. 2/20) but said little about its historical content.
5. Obituary of H.W. Duta written by Apolo Kagwa in *Ebifa* August, 1913, pp. 144-147; P.M.K. Lwanga, *Obulamu Bw'Omukaka J.K. Miti Kabazzi*, Kampala: Friends Press, 1954 p. 160, J.S. Kasirye, *Obulamu Bwa Stanislaus Mugwanya*, Dublin: Fallon, 1963, p. 9.
  6. Mullins, *op. cit* pp. 176-177.
  7. I am indebted to Dr. Michael Twaddle and Mr. Ian Gateley for details of the history of Mackay's press.
  8. The most impressive Luganda dictionary ever produced is Pere Le Veux, *Vocabulaire Luganda-Francais*, Alger: Maison-Caree, 1917, which is 1047 pages of Luganda to French. A Luganda dictionary for Luganda speakers has yet to be produced, though Michael Nsimbi's Luganda Language Society hopes to compile one.
  9. The continued alienation of Baganda literate in Arabic is poignantly illustrated by the case of Budala Kasakya who studied at Al Azhar University in Cairo in the early 1950's and returned to Uganda to find no practical use for his education. Today he is a poor cultivator at Bukoto. Interviews with B. Kasakya 27 Dec. 1963; 7 March 1969.
  10. Mackay to Lang, 29 September, 1885. CMS Archives G 3A6/02.
  11. Lugard Papers, MSS. Brit. Emp. S.43, Rhodes House: folder entitled "Letters From Chiefs in Uganda". In 1891 Lugard reported that coloured cloth, beads and wire were useless as trade goods in Buganda; "They want paper, notebooks and writing materials." Lugard to Admin. Gen. IBEA Co. 13 Aug. 1891 in *Africa No. 4 (1892)*, p. 124.
  12. Journal of Nakodemo Sebawo (translated), 6 Jan.-15 Mar., 1895. CMS Archives, G3A5/011
  13. Kagwa Papers, CA/01 (Correspondence, Box A).
  14. The first edition was in fact entitled *Bakabaka Bebuganda* but all subsequent editions were changed to *Basekabaka* . . . which means "the late Kabakas. . ." *Uganda Notes*, the monthly CMS newspaper is the source for such details as the dates, price and number of copies printed. Dr. Michael Twaddle informs me that the copy of *Bakabaka* in the British Museum contains a note in Rev. Ernest Millar's hand writing: "Edited by Ernest Millar; mostly written while Mwanga still Kabaka".
  15. Ashe R.P, *Chronicles of Uganda*, London, Hodder Stoughton, 1894, p. 307. The sections cited by Ashe are identical with parts of *Bakabaka*, pp. 177-178, describing events of 1892.
  16. Walker to Ashe, 15 Nov. 1894: "The Katikiro says he would like his book to be printed and have 200 copies" *Walker Papers* CMS Archives.
  17. *Mengo Notes*, Sept., 1901.
  18. Kiwanuka M.S.M. "The traditional history of the Buganda Kingdom: with special reference to the writings of Sir Apolo Kagwa", Ph.D, University of London, 1965.
  19. *Bakabaka Bebuganda*, 1901, pp. 135-6 compared with *Basekabaka be Buganda*, 1953 pp. 115-119. There seems to be nothing in the editions of *Basekabaka* that could be construed as calculatedly hostile to the Bataka clan heads.
  20. *Uganda Notes*, Aug., 1906 and April, 1907; "Enquiry into Native Land Tenure in the Ugand Protectorate" (MS. Afr. S. 17 Bodleian Library, Oxford) records the testimony taken by Roscoe in 1906. In the *Kagwa Papers* are a number of letters from Roscoe to Kagwa asking for information on specific customs for inclusion in Roscoe's book. See my review of the Frank Cass reprint of Roscoe's *Customs of the Baganda* in *Journal of African History*, 8, 1967, pp. 163-166.
  21. *Uganda Notes* (March, 1908) reported that *Ebifa* was printing 200 copies per month at the end of the first year. According to the Uganda Protectorate Blue Book, by the end of the next decade of publication, *Ebifa's* circulation was approximately 1800 copies per month and *Munno's* about 2000.
  22. The book was written at Budo but printed commercially in England. It went through numerous editions.
  23. Gorju Père J, *Entre le Victoria l'Abert et l'Edouard*, Rennes; Oberthur, 1920. A typescript translation by A.H. Cox is in the possession of the Uganda Society.
  24. Buligwanga, *Kika Kya Mamba*, p. 222 and p. 395 mentions the author's association with Apolo Kagwa. According to Semu Kakoma, Kagwa also helped Buligwanga to get the Mamba Clan book published. Interview with Semu Kakoma (Mamba Clan sub-chief) at Kakiri, Busiro, 30 March 1964.
  25. In many Christian versions the religious traditionalists are called "Abafuta Njaji", the "hemp smokers", or drug addicts.
  26. Typical of the arrogant personal attack by educated younger men against their elders was the accusation that Katikiro Teofiro Kisosonkole (who succeeded Kagwa after his resignation in 1926) "went to sleep" in Lukiiko sessions. And Daudi Basedde once loudly remarked in the Katikiro's anteroom that his name ('Kisosonkole' means hollow shell or expended cartridge in Luganda) signified "an empty head". Interview with C.M.S.

- Kisasonkole, Mengo, 29 Jan. 1969.
27. The nature of my information on Ganda newspapers is very tentative at the time of this essay and will certainly require future revision as more facts become available. Many newspapers have vanished completely; I am particularly grateful to Dr. Michael Twaddle for showing me rare issues of *Munyonyozi* and *Enjubebirese*, (the only copies so far known to be in existence) and for additional information gleaned in the course of his own researches.
  28. *Sekanyolya* is briefly mentioned in C. Rosberg and J. Nottingham, *Myth of Mau Mau* New York, Praeger, 1966, p. 36 and p. 57; H. Hooper, *Africa in the making*, 1924, p. 36; and F. Welbourn, *East African rebels*, London, SCM, 1961, p. 19-21. It is also noted occasionally in other vernacular papers, such as *Munno* (1921), pp. 104-6 and *Munno* (1922), pp. 71-2; *Ebifa* (Feb., 1921), pp. 25-27.
  29. Letter from Joswa to Semei Kakungulu, 8 Aug. 1917 in the "Ekitabo ekya Lukiko lwe Nyumba ya KOAB" ("Record book of the Council of the House of the One Almighty God) at Mbale. Once again I owe this reference to Dr. Twaddle.
  30. *Uganda Protectorate Law Reports, July 1920-July, 1929* Vol. III, pp. 124-6: No. 4 of 1923 "Publishers of *Munyonyozi* vs. Lukiko of Buganda". This reference I owe to Mr. James Scotton who is conducting research on East African vernacular papers.
  31. Quoted in the *Kagwa Papers*, 1923 Documents Section.
  32. Interview with Constantine Mukuye, Namirembe 20 April, 1964; also Buganda Annual Report 1924, Entebbe Secretariat archives/SPM/1138p. (seen c/o Dr. Twaddle).
  33. Issues of *Gambuze* and *Dobozi* are held by Makerere College Library in the newspaper room. The *Bamuta Papers*, containing draft editorials for *Dobozi*, are soon to be deposited at Makerere owing to the interest of Omw. Dereka Bamuta of Kiwumba, Buddu.
  34. Lwanga P, *Obulamu Bw'Omukata J.K. Miti Kabazzi*, pp. 162-3.
  35. Father Ddiba has generously agreed to donate his field notebooks containing the Kirevu interview material to Makerere.
  36. Muslims in India exhibited the same isolationist-defeatist attitude for a century after the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb was defeated by the British East India Company.
  37. Unfortunately, Mukuye never was advised on how to compose a proper biography; his typescript is incredibly over-burdened with useless material copied verbatim from published European books.
  38. Father Joseph Ddiba is currently printing a third volume of his *Ddini mu Uganda* which is almost entirely devoted to biographical sketches of the Roman Catholic martyrs.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LUGANDA WRITTEN SOURCES

- I. Published Books and Pamphlets
  - (a) History and Biography
  - (b) Clans
  - (c) Travel, Folklore, other
  - (d) Early Buganda Government or Political Pamphlets
  - (e) Recent Political Pamphlets
- II. Periodicals (Published before 1930)
- III. Unpublished Works
- IV. Private Papers

MCL	=	Makerere College Library
MCHD	=	Makerere College History Department
MISR	=	Makerere Institute of Social Research
USL	=	Uganda Society Library
Trans.	=	Translation
*	=	Mentioned in this essay.

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- \* Chwa II, Daudi. *Okuwumula Kwa S.S. Mugwanya, K.C.S.S.* Nairobi: Gambuze Press, 1932, 96p.  
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 "A History of B.E.A." Compiled from published European works, especially Thomas and Scott's *Uganda*. (copy MCL)
- \* Mayanja, Bakale Mukasa bin. *Akatabo k'Ebyafayo Ebyantalo Za Kabaka Mwanga, Kiwewa, ne Kalema*. Mengo: Gambuze Press, 1937, 16p.  
 "Booklet of the History of the Wars of Kabaka Mwanga, Kiwewa and Kalema". A detailed and important Muslim version. Revised edn. Mengo: Baganda C.S. Press, 1954 includes material on Zukuli quarrel of 1920's. (copy MCL)
- Mukasa, Hamu. *Olunaku Lwa Buganda Olw'Emirembe, October 5*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, n.d., 15p.  
 "October 5th, Buganda's Day of Peace". A brief recital of events leading to the Christian victory in 1889. (copy MCL)
- \* Mukasa, Hamu. *Simuda Nyuma: Ebiro bya Mutesa*. London: SPCK, 1938, 91p.  
 "Do not Turn Back: the Reign of Mutesa". First volume of a three

- volume history of Buganda in the last half of the 19th century. (copy MCL, USL; microfilm trans. Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)
- \* Mukasa, Hamu. *Simuda Nyuma: Ebya Mwanga*. London: SPCK, 1942, 96p.  
"Do Not Turn Back: That of Mwanga". Vol. II which relates in detail the persecution of Christians in 1886. (copy MCL; trans. MCHD)
  - \* Mulira, E.M.K. *Sir Apolo Kagwa*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1949, 21p.  
Short official 'life' commissioned by Kagwa's family. (copy MCL)
  - Muyanja, Eriya S. *Ekitabo Kye Byafayo Byobutonzi Bwa Buganda ne Bakabaka Abasoka Nga Kabaka Kintu Tanaba Kuzaalibwa*. Kampala: Privately Printed, 196-?, 40p.  
"History of the Creation of Buganda and the Kabakas who Preceded the Birth of Kintu". (copy MCL, USL)
  - \* Nsimbi, Michael. *Amannya Amaganda n'Ennono Zaago*. Kampala: Uganda Society, 1956, 324p.  
"Ganda Names and Their Origins". Important study of the history and significance of many Ganda titles, place names, proper names and praise names. (copy MCL, USL)
  - \* Nsimbi, Michael. *Waggumbulizi*. London: Longmans, 1952, 111p.  
"Your Intimate Friend (proverb)" History and meaning of some Ganda place-names, superceded by *Amannya*. (copy MCL)
  - \* Nyanzi, Sheikh Abdul Karim. *Ebyafayo Bye Ntalo Ze Ddini mu Buganda*. Kibuye: Katwe Printing Press, n.d., 12p.  
"History of the Battles of Religion in Buganda". Sets out to correct atrocity stories of Christian historiography; gives some useful details. (copy MCL; trans. MCL)
  - \* Sekimwanyi, Sheikh Haji Abudala M. *Ebyafayo Ebitonotono Kudini Ye Kiyisiramamu Okuyingira mu Buganda*. Kampala: Baganda C.S. Press, ca. 1947, 9p.  
"A Short History of the Introduction of Islam into Buganda". The title is almost as long as the book, yet this is an important contribution to Muslim historiography. (copy MCL)
  - Sekimwanyi, Sheikh Abudala M. *Ebimu ku Byafayo By'omu Baganda Ebitonotono*. Kampala: Uganda Printing and Publishing Co., n.d, 12p.  
"A Short Account of Some Ganda History". Probably a first effort to broadcast the basic history contained in the ca. 1947 pamphlet. (photocopy MCL)
  - Ssemogerere, Msgr. Timothy M. *Abajulizi Ekitibwa Kya Uganda*. Kisubi: Marianum Press, 1963, 117p.  
"The Martyrs: the Honour of Uganda". Lives of the Roman Catholic martyrs of 1886. (copy MCL)
  - Ssemogerere, Msgr. Timothy M. *Buganda Ensi y'Abajulizi*. Kisubi: Marianum Press 1961, 48p.  
"Buganda the Land of the Martyrs". A background historical setting to the persecution of 1886. (copy MCL)
  - Senfuma, Tomasi. *Mackay mu Buganda*. Budo: Kings' High School Press, n.d. 18p.  
Brief account of Mackay. (copy MCL)
  - \* Tebajanga, L.M. and Naluma, Y. *Obulamu Bwa Apolo Kivebulaya Omutume w'Omukubira kye Congo*. Mengo: Gambuze Press, 1937, 28p.

- "Life of Apolo Kivebulaya, Missionary in the Congo Foerst".  
A brief uncritical sketch.
- \* Weatherhead, H.T.C. and Bazongere, S. *Ebisoka Okuigiriza mu Byafayo mu Nsi Zonna*. London: SPCK, 1911, 43p.  
"Introduction to the History of the Entire World". Earliest school text in which three-quarters of the space is rightfully devoted to Buganda history.
- Zikusooka, B. *Abatuletera Eddini Katolika*. Kisubi: White Fathers Press, 1955, 108p.  
"Those Who Brought the Catholic Religion". A Luganda history of the White Fathers mission. (copy MCL)
- \* Zimbe, Rev. B.M. *Buganda: ne Kabaka Mengo*. Gambuze Press, 1939. 328pp.  
"Buganda and Kabaka". Memoirs of a leading Protestant convert who survived the wars of the 1880's. An important though one-sided source. (copy MCL; trans. MCL)

### I (b) Clans:

- \* Buligwanga, Eriya M. *Ekitabo Ekitegeza Ekika Kye Mamba*. Kampala: Uganda Printing and Publishing Co., 1916, 399p.  
"The Book that tells about the Lungfish Clan". Combines exaggerated claims with useful recent historical data and career sketches of important clan members. (Xerox copy at MCL)
- \* Kagwa, Sir Apolo. *Ebika Bya Baganda*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1949, 151p.  
"The Clans of the Baganda". Brief notes on some thirty Ganda clans plus an essay on the introduction of Christianity into Buganda. 1st edn. 1912, reprint 1949. (copy MCL, USL; trans. MCHD)
- \* Kagwa, Sir Apolo, *Ekitabo Kye Kika Kya Nsenene*. Mengo: Sir Apolo Kagwa's Press, 1904, 112p.  
"Book of the Grasshopper Clan". History of Kagwa's clan with sketches of important chiefs; also contains autobiographical sketch of Kagwa's career in 1890's. Second edn. ca. 1905-6 has additional section on the case brought against Kagwa by a clan chief in 1904. (microfilm copy MCL; microfilm partial trans. Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)
- \* Sekamwa, Luka. et al. *Ekika Kye Mpewo*. Mengo: Sir Apolo Kagwa's Press, 1905, 140p.  
"The Antelope Clan". An important clan history with biographical sketches of important clansmen of the past. (microfilm copy MCL)

#### *Recent pamphlets on clans*

- Alideki, Erize M. *Ekitabo Ky'Essiga Lya Jjumba*. Makerere: Printed at Makerere College Library, 1964, 26p.  
"The Book of the Lineage of Jumba". Brief history and genealogy of the Nkima (Monkey) clan. (Copy MCL, USL)
- Kamulegeya, John. "The Monkey Clan in Buganda". Typescript two pages of outline, 1950. (copy MISR)
- Kakoma, Semu and Ntate, A.M. *Ekitabo Eky'abakyanjove Ab'e Mamba mu Siiga Lya Nankere e Bukerekere*. Kampala: EAISR, 1959, 87p.  
"Book of the Kyanjove Members of the Lungfish Clan, the Lineage

- of Nankere at Bukerekere". Genealogies; contains some information on the Protestant leader Kisingiri. (copies MCL, MISR, USL)
- Lubina, E.M.S. *Ssesse Ey'Obutaka*. (Ssesse the Original Clan Land). Typescript 34p, 1963. (copy MCL)
- Lukongwa, P.M. *Ebintu Ebisaanidde Okumanyibwa Abalangira n'Abambejja Be Buganda*. Kampala: Uganda Argus Press, 1961, 12p.  
"Things Fitting to be known about the Princes and Princesses of Buganda". Information on the Balangira "clan" written by the clan head.
- Lule, Joseph. *Zaabu* (Ekitabo kye Kika kyanonge). Typescript copy, 1963, 26p.  
"Gold". The book of the Otter Clan; unpublished clan genealogy. (microfilm copy MCL)
- Mayanja, Nsigo Firipo. *Ekitabo kye Nono ye Kika kye Mbogo*. Mengo: Privately printed, 1968, 15p.  
"Book of the Origins of Buffalo Clan". Misleading title since this brief genealogy relates only to members of a single lineage from Suna's reign.
- Musajalumbwa, Sirasi Mpima. *Ekitabo ky'Ekika kyeMpewo*. Kampala: Baganda C.S. Press, ca. 1953, 37p.  
"Book of the Antelope Clan". Genealogical history authorized by the clan head.
- Musoke, E.M. and Kibuka, A. *Ebyafayo Bye Kika kye Ngo ne Sekabaka Kintu*. Typescript, n.d.  
"The History of the Leopard Clan and Kabaka Kintu". Short genealogical history. (copy MISR)
- Musoke, Simon, *Ebika Byabaganda*. Typescript of research undertaken by EAISR, 1958, 57p.  
"Clans of the Baganda". Lists brief information on the model of Kagwa's *Ebika*. (copy MCL)
- Mutawe, Sekyonda. *Ebbaluwa y'Omukulu W'Essiga Mutawe Sekyonda*. Mengo: Uganda Native Press, 1958, 14p.  
"Letter from the Lineage Head Sekyonda". Presents one side of a membership dispute within the Engabi (bushbuck) clan. (copy MCL, MISR)
- Nnamuguzi, Yokana L.S. *Ekika Kye Mpologoma*. Kampala: Privately mimeographed, 1956, 17p.  
"The Book of the Lion Clan". Information on clan offices, duties and current members.
- Waligo, Sulemani. *Akatabo Akanayamba Abaana Nabazukulu ba Naakirembeka*. Wandegaya: Atakola Press, 1966, 14p.  
"The Booklet that will Help the Descendants of Nakirembeka." Short history and genealogy of Mutima (Heart) clan by the present clan head using an unpublished history collected by his predecessor ca. 1900.

### I. (c) Travel, Folklore,

- \* Kagwa, Sir Apolo. *Engero Za Baganda*. London: Sheldon Press, 1951, 120p.  
"Folktales of the Baganda". Traditional lore emphasizing cleverness, such as the hare outwitting the leopard. First edn. 1902. (copy MCL)
- Kaizi, Mordecai. *Ebikokko Eby'Edda mu Buganda*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1948, 41p.

- "Ancient Riddles in Buganda". (copy MCL)
- Kulumba, Sheikh Ali. *Empagi Z'Obusiramu mu Luganda*. Mengo: Sapoba Bookshop Press, 1953, 29p.  
 "Pillars of Islam in Luganda". A guide to Islamic ritual and practice written for Baganda Muslims. (Xerox copy MCL)
- \* Mazinga, Samusoni. *Buganda Egenda Wa*. Mengo: Baganda C.S. Press, 1944, 17p.  
 Whither "Buganda?" Short moral essay.
- Mazinga, Samusoni. *Buganda na Bantu Bayo*. Mengo: Baganda C.S. Press, 1946, 37p.  
 "Buganda and Its People". Similar essay on manners and education.
- Mugwanya, Stanislaus. *Ekitabo ky'Olugendo lwa Stanislaus Mugwanya mu Bulaya 1914*. Kampala: Privately printed, n.d. 119p.  
 "The Journey of Stanilaus Mugwanya to Europe in 1914". Travelogue testifying to the honour and prestige of the leading Catholic chief. (copy MCL)
- \* Mukubira, Daudi Musoke. *Olugendo lwa Buganda Empya*. Mengo: Baganda C.S. press, ca. 1952, 72p.  
 "The Path of Modern Buganda". Encourages Baganda to go into business. (copy MCL, USL, MISR)
- Nsubuga, Yowana. *Omuganda Mu Bulaya*. Bukalasa: White Fathers Press, 1927?.  
 "A Muganda in Europe". Travelogue which was serialized in *Munno* for a number of months in 1927. (copy MCL)

#### I. (d) Early Buganda Government or Political Pamphlets:

- *Akatabo Kamateka Agofuga Abawandisi Abo Lukiko Bona: Era Awamu Nokwaula Erimu gya Kabaka na Bakulu Abasatu*. Mengo: Sir Apolo Kagwa's Press, 1917, 7p.  
 "Booklet of Rules Governing all Secretaries of the Lukiko: Together with the separate (duties) of the Kabaka and Three Foremost Chiefs". (copy MCL: Kagwa Papers)
- \* Chwa, Kabaka Daudi. *Education, Civilization and Foreignisation in Buganda* (Obuyigirize, Obulabufu n'Okwezaya mu Buganda) Mengo: Gambuze Press, n.d., 12p. (copy MCL: Kagwa Papers)
- \* Chwa, Kabaka Daudi. *Okunyonyola ku Mbera y'Etaka lya Bazaliranwa nga Bwebali Nalyo*. (Memorandum on Native Land Tenure in the Kingdom of Buganda). Mengo: Gambuze Press, n.d. 22p. (copy MCL: Kagwa papers)  
 Both the above are published in English and Luganda.
- *Ebigambo Ebyatsebwa Olukiko Olukulu olwe Buganda*. Mengo: Sir Apolo Kagwa's Press, 1918, 16p.  
 "Matters which have been Decided by the Great Lukiko".  
 (copy MISR)
- *Endagano Zona Ezalaganibwa ne Gavumenti ya Bangereza na Baganda mu Buganda*. Mengo: G.W. Kabujeme Press, n.d. 122p.  
 "All Treaties Between the British Government and the Baganda of Buganda". The Agreements are presented in Luganda and English in different sections of the book and include all agreements and laws to 1909. (copy MCL)

**I. (e) Recent Political Pamphlets:**

- Kakembo, F.W. *Okuwang'angusibwa Kwa Kabaka*. Mengo: Printed by Uganda Bookshop for Uganda Empya, 1955, 124p.  
"The Deportation of the Kabaka". (copy MCL)
- Kakembo, F.W. *Okukomawo kwa Kabaka Mutesa II*. Kampala: Uganda Argus Press, 1956, 147p.  
"The Kabaka's Return". Exerpts from newspapers (copy MCL)
- Kawombe, Godwin. *Olutalo Lw'Okwefuga kwa Uganda*. Kampala: Kawombe's News Service, 1965, 65p.  
"The Battle for Uganda's Independence". (copy MCL)
- Kyomya, E. *Ebyafaayo Bya Kabaka, Olukiiko ne Nnamulondo*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1960, 19p.  
"History of Kabaka, Lukiiko and Throne". (copy MISR)
- Luima, Martin. *Ekiseera Kituuse Uganda Okwefuga*. Mengo: Uganda Native Press, 1954, 19p.  
"The Time has Come for Uganda's Independence". Reports on Namirembe Conference. (copy MISR; trans. MISR)
- Lukanga, Scofield. *Ani Mutwe gwa Uganda*. Masaka (?), n.d., 16p.  
"Who is Head of Uganda?" Reports London Conference (copy MCL)
- Miti, James et al. *Mambya Esaze*. Namirembe: Bataka Press, 1948.  
"The Morning Dawned". Pamphlet blamed in part for 1949 riots. Led to arrest of Miti.
- Mukasa, Hamu, *Batuka Berabira*. Typescript, 1944, 17p.  
"People Who Attain Success Forget Those who helped them on the way". Mukasa's reply to *Buganda Nyaffe* which cites history to refute Mukubira's accusations against British. (copy MCL Hamu Mukasa Papers)
- Mukubira, Daudi Musoke. *Buganda Nyaffe*. Mengo: ca. 1944.  
"Buganda Our Mother". Famous attack on British rule. (trans. MISR)
- Mukubira, Daudi Musoke. *Endege Ziba Nyingi*. Mengo: ?.  
"There are many Bells" proverb: Many small bells make too much noise, i.e. confusion.
- Mulira, E.M.K. *Kiribedda ne Balizakiwa*. Nairobi: East African Printers, 1963, 53p. (copy MCL)
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Bataka Uganda ne Endagano ya 1900 eya Uganda Protectorate: Ekitundu I 1648*. Kampala: Baganda C.S. Press, 1948, 64p.  
"Bataka, Uganda and the Agreement of 1900 with the Uganda Protectorate" (copy MCL)
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Okuggya Kabaka Mutesa II ku Bwakabaka bwa Buganda n'Okumuwangangusa*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop Press, 1954. 42p.  
"The Removal of Kabaka Mutesa from Ruling Buganda and his Deportation". Half in English. (copy MCL)
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Ebaluwa ya Bana N'abazukulu Baffe*. Mengo: ?, 1954, 16p.  
"Letter to Our Children and Grandchildren". Reports his criticisms of Winston Churchill's government.
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Gavana Sir Andrew Benyamini Cohen Kyeyakola Kabaka Mutesa II*. Mengo: ?, 1955. 19p.  
"What Gov. Sir Andrew B. Cohen Did to Kabaka Mutesa". (copy MCL; trans. MISR)

- Mulumba, Semakula. *Crooked Economics and Nationalism in the Colonies* Mengo: 1956. 23p. Pamphlet in English and Luganda.
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Lipota ye Semakula Mulumba Omubaka w' Abataka n' Abantu ba Uganda: 1947-1959*. Mengo: ?, 1958, 62p.  
 "Report by S. Mulumba, Representative of the Bataka and People of Uganda, 1947-59". (copy MCL)
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Okununula Uganda mu mikono gy' Abeeru*. Mengo: ?, 1959, 8p.  
 "The Redemption of Uganda From the Hands of Foreigners". (copy MCL)
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Benidicto Kiwanuka Kirumira Mpuyibbiri*. Mengo: ?, 1960, 66p. (copy MCL)
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Okuzukusa Obuzira bwa Baganda Abedda Bwebalina*. Mengo: ?, 1961, 13p.  
 "Arouse the Bravery that the Baganda of the Past Used to Have." (copy MCL)
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Okulwanirira Eyalangibwa Obwemage Nassibwa mu Nvuba*. Mengo: ? 1961, 10p. (copy MCL)
- Mulumba, Semakula. *Amazima Galibafula Ab'Eddembe eri Omw. M. Kintu*. Mengo: Uganda Native Press, 1964, 10p.  
 "Truth Will Turn Them into Freeman". (copy MCL)
- Sekabanja, Sampson. *Mutesa II N'Okuzuukuwa kwa Uganda*. Katwe: Sapoba Bookshop Press, 1954, 44p.  
 "Mktesa II and the Revival of Uganda" (copy MCL. MISR.)
- Sembatya Mawagi, E.R.K. *Uganda N'Omufuzi Asiinga Obukulu* Kampala: Friends Press, 1960. 12p.  
 "Uganda: and the Greatest Ruler (Kabaka)". (copy MCL)
- Sserubiri, A.B. *Semakula Mulumba by' Akola mu Bungereza*. Kampala: Friends Press, 1962, 9p.  
 "What Semakula Mulumba Has Done in England". (copy MCL)

## II. Periodicals: (published before 1930)

- Ebifa Mu Buganda* 1907-monthly from CMS Press, Budo.
- Munno* 1911—monthly from Bukalasa Press; later daily newspaper published at Kisubi.
- Sekanyolya* 1920-1925? monthly from Nairobi.
- Munyonyozi* 1922-1925? weekly from J. Kate's press, Lugala.
- Matalisi* 1924-193-? weekly from Uganda Printing and Publishing Company, proprietors of *Uganda Herald*.
- Njubebirese* 1924-1926? bi weekly from the Mengo Press.
- Gambuze* 1927-194-? monthly from Nairobi, later moved to Mengo.
- Dobozi Lya Buganda* 1928-193-? from M.S. Mukibi of Busega.

From indirect evidence (a letter to the editor from Reuben Musoke, Naki-ramu, Busiro, 23 May 1927) it appears that another vernacular newspaper, *Milir awawo* (Your Neighbour), was in existence in 1927.

## III. Unpublished Works:

- Bazonona, Paulo Kagwa. *Omukwano Gwa Kabaka Mwanga—Ye Lwakirenzi Semei Kakungulu*. Manuscript text, 93p.  
 "Kakungulu the Friend of Kabaka Mwanga". A notebook of biographical information on the prominent chief Semei Kakungulu

- which was dictated to the author by Yekowasi Kaweke, one time Katikiro to Kakungulu. (microfilm copy MCL)
- Bazonona, Paulo Kagwa. *Ebigambo by'Obulamu bwa S.B. Kakungulu*. Manuscript dated 1932, 90p.  
 "Facts about the Life of S.B. Kakungulu". Written as dictated by Temotewo Mukasa, former companion of Kakungulu. (original at MCL). (Information on the above two manuscripts comes from Dr. M. Twaddle.)
- Gomotoka, J.T.K. *Makula*. 7 vols. Manuscript book of the Balangira (Princes Clan), 2553p.  
 "Treasure". A monumental history of the Balangira, which is actually a history of Buganda. Gomotoka was writing a history to supercede Kagwa's *Basekabaka* though his revisions were not always accurate. A book of immense value as well as immense size, it is tragic to have to relate that vols. 4 and 5 have been lost. Remaining volumes in possession of present clan leader, the Sabalangira, P.B. Lukongwa at Kaliti, Busiro. (Microfilm copies of vols. 3 and 6 at MCL)
- Kaggwa, Temitewo M. *Kakungulu Omuwanguzi*. Typescript 120p.  
 "Kakungulu the Conquerer". The original from which Bazonona made his *Ebigambo*, in the possession of Kakungulu's heir. A partial translation was made by M.S.M. Kiwanuka. (c/o Mr. Erisa Kironde)
- Kagwa, Sir Apolo. *Ebyobulamu bwa Sir Apolo Kagwa K.C.M.G.* Typescript carbon copy, 14p, dated 22 Jan. 1924.  
 "The Career of Sir Apolo Kagwa". Written by his own hand, this is a summary list of accomplishments which Kagwa submitted to the Governor at the time medals were being awarded by King George V. (Xerox copy MCL) Original seen through kindness of Omw. Ernest Serebe.
- Kate, Joswa. *Enjawukana*. Typescript.  
 History of the "separation" (enjawukana) of the KOAB, Church of the One Almighty God, from the Church of Uganda. Original in possession of the heir, J. Kamulegeya of Bulenga.
- Kisonkole, Teofiro. *Obulamu Bwange*. Manuscript autobiography of 109p. Written in the 1920's but taking the narrative only up to the 1890's. An important historical source in the hands of the heir, Omw. Kupliano Kisonkole of Mulawa. (Microfilm copy MCL)
- Kirevu, Matayo. *Oral Testimony on Buganda History* as dictated to Father Joseph Ddiba in 1930's, Two manuscript notebooks of approx. 300p. in in Luganda. (to be deposited in MCL)
- Miti, James. *Ebyafayo bya Buganda*. Typescript history in three large folders.  
 "History of Buganda." Covers the last half of the 19th century in considerable detail evidently from oral sources. (Copies at MCL; trans. at MCL and SOAS, Univ. of London)
- Mukasa, Hamu. *Simuda Nyuma* Vol. III. Typescript.  
 "Do Not Turn Back: The reign of Mwanga and Daudi Chwa". Unpublished third volume of Mukasa's historical trilogy and in many ways the most detailed since it relies heavily on personal experience. Covers period 1888-1900. (Copy MCL; trans. microfilm at Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

Mukasa, Samweli. *Gint Gye Mirimu Gyenakakolede Obwakabaka bwe Buganda . . .*  
Typescript of 33p. written in 1920's.

"These are the Deeds I have done for the Government of Buganda."

Autobiographical career notes like those of Kagwa (above) submitted for a medal from King George. (copy MCL; trans. MCHD)

Nantagya, Ameril. *Takulaba*. Manuscript copy dated 1904. 129p.

"He Does not See You" (—proverb?) A history of Buganda written by a Muslim chief which turns out to be an outright plagiarism of Kagwa's *Basekabaka*. Original in possession of heir. (microfilm copy MCL)

Wamala, Solomon G. *Obulamu Bwa Semei Kakungulu*. Typescript.

Derived verbatim from Kakungulu's autobiography and Temotewo Kagwa's biography. As the two originals are excellent sources, so is this ersatz volume. (copy MCL) Information on the above c/o Dr. M. Twaddle.

Waswa, Simeon. *Kakungulu mu Bukedi*. Manuscript notebook, 80p.

"Kakungulu in Bukedi". Administrative history of Kakungulu's eastern empire as remembered fifty years later. (original at MCL; trans. MISR) Information on this source c/o Dr. M. Twaddle.

#### IV. Collections of Private Papers:

*Kagwa Papers* contained in approx. fifty boxes, these number some seven thousand items, largely correspondence. Apolo Kagwa was Katikiro of Buganda 1889-1926; his papers date from 1897, but most items are found in the period 1912-1927. The papers are housed in the archives room at MCL and are in the process of being catalogued. At the time of this essay I have indexed the correspondence through 1911 with short summaries in English of all seemingly important letters.

*Kabali Papers* contained in boxes in the archives room at MCL, these papers cover the life of Ezera Kabali, who served in Mwangi's palace and after 1900 rose through the ranks from Gombolola chief to Treasurer of Buganda. The papers have been sorted by F. Welbourn, P. Mugambi and J. Lwanga-Kagwa. Mr. Welbourn has used them for an as yet unpublished biography of Kabali. Donated to Makerere by Omw. Masembe-Kabali whose permission is required for their use.

*Kivebulaya Papers* contained in two boxes in the archives room at MCL, they consist mainly of copies of diaries and memoirs. A bound photocopy of a "diary" of 1896-1906 is separately shelved in the Africana Section.

*Hamu Mukasa Papers* for the most part at Kwata Mpola House, Mukono, though some items have already reached MCL through the interest of Mukasa's heirs. Presently MCL have first draft copies of Mukasa's published works and some unpublished travel accounts, such as the record of the trip to Europe in 1913 with Daudi Chwa.

*Teofiro Kisosonkole Papers* contain a number of diaries and letterbooks for the period between 1900 and 1928, as well as the autobiographical manuscript mentioned above. The papers are in the possession of the heir, Omw. Kupliano Kisosonkole of Mulawa, Kyaddondo.

See also Page 124.

## THE HAMITES—WHO WERE THEY?

By J. P. CRAZZOLARA

Considerable controversy exists today on the role of the Hamites in the proto-history of eastern Africa. Recently for instance, G.S. Were has written that the " 'Hamitic myth' as an explanation of any material cultural development or civilisation in black Africa must..... be rejected".<sup>1, 2</sup> Slightly earlier, however, Roland Oliver identified certain characteristics of the Ankole-Ruanda cultures as having a common ancestry with the Zimbabwe-Monomatapa cultural complex further south, for which "given the notion of a ruling minority of Hamitic or Semitic ancestry, with political institutions of this particular kind, it seems to me that in the present state of our knowledge we must look for its origins somewhere within the frontiers of modern Ethiopia. Not perhaps in the ancient kingdom of Abyssinia itself..... Rather I think we should seek it in the group of smaller Hamitic or Semitic kingdoms which bordered the ancient Abyssinian kingdom to the south and west—Damot, Enarya, Kaffe, Jinjero and others."<sup>3</sup> Earlier the standard authority on the racial characteristics of the peoples of Africa, C. G. Seligman, had classified the 'hamiticised Negro', and recognised the existence of a Nilo-Hamitic category whose "extreme range is from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolph in Kenya in the north to 5° or 6° S. in Tanganyika territory". He mentioned by name "The chief tribes are the Masai, the Nandi group..... and the Teso group (Teso, Kuman, Karamojong, Turkana and Toposa)."<sup>4, 5</sup>

Numerous writers of various categories and epochs have stated the existence of traces of mysterious influences amongst the Bantu societies. G. Were who now criticises the 'Hamitic myth' does not provide much evidence for his motivation. Were these mysterious influences brought by 'Hamites' or 'Nilotics'? Whose were these people? A mystery is being explained by mysterious words or names. The following pages, much in accordance with Seligman, intend to replace 'Hamitic', with the real names of history.

First of all it is necessary to put aside, for the moment, the 'Nilotics'; for the Nilotics were late-comers or, if compared with the 'Hamites', they were new-comers, of whom later. In any case, who knows actually which people are so-named 'Nilotic'?

Quite in accordance with Seligman and Oliver, in my opinion, the *cradle-land* of the Hamites was the large complex of territories to the west of lake Rudolf; the territory is still well marked as such. The territory has, up to this date, remained in their hands. It is there we have nowadays to look for the central land of the great language family of the Lango. The particular names mentioned by Oliver are small, unimportant and generally unknown, not of the stature to symbolize the Hamites. C. G. Seligman has hit the point. The names he gives, however, make part of two distinct ethnic groups, with well distinct languages, the KALENJIN and the LANGO. The Kalenjin (with Nande, Pokot, Sapig, Kipsigis etc.) are of western Kenya and have never turned west, only southwards into Tanzania. The other group are the LANGO which group-name, since Pre-History, was used to comprise Karimojong, Turkana, Ji-

ye, Topohza. The Lango nowadays occupy a large strip of territory, between lake Rudolf and the Congo. They speak, essentially, the same language.

On their origin and development Seligman says, "The Hamites entered Africa—or, if the African hypothesis of their origin be maintained, entered Negroland—in a long succession of waves, of which the earliest may have been as far back as the end of the pluvial period".<sup>6</sup> I for one suggest that the more recent ancestor of the Lango, as a whole, were in occupation of their cradleland, in a large sense, by the beginning of the Christian era. Let us assume that the cradle land of the Lango coincided with what must nowadays be considered to be the territory of the *central group of the Lango*; that is the territory west of lake Rudolf. The modern meeting point of the boundaries of Sudan, Uganda and Kenya may be considered to indicate the homeland of this *central group*. This group is formed by Topohza (H. Q. Kapoeta) in Sudan: the Dododz (H. Q. Kaabong), the Jiye (H. Q. Kotido), and the Karimojong (H. Q. Moroto) in Uganda and the Turkana (H. Q. Lodwar) in Kenya. Mount Moroto marks the borderline between Turkana and the Karimojong. The Napon-Orom chain of mountains separates the Acholi from the Lango.

The five groups mentioned are considered to form the *central group* of the Lango people mainly and in first place with regard to the language; but not exclusively for this reason. The Karimojong themselves are in the centre of the five, and their language, possibly only differs slightly from the others. It presents the fuller forms on a few points, forms which must be considered to represent more closely the original. The relative position of the Karimojong likewise suggest that other features of their culture may be found better preserved among them.

The language of the Karimojong to start with, must be considered to be more closely connected with the original language of Lango in general. The Karimojong Language, to be sure, is an extraordinary one. Its vocabulary is rich in particular words for all kinds distinctions. The same purpose is served by numbers of distinguishing forms. For the noun a threefold gender-expressing prefix expresses a number of distinctions for which other languages need special words. To every adjective or verb corresponds the abstract noun. And the puzzling number of forms in connection with a verb presents a problem, for there are a dozen or more conjugations of verbs. One has to distinguish two classes of verb which affects the conjugation. Each class, furthermore, has two sub-divisions. Then there is the all-important intonation. An ardent linguist will find something worth his devoted application.

Given the nature of the country and the character of its people, one can hardly imagine how heterogeneous tribal elements could possibly have come in to exercise a harmful influence on the language or other items of the culture of the Karimojong. The language of the Karimojong in my opinion, represents one of the oldest languages of Africa, as it sounds today. The Lango language as spoken in far-off Congo, as by the Lowoi or Kokoa people; or by the Massai, is still Lango but, of course, a strongly changed Lango language.

The character of the Karimojong (naming one for the whole group) is an impressive one. The Karimojong certainly does not grow up a pampered child; he is, one might say, grossly austere; used to all kinds of hardship as something natural for him. He is a pastoralist, his fancy is taken in by cows and by the number of cattle. Tribal traditions speak of marauding raids as honoured methods of impressing people, of impressing girls, and of enlarging one's herd. Marauding is the ideal of the young man, of the still strong man.

It has its dangers. The cow-thief has to come up against the cow-owner, who is in nothing his inferior, spear against spear. A number of corpses will mark the place of the encounter. There is a constant state of war or guerrilla fighting among the various tribal groups, be they all Lango or not. The Karimojong is fearless, brave, reckless, venturesome, revengeful. The Karimojong is a fanatical lover of freedom; he would not submit to any kind of imposition. He is serious, thoughtful, naturally grave and shrewd.

The Karimojong, or people of the *central group of Lango*, have traditions of shifting from one place to another within a large area, but know nothing of their original immigration from anywhere, from Abyssinia or elsewhere. The Lango, presumably have been pastoralists since very old times, and were hence set upon raising cattle to their capacity. The moment had to come when group after group had to separate and set out in search of new areas of settlement. The Masai were possibly one of the earlier groups to move away, east and south to find themselves after centuries, across the Kenya-Tanzanian boundary. In Karamoja it is said that they, in the course of time, mixed with many other heterogeneous peoples and thus their language changed very strongly. In their great majority, however, the various Lango groups moved westwards. During the early centuries of the Christian era the Lango, little by little, moved westwards towards the Nile, and occupied the northern part of the Agoro or Imatong area of eastern Africa, practically the whole habitable territory to the south of the Pibor region. At about the same time Lango groups went southwest, to the south of the Agoro in the direction of lake Albert.

Here more than one problem arises. According to some authors 'Hamites' reached the northeastern shores of lake Victoria; as would appear quite probable. To the north of the Kwania-Kioga line Bantu peoples do not appear to have settled ever. But the areas to the south of that line were Bantu territories as a whole, and have always remained so. There have been intrusions, to a large extent, of Lango elements into Bantu societies. It should not be difficult for a devoted researcher to analyse the social groups of Bantu Uganda and compare these with social elements and names of the north, whence a large percentage of their ancestors, as is generally admitted, came. Whether the Lango penetrated Bantu territory from the northeast or northwest (modern Acholi or Omiru country), they entered apparently not forcefully, they had to adopt the language (Bantu) of these places. The Lango groups which moved into the lands extending on the south of the Agoro range, comprised among others, as traditions seem to affirm, Turkana, Dododz, and Jiye elements. In the direction of the Nile they stopped short of it by about 30 to 40 miles. To the north of lake Albert, however, the Lango reached and crossed the Nile and settled on the mountains of the Alur of the Nile-Congo watershed, where descendants are found among the Jo—Got of the Alur. Further north, seemingly the shores of the Nile were only thinly populated by Lendu and Okebo (iron-workers) maybe Bira or Boya, possibly refugees from the areas to the northeast occupied by Lango. Further north and far to the east, the area was inhabited by the Madi peoples as far as Mongala and further north. The Madi, the people of the upper Nile valley since Pre-History, called their eastern neighbours by the name Lango. The Madi called themselves Madi, but their neighbours, to the east as well as to the west called them *Baar*. The *Lango* have never used any collective name for themselves: they have had to this day only particular names: as Karimojong, Lotuho, Lowoi or Kakoa. Masai etc.<sup>7</sup>

To this epoch of Lango domination of northern Uganda, up to ten or more centuries ago, must be referred the 'infiltration', or should we say, 'penetration' or even 'immigration' of 'Hamitic' (say *Lango*) elements from the north and the origin of the Ankole or Ruanda aristocracies, up to about 1000 A.D. The 'Hamitic' problem all over Bantu southern Africa started at this time. One never hears of what had been the Bantu reaction, they underwent the political imposition and developed under this influence.

At about 1000 A.D. the Imatong or Agoro sector of eastern Africa was fully occupied, to the north and the south by Lango. To their west, the Nile valley and westwards up to and beyond the Nile-Congo watershed, the whole territory was inhabited by the Madi. The *Madi-Ndri* clan group seems to have emerged from among the others by some kind of ruling authority, as was revealed by later events. On the banks of the Nile in the Rejaf area especially on the eastside, the *Boro* tribal group of the Madi appears to have represented the main part of the population. The country was probably fairly densely populated. To the east of them there appears to have lived a fairly dense Lango population, which serves to explain the important events that were in the air.

There are sufficient traditions of the peoples concerned which indicate the outlines of violent events which radically changed the existing ethnogeographic conditions of vast territories of southeastern Sudan, and of Uganda and far beyond, at the beginning of the present millennium. It was one of the epoch-making periods which have shaped the social conditions now existing in Africa. For centuries Lango tribal groups of the lake Rudolf region were in the habit of moving west for fresh areas of settlement. In about 1000 A.D. or not much later, a large group, called Pojulu arrived in the modern Torit region, or thereabouts, in search of sites to settle. They could find no suitable land and after mature reflexion, they were fully aware of what their enterprise was to be. A very considerable group of families decided on a western migration and the invasion of the country of the Baar (Madi), in the valley of the Nile. The Pojulu reached the Nile, and crossed it in part. We may assume that this first sudden invasion of an unprepared country was undergone by the Madi without great violence or resistance. Details are, of course, missing. After a time, a second wave of Lango arrived on the Nile, the Lowoi, later nicknamed Kakoa. They apparently impinged upon both the Madi and the Pojulu, most violently. The most fierce impact occurred against the Pojulu. The reasons are not clear. They may have been at deadly feud against each other already in their homeland in the east. The Pojulu suffered terribly from the Lowoi, who, in consequence, it is said, were called Kakoa, i.e. men-eaters. As a result there remained only a modest group of independent Pojulu up to the present day. The great majority of the Pojulu fell back upon the Madi and joined up with the various groups. As a consequence Pojulu afterwards everywhere turn up as if they were Madi tribal groups, speaking the Madi language. A third wave of Lango invaders appeared on the Nile still later. As a result several major Lango groups built up in the country that originally was the homeland of the Madi. The three invasions cover possibly a century or more. The outcome of these invasions was epoch-making. A large Lango population had thus, for all future times, established itself on the west side of the river in the Rejaf region. For the Madi it meant the worst possible catastrophe in history that can befall a people. Their homeland had been taken from them as the outcome of a chain of bloody mishaps.<sup>8</sup>

**The separation, the dispersal and the resettlement of the Madi**

Probably numberless individuals, or individual families, for a variety of reasons, remained in their old country and adapted themselves to the changed conditions, and their descendants have the relative traditions. As a whole the Madi decided to preserve their freedom and their independence; and for this purpose they started leaving the country. The description or exposition of the later events is a problem by itself. The first emigrants from the old homeland were in all probability the riverain population of the Rejaf region, of whom the Boro formed the majority. These, evidently forced by the conditions of the moment, left and moved down river in a northwestern direction. Boro tribal groups, nowadays, are found among the Dinka, not far from the original home. Then there are *Nueer-* and *Lwoo-Bor* known as the Ka-Bor on the Sue river.<sup>9</sup>

An important Madi colony comprising a Bor section, settled in the region of lake Yirol, southeast of modern Rhumbek (of Palabek). What the tribal group of people whom the migrating Madi refugees joined so as to develop afterwards and, finally, enter history as the Lwoo, has up to this day remained a mystery.<sup>10</sup>

The largest and, historically, by far the most important emigrating Madi group went, apparently, under the guidance of the Madi-Ndri clan group. They crossed the Nile and invaded, by a kind of powerful mopping-up operation, the whole territory to the south of the Agoro range, and east as far as and including Labwor, pushing away the unsuspecting Lango from the area. Representatives of the Dododz, Turkana, Jiye etc moved east beyond the Orom-Lapono mountains. Numerous smaller and bigger family groups, however, remained behind and, more or less, adapted themselves to the new conditions.

But the main group of Madi invaded Bunyoro, occupied it, and started the Madi domination of Bunyoro under the ruling of the *Ndri-ba* or *Abatembuzi* ruling dynasty—a new epoch for that Bantu country. The Madi invaders and rulers had to pick up the Bantu language from, as it would appear, a large and apathetic population. There seems to exist no tradition in Bunyoro about the nature of the former Bantu population. Contemporaneously, the territories on and to the west of the Nile and of lake Albert were all, more or less densely, populated by refugees from the north. If we are told that the rule of the *Abatembuzi* extended far and wide into Congo and Tanzania, we have to understand, it was all-over the area where the Madi dispersed. Great numbers of Madi tribal groups, smaller and bigger ones, had moved away, i.e. withdrawn from the power-sphere of the invaders and settled on almost the whole of the periphery. In the course of coming centuries they had repeatedly to correct and adapt again their boundaries to fresh exigences. Today's geography represents the outcome of many centuries of development as traced above.

The boundaries between Lango and Madi as settled eight to ten centuries ago, are as a whole still extant. The northern boundary is marked by the Agoro-Imatong-Langia-Orom mountain chain. In the east the boundary from north to south is marked by the Orom-Lapono Labwor hills and by lake Kyoga. These boundaries remained, even when, centuries later, the Lwoo appeared in Uganda. Part of the Madi dominated territories became Lwoo; but Lango areas did not change. Modern Acholi or Lango-Omiru territories, however, have continued to be called Lango upto the beginning of the twentieth century, in spite of historical events and changes.

While the Lango domination in northern Uganda ended with the establishment of the Madi domination under the *Abatembu*: the domination of the Lango of southeastern Sudan extended to the Nile and almost as far as the Nile-Congo watershed, though not exclusively in the latter region. This Lango domain, in the course of centuries tended to intensify but never to diminish, as far as I am aware. In the west, in southeastern Sudan, we find, in our time, the Kakoa extending also into the Congo, living largely also among Madi tribal groups. Then there are the Pojulu, the Nyagwara, the Ligi, the Kuku, the Nyepo and the Mondari, and the Bari west of the Nile; and to the east of the Bari there are Lokoya, Kuluba, Lotuho, Horyok, Lopit, Dongotono, and the Topohza in the extreme east. In northeast Uganda live the Dododz, the Jiye, the Karimojong, the Teso, and in Kenya there are the Turkana and the Masai.

Pa-Wiir seems to have been the name for the territories of modern Acholi and Lango-Omiru, and Buchope of northern Bunyoro. In all these territories the dominant Madi population was mixed up with a considerable number of Lango groups. One gets the impression that they did not harmonize too well. The incoming Lwoo benefited from this state of things.

Under the impact of the Madi against the Lango it would seem natural that groups of the defeated Lango were on this occasion pushed away in various directions. The isolation of certain people might be connected with the events above reported.<sup>11</sup>

### The 'Nilotics' or (?) Lwoo

In the foregoing the 'Hamitic' or Lango problem has been discussed. The Nilotics are generally placed on the same level by writers on eastern central Africa, and often mixed up. They are supposed to have exercised a similar influence in eastern central and southern Africa.

In the first place let the obscure mythical term 'Nilotics' of writers of the past, be replaced by the realistic, historic name 'Lwoo'. In about 1500 A.D. the Lwoo started their history somewhere in central southern Sudan. Not very far southeast of Rhumbek is found the Nueer enclave, Atwot, surrounded by Dinkas. Atwot may reasonably be taken to refer to what Shilluk tradition calls the country of Dowat, the country from which came the ancestors of the Shilluk, together with the ancestors of the rest of the Lwoo, the Jo-Lwoo. If the component clan or major tribal groups of the Lwoo as they are found in various Lwoo communities spread over a very large area of Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Congo and Ethiopia are closely analysed, it becomes immediately evident that a large number of its clan or group names are found again in Madi societies. A puzzling mystery enshrouds the original Lwoo racial kernel whom the Madi refugees joined, and from which union or mixture the Jo-Lwoo were in time to emerge.

The Jo-Lwoo from modest beginnings had developed in the course of centuries to numerous and large groups. Ever more they felt the need to extend at the expense of their neighbours. Unluckily for the Lwoo, the neighbours, the Naahz (Nueer) and the Jang (Dinka) were no less brave fighters and were much more numerous. The Naahz got fed up with the trouble-makers and decided to make an end of the business. As the conditions in the country were painful for the people we may assume that various smaller or larger groups had already left the area in search for more favourable places. In the end the Naahz attacked in force.

The Jo-Lwoo were defeated and had to abandon their cradle-land, which became Atwot and is now occupied by Naahz. The Jo-Lwoo left as a large group, they moved westwards, the only way possible since in the east or north lived large Dinka and Nueer populations. Many straggling smaller family groups remained cut off, and are now found, as single small entities among the Nueer; they are called Ja Loh. They are known as being stray groups, without having, as other Nueer groups use to have, some larger central group in some area they would call their country.

In the areas of the Tonj and Sue rivers great groups of Lwoo were discussing their future. Quite considerable numbers of smaller groups decided on remaining behind in their old environment on the Sue river and affluents, relatively near to their old homes. It may be surmised, and there are some clues, that the original Jo-Lwoo from this place made the latter decision, while probably the descendants of old Madi refugees, with corresponding traditions, having such traditions in mind, decided on a long migration route, possibly towards their old homes. In a half-circle movement, north and east, along the Sue (Jur), Bahr-el-Ghazal and Nile (Bahr-el-Jebel) they reached the country where the Shilluk settled; while the Jo-Lwoo main group started their movement south-east to Anywaah and Ethiopia, where the Anywaah settled. Again the central group, always swollen by new joiners, moved due south to Lepfool hill, then moving west reached the Nile site, whence their forefathers had come. From there in the Rejaf region, they left towards the south in two separate parties. One party reached Puburgu; the other, the eastern, party reached Pa (ra) jok and Lamogiland, to the south of the Agoro mountain massif. The Pubungu group, apparently led by Jo-pa-Cwa members, crossed the Nile into Alurland and others remained behind. The main group moved over to Bunyoro where the Jo-pa-Cwa, or *Ba-Chwezi* of the Bantu, established their throne, ousting the *Abatembuzi*. The *Ba-Chwezi* rule was a short-lived one. The party to the north, led by Jo-Bito, stayed in the region for some time, one generation maybe and was greatly engrossed by new joiners such as the Jo-Palwar and Jo-Oima. On hearing of the adventure of the Jo-pa-Cwa in Bunyoro, the Jo-Bito apparently the much larger group, entered Bunyoro and established the throne, and commenced the rule of the *Ba-Bito*. It was a complete change-over, from the *Abatembuzi*, with their Banyoro backing, to the *Ba-Bito* and the *Ba-Ima* backing, and this represented a change from the Madi domination to the Lwoo domination in Bunyoro-Kitara.

The historical event of this take-over has become a fertile pool of mythology, mythopoeetry and mythography without end. A characteristic of the literature on this period is a boundless enthusiasm about persons and events, so much so that only with difficulty may the real facts be appreciated. Another characteristic, emerging from the former, is an absolute lack of realism. On reading "scientific" descriptions on this period one is often prompted with the question "have these people, these marvellous people, possibly been air-dropped"? It is necessary to leave Cushites, Egypt, Abyssinia, Gala and so forth aside, and to go to the north of the lake Albert—Somerset Nile—Kyoga line and make inquiries among the various ethnic elements there, and one will then find the answers to problems to the south of this line. I have got the impression, however, that such relationships are not in favour to the south of the mentioned line.

The influence exercised by the Lwoo is given mainly by the variety of localities or countries they are found in; six groups in southern Sudan and six, even larger ones in Uganda-Kenya. The various occasions of quarrels, as the

*Ba-Chwezi* to *Ba-Bito* change-over, the discords or jealousies among Kingships and the like were, of course, times which favoured further extensions and migrations of Lwoo descendants to new sites even as far as Tanzania.<sup>12</sup> Given the time factor, a mix-up of 'Hamites' and 'Nilotics' or of Lāngos and Lwoos as is often found, could and should be avoided.

## NOTES

1. Were, G.S. The western Bantu peoples from A.D. 1300 to 1800, in *Zamani*, edited by B.A. Ogot and J.A. Kiernan, Nairobi, 1968, p. 178.
2. Kiwanuka, M.S.M. in an address to the Uganda Society, subsequently printed, similarly criticised the Hamitic myth in relation to the founding of the interlacustrine kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro etc. See his, *The empire of Bunyoro-Kitara: myth or reality?*, Kampala, Longmans, 1968, pp. 2-7. (Makerere History Papers, no. 1.) (Eds.).
3. Oliver, R. The riddle of Zimbabwe, in *The dawn of African history*, edited by R. Oliver, London, O.U.P., 1961, p. 58. It should, however, be noted that Oliver's views on the origin of Zimbabwe are not commonly accepted. (Eds.).
4. Seligman, C.G., *Races of Africa*, 3rd edition, London, O.U.P., 1957, p. 143.
5. In a more recent classification of the peoples of eastern Africa which avoids the term Hamite or Nilo-Hamite, the Masai and the Teso group are referred to as 'Plains Nilotes' and the Kalenjin (Nandi) as 'Highland Nilotes'. The peoples traditionally referred to by Seligman and others as Nilotes (e.g. the Alur, Acholi, Luo etc.) are classified as 'River Nilotes'. The former eastern Hamites are now commonly referred to as Cushites. See Sutton, J.E.G., The settlement of East Africa, in *Zamani*, edited by B.A. Ogot and J.A. Kiernan, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 80-81. (Eds.).
6. Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
7. The name Baar has often become Beer. Very interesting commemorative historical names of modern times are the names Bari of the Rejaf (Juba) of the southern Sudan, and the Lango of northern Uganda. Both names have been taken over from antiquity but are in our times rather absurd. *Bar* means *Madi* who once lived in the Rejaf territory, but have long since been replaced by Lango. Modern Bari say they do not know why they are called "Bar". The Lango of Lira are not *Lango* but *Omuru* and speak Lwoo, to which ethnic group they belong.
8. The various traditions about these events have been collected mainly by the Rev. Fr. L. Spagnolo who has lived for many years among the Bari and published in his *Bari grammar*, Verona, Mission Africane. Fr. Spagnolo has also commented on these events in personal communications to the writer.
9. It is interesting to note that in Nuer land, on the banks of the Bahr-el-Jebel, to the north of the ford Shambah, besides the Bor there are the Lang, (?related to the Pojulu). They have all preserved their racial identity while they have had to adopt the Nuer language of the host land.
10. Cf. the Kwaz-Thurro of Shilluk country, and their extraordinary social position among the Shilluk, as described in J. P. Crazzolora, *The Lwoo*, p. 127.
11. The appearance of the *Zulu* (maybe *Dzulu*) may be connected with this first invasion, of which Bunyoro tradition speaks. There are, however, reasons against it. Maybe other groups were pushed further south on this occasion, as possibly the *Dododz* to become *Watusi* (?).
12. I find it humorous to speak of special relationships between, say the Labwoor and the Aluur or the JoLwoo of Kenya and the Aluur; or of having tribal groups migrating from Aluur to Kenya. I accept that the respective languages are nearer to each other rather than to Acholi or Lango-Omiru. This fact has nothing to do with old migrations, but rather with the fact that few languages have undergone a deformation, as Acholi or Lango-Omiru have; for this reason the remaining languages have, by chance, retained more old Lwoo-language elements.

## A SURVEY OF THE DUG-OUT CANOES OF LAKE ALBERT AND THE ALBERT NILE

By J. B. HUNTER

When man first took to the water hollowed out logs and rafts made of logs became the first vessels, and in many parts of the world they have survived to the present day. In Polynesia they have developed into fast ocean going catamarans but it is with the more mundane use of hollowed-out logs as fishing canoes that this paper is concerned.

When E.B. Worthington<sup>1</sup> visited Lake Albert in 1928, he reported 60 dug-out canoes fishing along the Uganda shore. Their owners fished for *Lates* sp with long lines; for *Tilapia* sp with basket traps and speared *Clarias* and other species in the swamps bordering the lake. The fishery was, therefore, of a subsistence nature, and as the canoes operated only along the shore and in the lee of the sand spits, which are a feature of Lake Albert, the dug out canoe was adequate and even suitable for the work.

By 1955 the fishery had gone through a tremendous expansion and the annual catch had risen to 4,000 tons, most of which consisted of *Alestes* and *Hydrocynus* caught in small mesh gill nets, and *Lates*. In this year the Kabalega canoe (see section 3) was introduced to enable the fishermen to carry more nets and fish, and, with the help of an outboard engine, to go further from shore. Due to the competitive nature of the modern fishery, these Kabalega canoes frequently go ten miles or more from their base in search of good fishing grounds and often carry 200 to 300 gill nets of 2½" and 3" mesh. Their catch frequently exceeds 1,000 lbs of *Alestes* and *Hydrocynus* per day, particularly at the south end of the lake.

In this kind of commercial fishery the dug out canoe is becoming redundant, but as they made up 1,235 of the 1,000 canoes on Lake Albert and the Albert Nile in 1966<sup>2</sup> they still play an important part in the fishing industry, and will continue to do so for some years. Thus it is useful to know something of the construction of dug-out canoes and of their role in the fishery both now and in the future.

### Construction and role of dug-out canoes in different areas

The Lake Albert shoreline can be divided into three areas, with the Albert Nile forming a further one.

#### (a) Bugungu and Panyimur Area

At the northern end of the lake the Bugungu flats extend from Butiaba northwards to the estuary of the Victoria Nile and a similar area occurs on the other side of the lake between the Congo border and the start of the Albert Nile. At this end of the lake the fishery is at its most intensive, employing 400 to 500 dug-out canoes and about 80 planked boats. This gives a dug out/planked ratio of approximately 5½:1.

*Construction:* Before 1962 most dug out canoes in this area were made from trees cut in Budongo Forest. A fisherman wanting to build a new canoe first

visited the local Forestry Officer and bought a cutting permit for the type of tree he required. This cost Shs. 10. He then spent two or three days in the forest selecting a suitable specimen. If he had already hired a "fundi" the fundi might help him to select a suitable tree, which would be cut down by the fundi's porter. The fisherman paid the fundi between 150/- and 300/- for the work of choosing the tree and constructing the canoe, and this was paid usually in two instalments, the first when the work was started, and the second when the canoe was completed and launched. From this contract price the fundi paid two or three porters to help him with the work. When the tree had been felled, it was measured and the appropriate Royalty, which was usually between Shs. 100 and 300 was paid to the Forestry Department.

Table 1: Royalties on common Canoes—building Timbers:

	Ngoma ( <i>Cordia Milleni</i> )	-/60 per cubic foot.
	Musisa ( <i>Albizia Coraria</i> )	1/30 per cubic foot.
	Mugeye ( <i>Piptadenia Africana</i> )	-/65 per cubic foot.
Mahogany	Mufumbi ( <i>Entandrophragma sp.</i> )	1/30 per cubic foot.
Mahogany	Munyama ( <i>Khaya sp.</i> )	1/30 per cubic foot.
"Teak"	Mvule ( <i>Chlophora excelsa</i> )	1/75 per cubic foot.

The fundi and his helpers hollowed out the wood roughly after first removing the sapwood from the log. Usually two canoes were made from the same tree and occasionally the log was long enough to provide three, depending on the lengths of the canoes wanted. The longest dug-out canoe recorded was a seventy footer used as a passenger ferry<sup>3</sup>. While the initial hollowing of the log was being done, the fisherman, as part of the contract, supplied the fundi and his men with goats' meat and cassava. With the sapwood removed and the log partly hollowed out, it was much lighter and could be dragged to the nearest track or road where it was loaded on to a hired lorry and taken to the prospective owner's village. At this stage there was generally a pause for celebrating the arrival of the embryonic canoe before the fundi began the final shaping.

Table 2: Breakdown of cost of building 24' foot canoe of Ngoma in Budongo Forest and Bugungu.

	sh
Timber royalties and cutting permit	100/-
Initial hollowing by fundi and porters	200/-
Lorry transport to lakeshore	200/-
Labour for handling canoe in transit	100/-
Final shaping by fundi at lakeshore	50/-
Brewing of beer and launching celebration	60/-
	<hr/>
	710/-
	<hr/>

Chipepo<sup>4</sup> reports that in Tanzania heat is used in the shaping of the canoe. The interior surface is covered with mud and a fire is kindled inside the hull. Struts are inserted to force apart the sides and so the volume and carrying capacity of the final canoe is increased.

The bows and stern were not narrowed appreciably but were cut back

at approximately  $45^\circ$  from "gunwale" to "keel". The sheerline was usually straight, as dictated by the shape of the original log, but occasionally freeboard was increased at the extremities and a concave sheerline was produced. This would, no doubt make the canoe more seaworthy as the blunt bow tends to push into waves and throw large quantities of water into the hull. The canoe tends to acquire a more concave sheerline as it gets older. The thin gunwales become chipped and worn by constant paddling and the working of fishing gear, and this wear is mainly in the middle section.

The section shown in figure 1 is of a comparatively well built and symmetrical canoe with a beam of 32" and a height of 25". The floor is 3" thick and thickens towards the turn of the bilges where it reaches  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". At the half height point this has decreased to  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and the gunwales are less than  $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick. This section has interesting implications from the point of view of stability. There is considerable tumblehome and the gunwales are only 15" apart and  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " from the centreline, thus keeping the crew in the middle of the hull and preventing too much splash-water from entering. The topsides are thin and light and so the thick floors tend to keep the centre of gravity well down and the rolling moment low. A further point of interest is that the maximum thickness and weight occurs not in the central areas of the floor but at the turn of the bilges so that if the canoe is heeled at, say  $20^\circ$ , these heavy bilges become the farthest point from the centre of buoyancy and exert a considerable righting effect. On the other hand the wide and low weight distribution would cause a rather quick and uncomfortable motion, particularly in a beam sea. Whether the boat-builder has these considerations in mind while shaping the canoe or whether a kind of "evolution" based on "natural selection" operates on dug-out canoes is hard to say, but this is in any case a teleological argument.

Dug-out canoes are propelled by long poles in shallow swampy areas but elsewhere paddles are used. Nowadays nearly all the paddles used along the lake are made in the Congo. The most popular length is about 5' with a slightly concave blade  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ' in length. Trees of the genus *Cassia* are most popular for making paddles as the wood is supposed to be strong and supple and these paddles cost about Shs. 5 each in Uganda. A traditional type of bailer is shown in figure 2 but nowadays a karaya (shallow metal dish) or an old tin-can is more common.

Before the canoe was launched further celebration took place in the village, beer was brewed, a goat killed and traditional fishing songs were sung, such as "Balimba mwegarukire nkuranga atwaire Encu" (Fishermen come home as the birds are eating all our fish), and "Mwiruke naamini omuyaga guzire Obwire buimbaire buraleta musansi" (Paddle hard. Can't you see the storm is rising and the sky darkening?) and "Mwantwale ndebeyo akosozi ka Mahagi, obwire kabwizire Ndawe timugiboine" (Take me to Mahagi hill, and there I will see the north wind blowing on the lake).

After a year or two in use the canoe would need repairing. Naturally the parts most susceptible to damage would be the bow and stern where the unsupported end grain is extremely vulnerable and these would often be reinforced by planks nailed on when the canoe was new. Small leaks in the hull are repaired by the simple expedient of jamming rags in them. When they become large, a piece of rubber inner tube is placed over the leak and a sheet of galvanized iron or flattened "debe" is put over the rubber and nailed through the rubber and into the hull. As the canoe ages, it becomes more and more patched and sometimes a whole side has to be replaced by wooden planking.

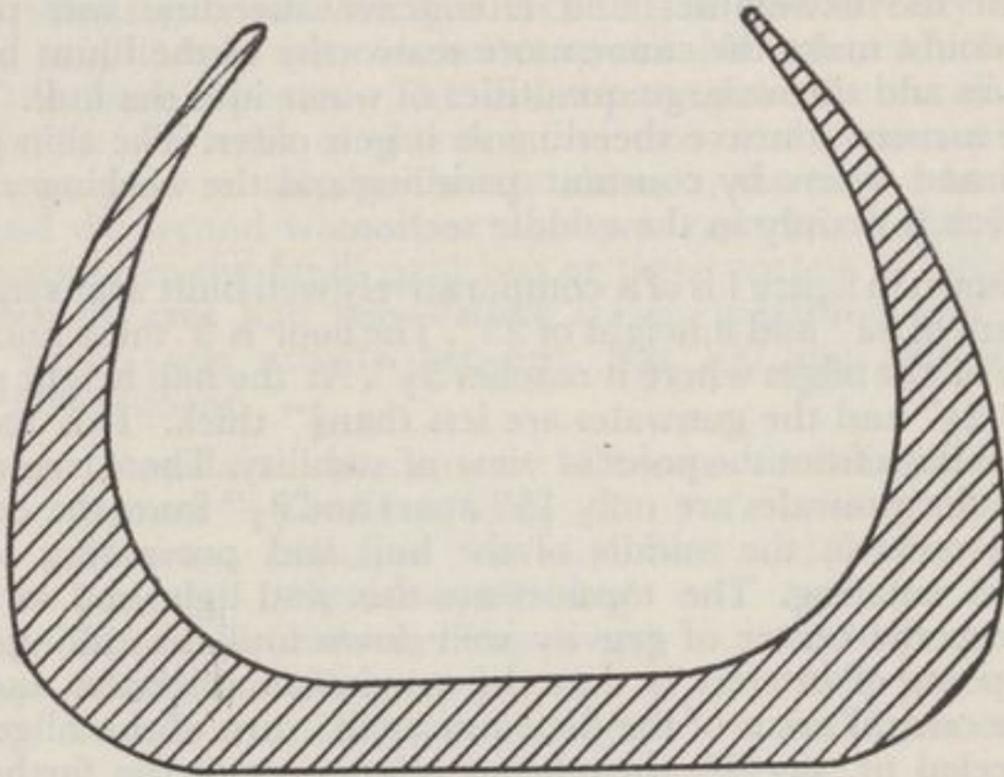


Figure 1

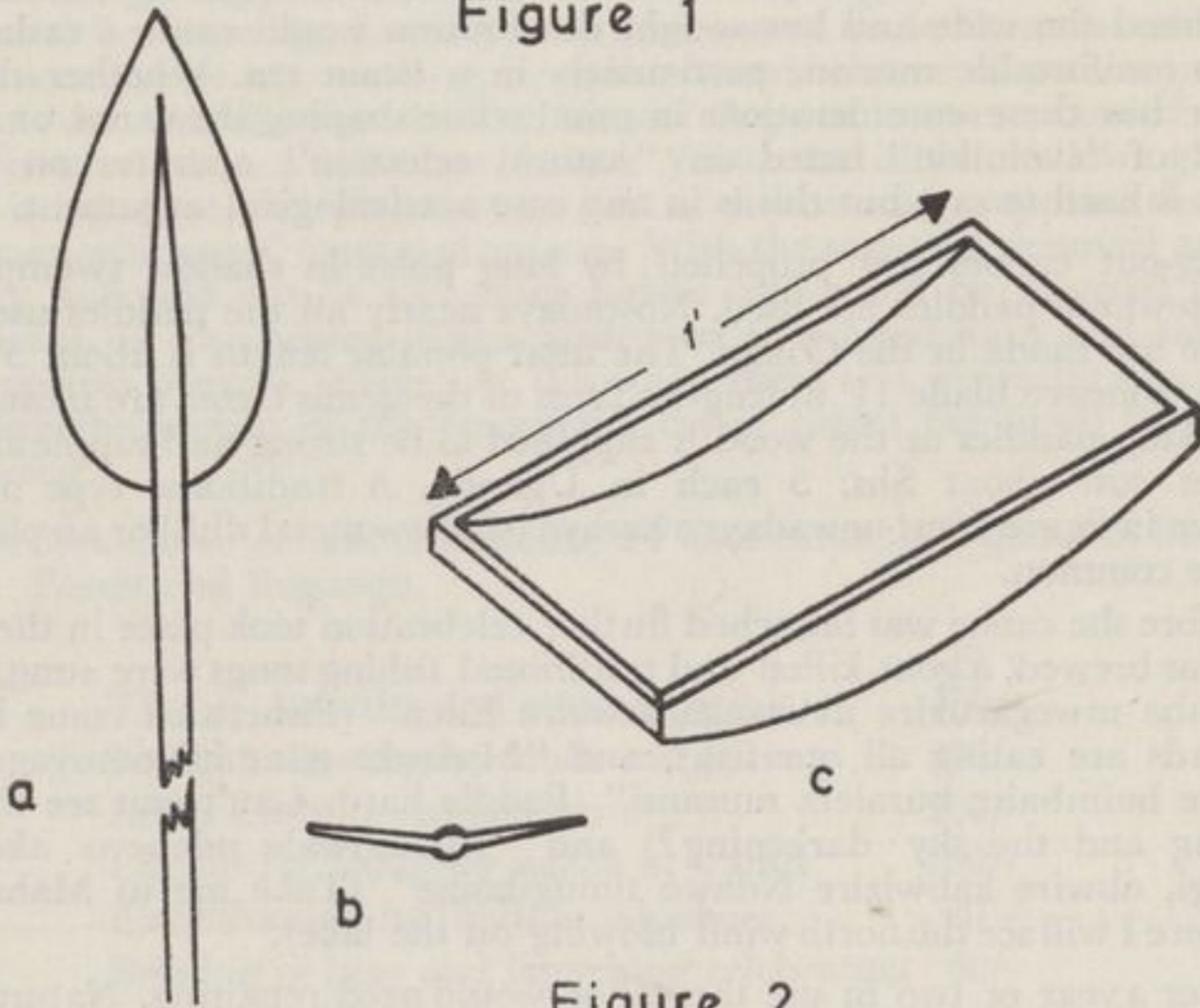


Figure 2

Due to the frequency of net thieving on the lake, some fishermen prefer to spend the night in their canoes, moored to their fleet of gillnets. To make their vigil more comfortable a clay fireplace used to be built in the centre of the boat, and a charcoal fire lit to keep them warm. This custom seems to have died out. Canoes often leave the beach with one or two rush mats rolled up in the bow and in the evening these are unfolded and placed over the crew and possibly another under them, to keep the night breezes out.

By far the most popular wood for dug-out canoes in the Bugungu area is Ngoma (*Cordia millenii*) as it is very light and buoyant (28 lbs. per cu.ft. air dry) and easily worked by the local adze. It is reputed to last 20 to 30 years when used in canoes and is widely distributed and plentiful in Uganda. About 80% of the dug-out canoes seen in the Bugungu area are of Ngoma; the other 20% comprising canoes of Musisa (discussed in a later section) from the Budongo Forest and of Mahogany in canoes made in the Congo and in West Nile. The loose term "Mahogany" includes three or four genera of which *Entandrophragma* and *Khaya* seem to be the most important in Uganda. The author is uncertain to which genera to refer the mahogany canoes built along the Albert Nile and in the Congo. In recent years some hundreds of Congolese fishermen have left their country and settled along the Uganda shore. Some of them made trips to the Congo returning to Uganda with dug-out canoes of mahogany and Museta made in Bukambu. About thirty of these canoes per year have been sold to the Bugungu fishermen at the comparatively low cost of 200 to 400/-. Perhaps the higher cost of the Ngoma canoes from Budongo Forest (about 700/- for a 24 footer) has put them out of the market, but hardly any dug-outs have been built on the Uganda shore of Lake Albert for four or five years. A small number of mahogany canoes from Rhino Camp have found their way upstream and have been sold in the Bugungu area but they only amount to one or two per year as most of the production is absorbed by the Albert Nile fishery.

Table 3: Variation of cost of dug-out canoes with length. Last canoes built in Budongo forest (1962) and canoes first imported from the Congo (1962).

Length feet	Cost in local Ngoma	Cost in imported Musetar Mahogany from Congo
19—22	400— 600/-	170—250/-
22—24	600— 750/-	250—300/-
24—26	750— 900/-	300—400/-
26—30	900—1,200/-	—

Although dug-out canoes are unsuitable for use in the highly commercial *Alestes* and *Hydrocynus* fishery based at Wanseko, they have been found extremely suitable for poaching fish, crocodiles and hippo, in the swampy delta of the Victoria Nile. This four mile stretch of estuary and the thirteen mile stretch of river between Murchison Falls and Lake Albert comprise the most valuable asset of Murchison Falls National Park and the Park Wardens fight a continuous battle with the Bugungu fishermen, who regard the Victoria Nile as their traditional hunting and fishing ground. Most of the fishermen are doubtless interested in catching only the *Alestes* and *Hydrocynus* which probably run up the river to breed, but as the population of crocodiles, which is one of the main tourist attractions of the Park, has been dangerously reduced, the Park autho-

rities cannot afford to give the fishermen the benefit of the doubt. More than two hundred dug-out canoes have been confiscated and destroyed in the last decade, a number which must be nearly equal to new construction in that period. Usually old and battered canoes are used for poaching as the risk of arrest is great, and so the Park authorities have probably helped the fishing industry by removing old and inefficient units and at the same time protecting the breeding migration of *Alestes* and *Hydrocynus*.

(b) *The Southern End of Lake Albert*

In most ways the fishery at the shallow southern end of the lake, centred on Ntoroko, is similar to the fishery at the shallow northern end of the lake, based on Wanseko. However, the Ntoroko and Semliki area was a restricted area under sleeping sickness control regulations, and settlement was only allowed in 1953<sup>6</sup>. The fishery was started by a number of progressive Bagungu fishermen who moved their operations to Ntoroko with the kelp of the Fisheries Department and set out to catch and sell fish on a commercial scale. Daily catches at Ntoroko frequently exceed 1,000 lbs. per Kabalega canoe, (described later), whereas catches at Wanseko tend to be lower (around 300 to 400 lbs. /canoe/day). Thus dug-out canoes would be at a very great disadvantage and in fact are not now used at Ntoroko itself. Between Ntoroko and the Congo border the shore consists of papyrus swamp and many of the fishermen live in lightly built grass huts on floating mats of vegetation. In this area there are between 30 and 40 dug-out canoes nearly all of which originate in the Congo. Some are made of Mahogany from the nearby Ituri Forest and a few canoes are made of Mvule (*Chlorophora excelsa*), an extremely strong and durable timber which is used exclusively in the building of planked Kabalega canoes. Although the work involved in building a canoe from Mvule must be considerable, they are said to last fifty years in constant use. A few canoes are built of Musisa (*Albizia coraria*) which grows on top of the escarpment near Ntoroko but the majority, as at Bugungu, are of the ubiquitous Ngoma.

As in the Victoria Nile, dug-out canoes are used for poaching hippo and crocodile in the Semliki River and the Toro Game Reserve. For this purpose three or four canoes are lashed together and the hunters spear their prey from the middle canoes, which gives them at least a modicum of safety in this hazardous occupation. Further up the Semliki River poaching canoes are made from the Borassus palm tree, *Borassus aethiopum*, a slender fibrous tree which the Romans apparently used for water conduits after the looser heartwood had been removed. Formerly many dug-out canoes on Lake Albert had a rack along one side on which the crews' hippo spears and punting poles could be kept, but as the numbers of hippo and crocodiles have been drastically reduced in most areas this practice has died, out. In the shallow areas of the lake thin punting poles are used for propulsion instead of paddles and this occasionally leads to disaster, for if the wind blows a canoe into depths beyond the reach of the owner's pole he may either capsize or drift down the lake until he starves to death.

This border areas is populated mainly by Congolese refugees who have left their country since 1960 and many of them have bought their Congolese barque canoes with them. In the 1967 aerial survey 34 dug-out canoes and 28 Congo barques were counted in this area.

(c) *The Escarpment Area*

This area extends from Butiaba at the south end of the Bugungu flats to Ntoroko. The main physical feature of the area is a continuous escarpment running along the shore, although it is pushed back from the lake by "flats" at Kibiro, Tonya, Kaiso and Buhuka. The escarpment forms one wall of the Western Rift Valley in which Lake Albert lies and the other wall is formed by the chain of mountains along the Congo shore rising to 8,000 feet. The development of the fishery in this area has been retarded by the lack of communication between the lakeshore villages and the hinterland and employs dug-out canoes fishing mainly on a subsistence basis. Although the ratio of dug-outs to planked is 2.6:1 (1967 aerial survey) this is rather misleading as nearly all the planked boats are of the inferior Congo barque type rather than the more efficient Sesse or Kabalega canoes. Whereas the fishing effort in the previous two areas was directed almost exclusively at *Alestes* and *Hydrocynus* for salting and eventual marketing in West Nile, Acholi and the Congo, the fishery of the escarpment area is more diverse and less commercial and *Synodontis* and *Tilapia* figure most prominently in the catches. Most fish from this area is carried up the escarpment as headloads and sold in the local villages.

The traditional tree for canoe building in this area has always been Musisa (*Albizia coraria*) which was plentiful in the deep valleys which cut their way through the escarpment. It is described as hard and durable and is reported to outlast canoes of Ngoma. It has an air dry weight of 45 to 47 lbs. per cu.ft. A prospective owner would have his tree selected, felled and hollowed in the manner described earlier, and he would then gather as many of his friends as he could to haul the log down the escarpment to the village. This prodigious effort was always followed by several days of eating, singing and drinking before the fundi and his men began the final hollowing and shaping. Nowadays, the savanna *Albizia* has been much reduced in these valleys and the Forestry Department seems to discourage the use of forest stocks. Another savanna tree, Museta (*Terminalia brownii*) was used to a lesser extent, its wood being described as light, strong and durable. Mugeye (*Piptadenia africana*) was also obtained from the nearby Bugoma and Bujawe forests for canoe building. It is exceptionally resistant to dry rot and termites, half the pieces tested having survived 3½ years in a graveyard test, and is strong and moderately tough. Musharagi, (*Olea hochstetteri*) although described as rare in Uganda is more common in the Congo and is used for canoe building. A few canoes of this timber occur around Tonya and Bugungu but are not very popular as their life expectancy is at the most ten years. As Musisa has become less available, Ngoma has gradually replaced it, and become the most popular timber as it is in other areas, although a number of Musisa canoes can still be seen along the shore. In the last decade about ten fundis live in the Tonya—Kaiso area and built dug-out canoes, but in recent years only one or two canoes have been built per year and in some years none have been built. A few Congolese refugees have started building Congo barques at Tonya and it seems unlikely that any more dug-out canoes will be launched in this or any other area of Lake Albert within Uganda in the future.

Until the fishing industry in this area is stimulated by better communications with the main towns in Bunyoro the dug-out canoe will continue to be important in this area. Recently, however, the arrival in Butiaba of an Asian fishbuyer has encouraged two fishermen in the Tonya area to buy Kabalega canoes and engines and to make the four hour run to Butiaba to sell

their fish. Another factor inhibiting the development of the fishing industry in this area is the lack of a fish eating tradition among the Bunyoro and the low rate of consumption per head in Bunyoro.

(d) *The Albert Nile*

Although it is difficult to count canoes among the inlets and papyrus islands, there are about 700 dug-out canoes on the Albert Nile and the ratio of dug-outs to planked boats is 200:1. The fishery is far less commercially orientated than that of Lake Albert and basket traps, longlines and bows and arrows are popular fishing methods. Some fish is, however, dried and marketed in Arua, Kitgum and Moyo and a few fishermen have bought planked canoes, though generally the expense of buying a planked canoe would not be justified in terms of increased income as it would be on Lake Albert.

The traditional canoe building timber along the Nile is *Afzelia africana* known in the local language (Jonam) as Beyo and Kikobe. It is described as extremely durable and comparable with English oak in toughness and hardness but considerably stronger. *Albizia coraria* which is known locally as Ober was also popular but the use of both *Albizia* and *Afzelia* is now discouraged by the Forestry Department as they are classified as reserved woods. Mahogany is used at Rhino Camp where two fundi's continuously make dug-out canoes which sell for 600/- to 1,2000/- depending on size. Canoes are also made at Ragem and Rigbo on the Nile. Trees are cut in the forests of Terego, Maracha and Ocodri in West Nile. When the tree has been selected a hole is dug around the base of the trunk and the roots are cut with an axe known locally as a "latong". Presumably this method of felling gets maximum value for the royalty paid. Canoes on the Nile tend to be much smaller than those on Lake Albert and more bizarre in shape. Often they have an inch or so of freeboard but this is probably not a great disadvantage when the fisherman is merely punting along the edge of the river placing basket traps across openings in the papyrus.

Launching ceremonies are more elaborate along the Nile. On the day of the launching the owner names the canoe and a goat is killed and cooked. As the canoe is launched a white chicken is killed and its wings are cut off and tied to the bow of the canoe with a string of beads taken from a young girl.

### Competitors of the Dug-out Canoe

(a) *The Kabalega Canoe*

The Kabalega canoe was introduced by the Fisheries Department and first built by the boat-building section of Masindi Technical School in 1955. It was developed from the Sesse canoe of Lake Victoria by employing the stronger framed construction, increasing the beam and providing a small transom on which an outboard engine could be clamped. These boats are now invariably constructed of Mvule (*Chlorophora excelsa*) and cost about Shs. 3,500 (1967). About a hundred and forty of these canoes have been built by three well organised boatyards at Wanseko and are so popular with the fishermen that it has proved difficult to introduce cheaper planked canoes, or to make improvements to the Kabalega.

(b) *The Sesse Canoe* ?

The Sesse canoe was introduced by Jaluo and Baganda fishermen from Lake Victoria. It is a long, narrow, frameless, double-ended canoe propelled

by paddles or poles which itself has a most interesting evolution from the dug-out canoe. A few of these canoes are built at Ntoroko by Baganda fishermen and at Wanseko for Jaluio fishermen, but they have not proved very popular with the local fishermen.

(c) *The Congo Barque*

The Congo barque is a flat-bottomed, slab-sided canoe with a straight upright stem and transom stern which was used by the Greek fishermen of Kasenyi in the Congo. Congolese refugees introduced them to Uganda and still form the bulk of their owners, but they are now built by local builders in Tonya, Butiaba and Wanseko.

The Kabalega canoe is replacing the dug-out for fishermen who have saved their money and intend to fish commercially, while for the less serious fisherman, the Congo barque is cheaper and still has a greater carrying capacity than the dug-out. These two types and possibly the Kange (modified Sesse)<sup>8</sup> will gradually replace the dug-out canoe on Lake Albert.

### The Future of the Dug-Out Canoe

In the competitive and commercial fisheries centred on Wanseko and Ntoroko the dug-out canoe has already been discarded by progressive fishermen because:

- (a) It does not have sufficient carrying capacity for nets and fish.
- (b) It cannot easily be adapted to carrying an outboard motor and so cannot reach the more distant fishing grounds.
- (c) It is not sufficiently seaworthy.

Around Wanseko at the northern end of the lake dug-out canoes are still in use by:

- (a) Less progressive fishermen.
- (b) Poachers in Murchison Falls National Park (Victoria Nile).

Around Ntoroko and the Congo border at the southern end of the lake a smaller number of Congo barques and dug-outs are still in use by:

- (a) A few less progressive fishermen.
- (b) Refugees from the Congo.
- (c) Poachers in the Toro Game Reserve and Semliki River.

In the Escarpment area the dug-out canoe will persist as the main type of fishing vessel until communications and facilities for transporting fish improve by:—

- (a) The provision of a road down to the Lake shore
- (b) A regular collection of processed fish by launch from Butiaba.

In the Albert Nile the dug-out canoe is suited not only to the nature of the fishing, but also to the river itself, so that even if communications and marketing methods improve, the overriding advantage of the dug-out canoe i.e. extremely longlife for low initial cost, will ensure that it survives in this area after it has ceased to ply its trade on Lake Albert.

## NOTES

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N.B. A map relevant to this article appeared in the *Uganda Journal*, Vol.32, part 1, 1968, p. 43.

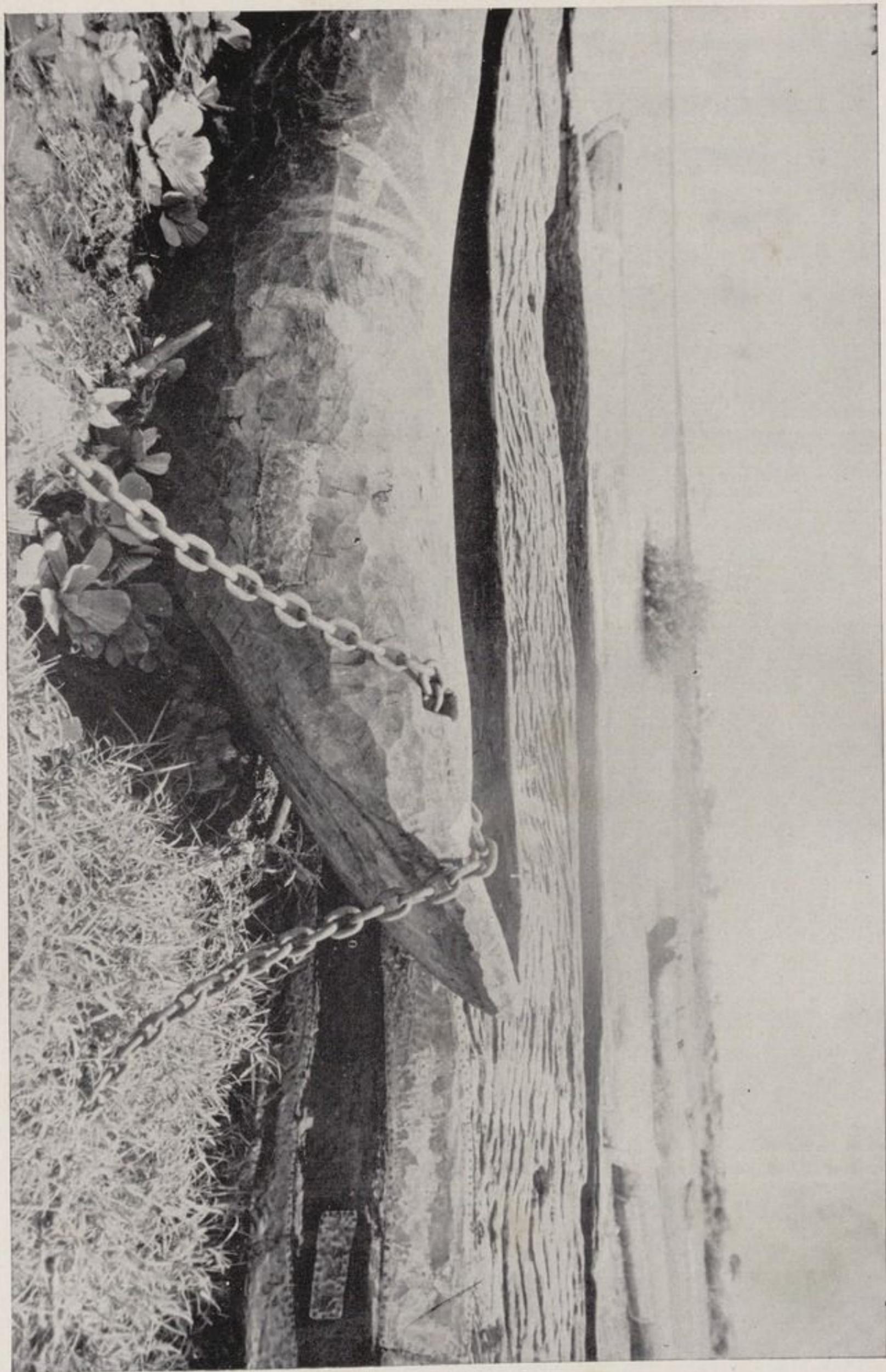




Figure 2 Omuhesi with *ebicuunga* (bellow) and  
anvil *oruhija*

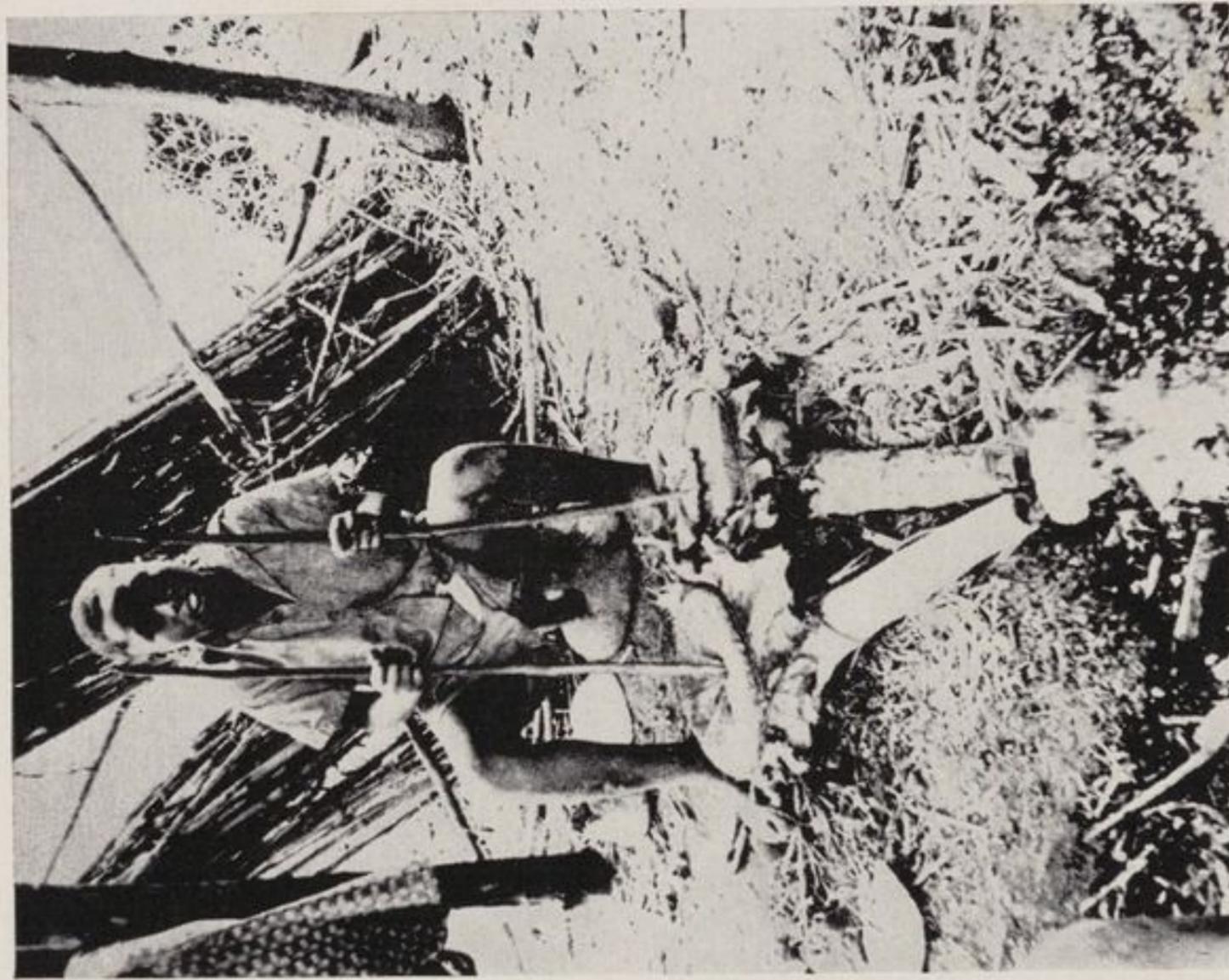


Figure 1 Omujugusi working a forge, *ebirubi* showing  
bellows *ebienunga*

## LAND FRAGMENTATION AT RUGARAMA, KIGEZI

By A. R. KURURAGIRE

The humid and deeply incised upland of Kigezi district ranks amongst Uganda's most densely populated rural regions and it is one of the least economically developed. Rugarama typifies Kigezi in that it has a mounting population overdependent upon a stagnating subsistence agriculture. Underlying this economic inertness is land fragmentation.

The Kiga epithet 'Rugarama', denotes an extensive convex slope. Rugarama is six square miles in extent in the hills north of Kabale, and includes the hill-slope and the valley of the Kiruruma river. Subsequent rivers, intermittent in their flow, cut the area up into ridges and valleys. Four small springs contribute to their flow as also does the 40 inches of rainfall; but on the whole, surface water is not abundant. Dry valleys and concave slopes carry deep brown soils which are fertile; and even part of the Kiruruma floor has been drained.

The peopling of Rugarama began only two hundred years ago by the migration of large families descended from the Bungura and Basigi clans from the uplands near Lake Bunyonyi. These earliest settlers belong to the parent Kiga tribe, but two Banyarwanda clans have immigrated more recently. Tradition relates that these migrations were caused by interclan feuds which were the product of famines and the disparity in productivity of clan lands. Once in Rugarama, however, interclan marriages seem to have precluded feuds.

The allocation of lands between the clans at about 1900 is shown in the accompanying figure. This pattern has some bearing upon the present location of people, and the pattern of land fragmentation. The Batara, Bahaka and Barunga families have remained very much where they were located in 1900; but the Beitira and the Banyarwanda have now spread throughout the area. In 1900 the largest group was the Basigi clan, made up of the Bajara, Bahaka and Barunga families and then comprising about 80% of the total population. About 15% of the population were of the Beitira family. The remaining 5% of the population were Banyarwanda. In 1900 the total population was about 400 persons, certainly not in excess of this. Since 1900 the proportion of Banyarwanda has increased to about 20%, mainly at the expense of the Basigi who have fallen to about 60% out of a total population in 1966 of about 1650.

In the past members of a clan held their land within the clan's domain as illustrated in figure 1. Domestic heritage was the sole customary way by which a man acquired land. In polygamous families sons usually inherit their mother's land. A father gave some land to his daughters when they married but this did not permit its inheritance by their children because this would be tantamount to transferring land from one clan to another since marriage has always been exogamous. This inheritance cemented the integration of clan lands and possibly gave rise to a nucleated settlement pattern in which three generations lived in close proximity to each other.

However, since 1900 the clans have gradually fused and there is not the strict territorial distinction between clans that there used to be. Part of this change must be attributed to the impact of the colonial regime. Kabale was established as the administrative headquarters of Kigezi in 1914 on a closeby site. In the late 1920's the local government annexed an extensive area in the centre of Rugarama (see fig. ) and turned the land over to a black wattle plantation for local benefit. Since 1962 these lands have been returned to the people for agricultural use. Then in the 1920's both Catholic and Anglican missions acquired land for their missionary and school purposes. More significantly so far as the fragmentation of the land is concerned it became increasingly possible to buy land for cash and thereby acquire property outside one's clan land. As population increased, in fact, it became increasingly necessary to acquire land wherever it may be available. With these developments settlements also became increasingly dispersed.

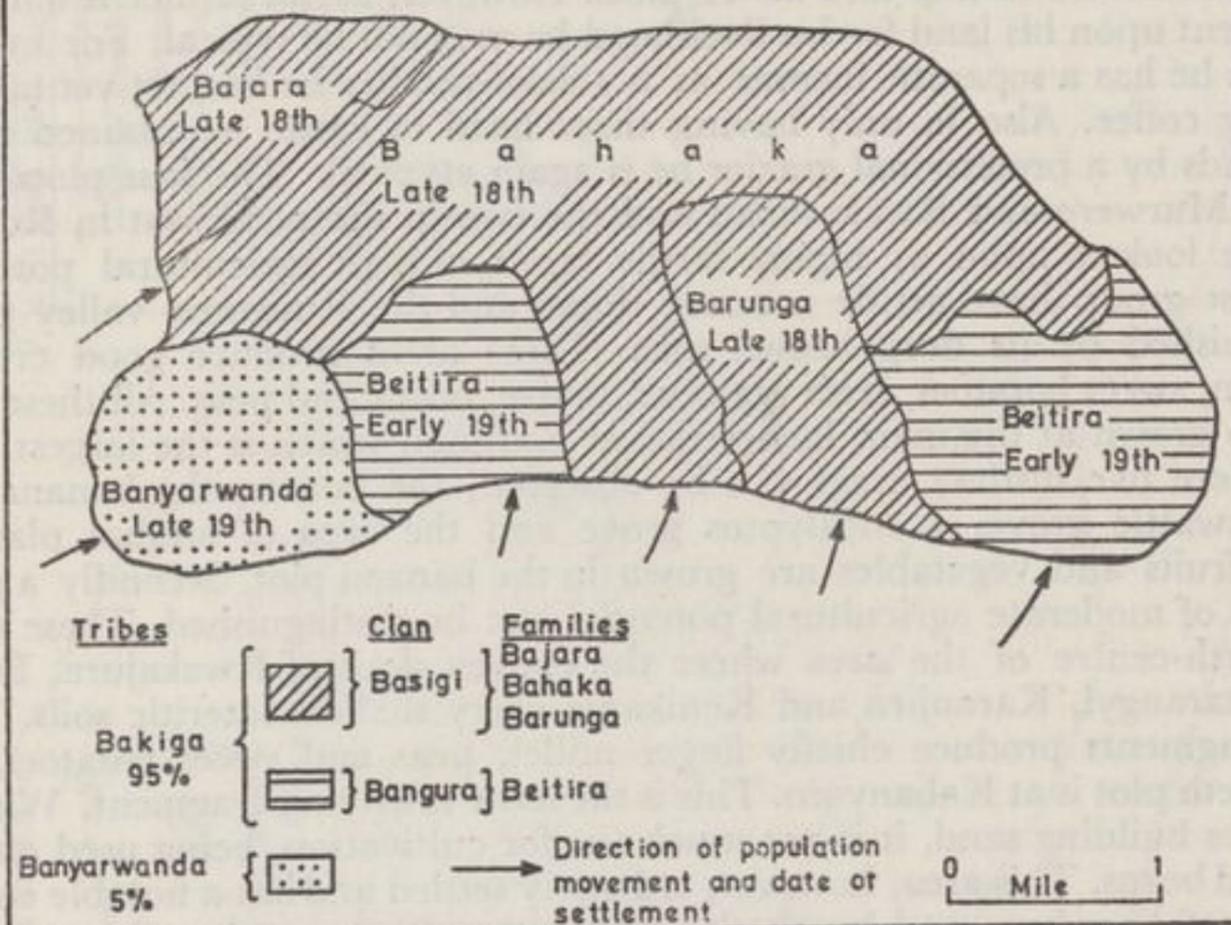
Then in the 1940's onwards another factor contributed to the altering of the landscape, and has some bearing upon the question of fragmentation. Bunding of the hillslopes was introduced by the Department of Agriculture as a means of reducing soil erosion. Contour farming was enforced in strips 25 yards wide. This system of farming influenced the size and location of plots available for sale or plots for one's inheritance became determined by the location of the strips.

To illustrate the nature of land ownership which prevails now, the example of one family may be taken. The farmer in question is a Beitira and inherited two acres in the eastern portion of the Bungura clan lands. However, the course of the twenty years an additional seven acres have been purchased from members of the Basigi clan. The Basigi are inclined to emigrate and this has contributed to the decline in relative importance of the Basigi in Rugarama, and has also facilitated the general fusion of clans in the area. A total of nine acres are now divided into 17 plots. These are mapped on figure 3.

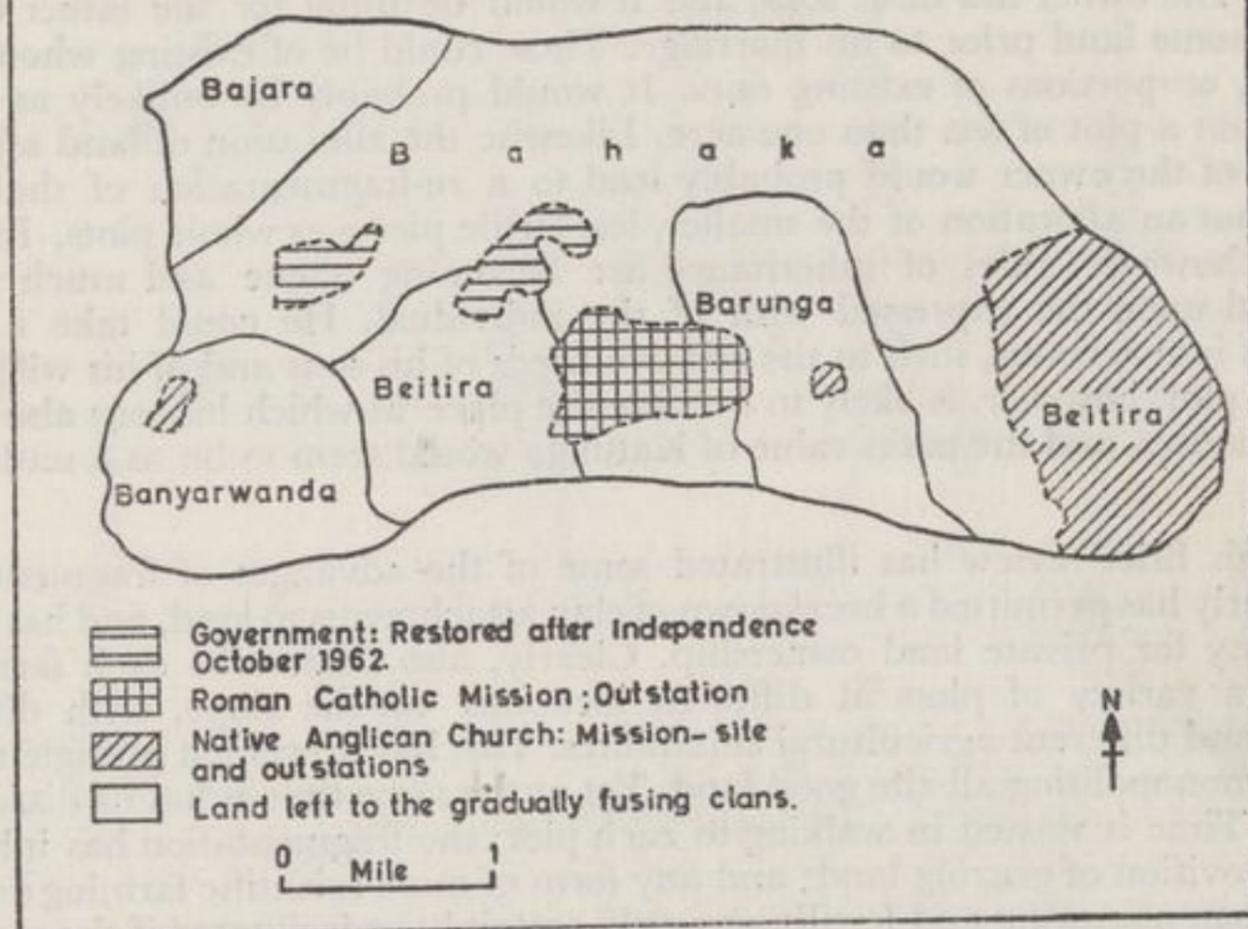
This degree of fragmentaion in Rugarama is not unusual in Kigezi as a whole and is a contributory factor in the lack of development of the district. Rugarama had 1182 people in the 1948 census, 1442 in the 1959, and may be estimated to have 1650 in 1966, of whom 330 are taxpayers. This gives an increasing density of 197, 240 and 275 persons per square mile, which is low compared with many parts around Kabale where densities exceed 1100. The annual rate of growth for Rugarama would seem to be about 2.2% per annum which is very close to Uganda's national average. Between 1951 and 1966, 55 families totalling 290 persons emigrated from Rugarama to found new homes in Ankole and Toro. A contributory factor in this migration has been that young families do not always find the social environment of an extended family congenial. Some, however, left because of a financial inability to acquire more land in Rugarama at the prevailing rate.

About 70% of the land area of Rugarama is under cultivation, including the area of recent swamp drainage. Only 25 acres are under coffee, and this is widely dispersed on small plots. The churches now have 8 acres under coffee, and the remaining 17 acres are divided between 32 families. This represents the main source of cash cropping. Vegetables are grown in the drained swamp and are sold via a co-operative in Kabale. A very small amount of tobacco is grown but the crop requires a lot of care, is difficult to transport and is subject to hail damage. In the main the land is devoted to a very wide range foodcrops of which sweet potatoes and sorghum supply the staple diet, and maize and bean meet subsidiary needs. In addition a small amount of land is

RUGARAMA ABOUT 1900 THE GEOGRAPHY OF CLAN-LANDS; ALSO SHOWING PERIODS OF IMMIGRATIONS



RUGARAMA ABOUT 1940  
SHOWING FORMER CLAN PRESERVES AND LANDS ALIENATED  
BETWEEN 1925-1940.

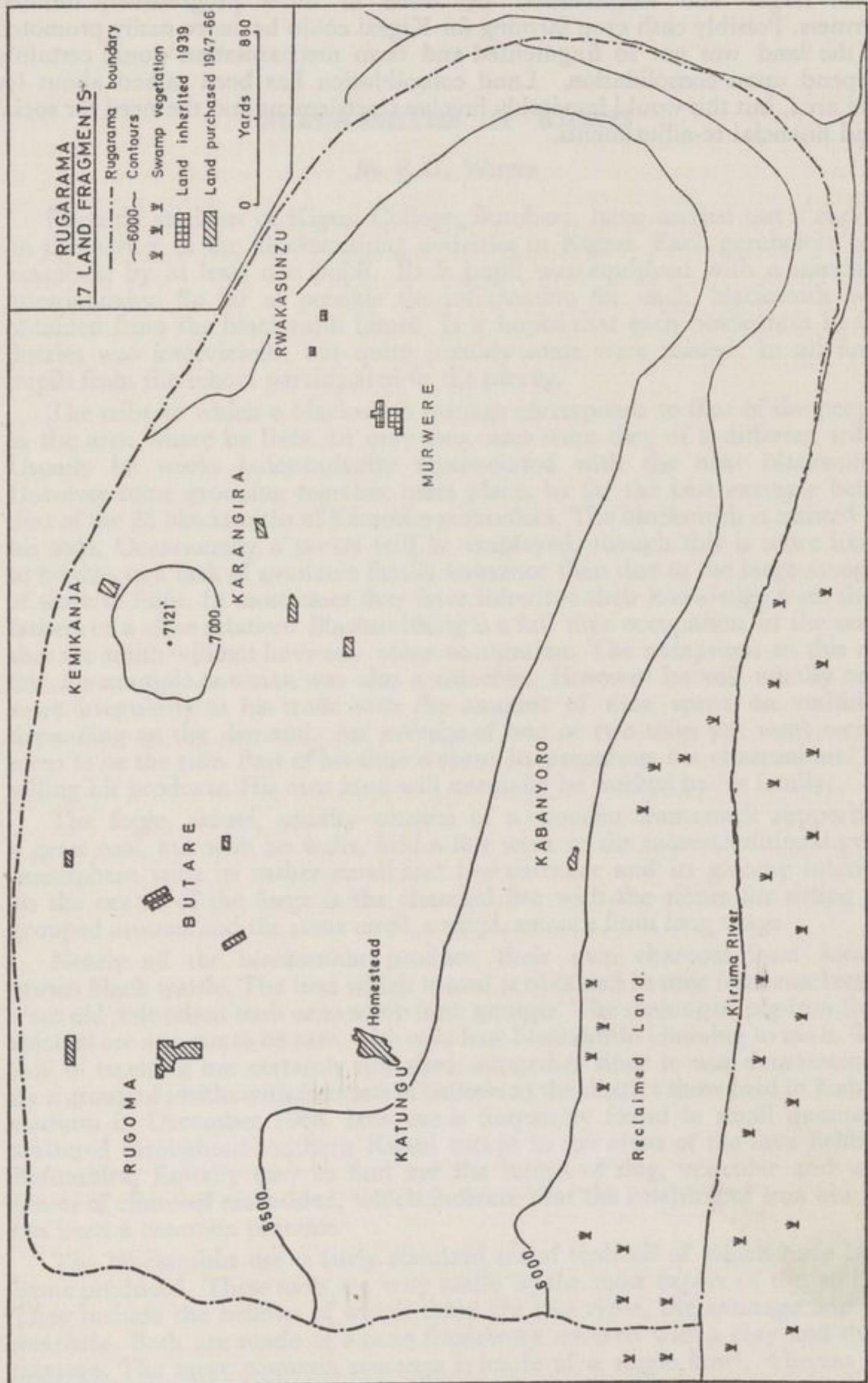


devoted to black wattle and eucalyptus. No special provision is made for cattle grazing, so the cattle have to make do with patches of steep uncultivable waste land or are grazed on fallow lands and the inter-plot bunds.

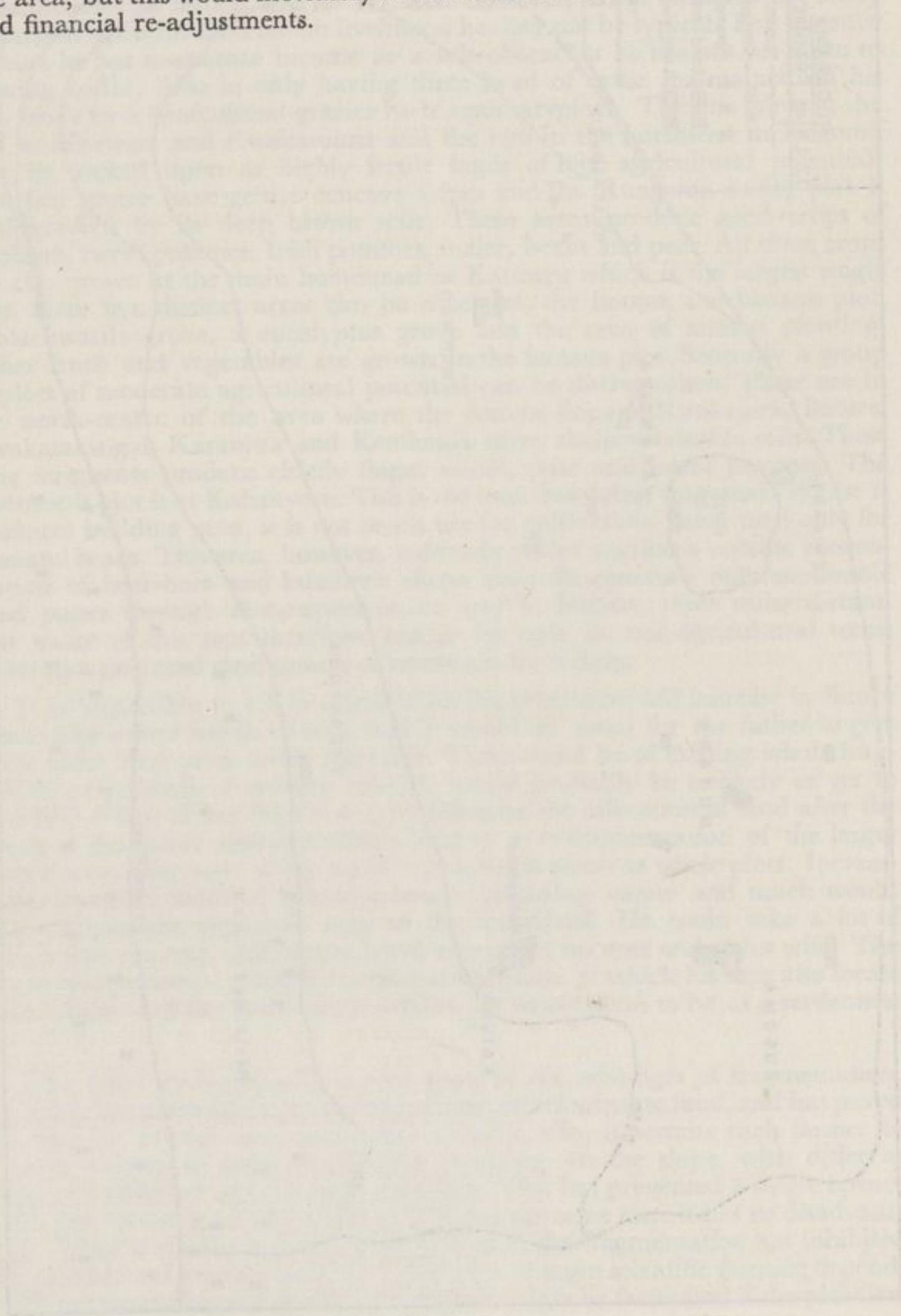
Against this background it is possible to see the effect of fragmentation upon the selected farmer and his 17 plots. However, as this farmer is not solely dependent upon his land for his livelihood he may not be typical. For instance because he has a separate income as a school-teacher he has not yet taken to growing coffee. Also in only having three head of cattle maintained off his own lands by a professional grazier he is again atypical. The four plots in the east in Murwere and Rwakasunzu and the two in the northwest in Rugoma may be looked upon as highly fertile lands of high agricultural potential. The first group have gentle concave slopes and the Rungoma valley plot is distinguished by its deep brown soils. These areas produce good crops of sorghum, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, maize, beans and peas. All these crops are also grown at the main homestead at Katungu which is the largest single plot. Here five distinct areas can be observed, the houses, the banana plot, a blackwattle grove, a eucalyptus grove and the area of annual planting. Other fruits and vegetables are grown in the banana plot. Secondly a group of plots of moderate agricultural potential can be distinguished. These are in the north-centre of the area where the convex slopes of Rwakajura, Butare, Rwakatarangyi, Karanjira and Kenikanja carry shallow lateritic soils. These nine fragments produce chiefly finger millet, peas and sweet potatoes. The seventeenth plot is at Kabanyoro. This is the most low-lying fragment. Whilst it produces building sand, it is not much use for cultivation, being used only for peas and beans. This area, however, is densely settled and has a notable concentration of beer-bars and butcher's shops since Rugarama's only motorable road passes through Kabanyoro on its way to Kabale, three miles distant. The value of this plot therefore has to be seen in non-agricultural terms either as a potential sand quarry or as the site for a shop.

It is impossible to tell how much this fragmentation will increase in future years. The owner has three sons, and it would be usual for the father to give a son some land prior to his marriage. These could be of existing whole fragments, or portions of existing ones. It would probably be unlikely as yet to partition a plot of less than one acre. Likewise the allocation of land after the death of the owner would probably lead to a re-fragmentation of the larger plots but an allocation of the smaller, less fertile pieces as whole plots. Increasingly, however, rules of inheritance are becoming vague and much would depend upon the expressed wish of the individual. He could take a lot of factors into account, such as the relative needs of his sons and of his wife. The home plot, however, is likely to become the place at which his sons also locate their houses, and the main value of Katunga would seem to be as a settlement site.

This brief review has illustrated some of the advantages of fragmentation. It clearly has permitted a breakdown of clan attachments to land, and has paved the way for private land ownership. Clearly, also, it permits each farmer to have a variety of plots at different locations on the slope, with different soils, and different agricultural suitabilities. This has prevented a single farmer from monopolising all the good land. Yet at the same time it has its disadvantages. Time is wasted in walking to each plot; the fragmentation has inhibited the provision of grazing land; and any form of more scientific farming dependent upon manuring and fertilising would certainly be facilitated if the plot sizes



were larger and neighboured by lands of other progressively minded farmers. Possibly cash crop farming for Kigezi could be more easily promoted if the land was not so fragmented and farm mechanisation would certainly depend upon consolidation. Land consolidation has been talked about for the area, but this would inevitably involve resettlement and the need for social and financial re-adjustments.



## BLACKSMITHS OF KIGEZI

By R.G. WHITE

Recently students of Kigezi College, Butobere, have carried out a survey on the nature of the blacksmithing activities in Kigezi. Each gombolola was examined by at least one pupil. Each pupil was equipped with a standard questionnaire. So far as possible the information for each blacksmith was obtained from the blacksmith himself. It is hoped that each blacksmith in the district was interviewed, but quite possibly some were missed. In all forty pupils from the school participated in the survey.

The tribe to which a blacksmith belongs corresponds to that of the people in the area where he lives. In only two cases were they of a different tribe. Usually he works independently unassociated with the next blacksmith. However some grouping together takes place, by far the best example being that of the 23 blacksmiths of Kitumba gombolola. The blacksmith is assisted by his sons. Occasionally a porter will be employed, though this is more likely to be due to a lack of available family assistance than due to the large amount of work to fulfil. In most cases they have inherited their knowledge from their fathers or a close relation. Blacksmithing is a full time occupation in the sense that the smith will not have any other occupation. The exceptions to this are few, for example one man was also a catechist. However he will usually only work irregularly at his trade with the amount of time spent on smithing depending on the demand. An average of one or two days per week would seem to be the rule. Part of his time is spent in preparing his charcoal and in selling his products. His own land will normally be worked by his family.

The forge, *ebirubi*, usually consists of a wooden framework supporting a grass roof, but with no walls. Still a few work in the more traditional grass hemisphere with its rather small and low entrance and its gloomy interior. In the centre of the forge is the charcoal fire with the stones for sitting on grouped around and the stone envil, *oruhijja*, smooth from long usage.

Nearly all the blacksmiths produce their own charcoal from locally grown black wattle. The iron which is used is obtained in rods from markets or from old redundant tools or as scrap from garages. The making of pig-iron from smelted ore appears to be rare, with only four blacksmiths claiming to use it. The skill of smelting has certainly not died altogether since it was demonstrated by a group of smiths with four sets of bellows at the district show held in Kabale stadium in December 1968. Iron ore is frequently found in small quantities scattered throughout southern Kigezi except in the areas of the lava fields of Bufumbira. Equally easy to find are the lumps of slag, vesicular and with pieces of charcoal embedded, which indicate that the smelting of iron ore has been a common practice.

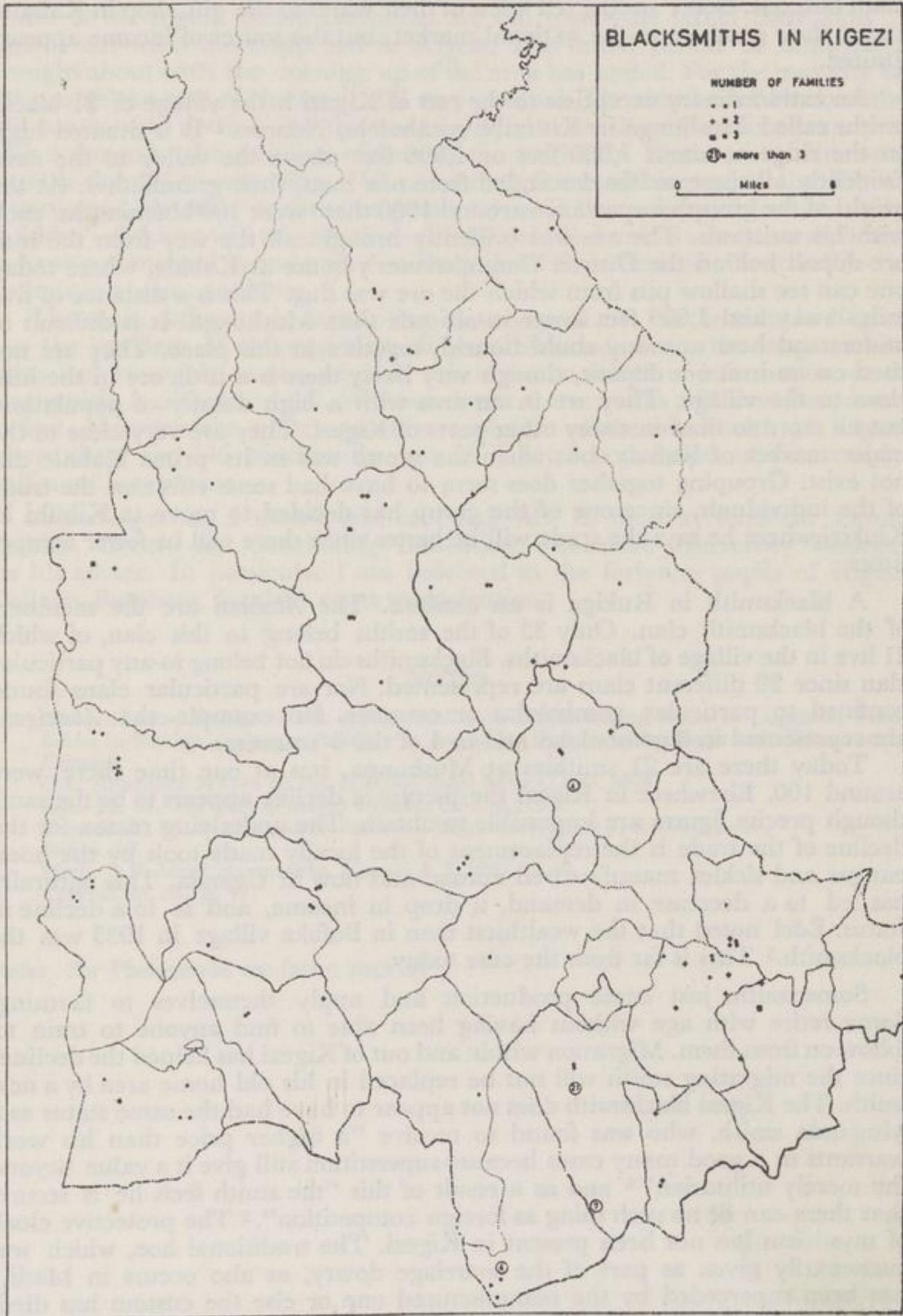
The blacksmiths use a fairly standard set of tools all of which have been home produced. These tools are only made by the most expert of the smiths. They include the bellows of which there are two types, the *omucunga* and the *omuzhuba*. Both are made of a cane framework covered with a clay and dung mixture. The more common *omucunga* is made of a single bowl, whereas the

*omuzhuba* bowl is divided into two compartments. Two *ebicunga* and only one *omuzhuba* are thus used in heating the charcoal. Because the bellows are made partly of inflammable cane a clay funnel, *echuru*, is placed to direct the blast of air from the bellows to the heart of the fire. A poker, *enkyankysru*, is used to clear a passage in the charcoal at the mouth of the *echeru* and to pile up the charcoal. The tools for fashioning the iron include solid hammers, *ebiondo* weighing about eight pounds, and lighter ones, *omwangato*, of about three pounds. The former are more for creating the crude shape and the latter for putting the finishing touches. For helping in the shaping by chopping off surplus iron a simple knife, *eshiijo*, is used. The tapered bar used for shaping the hollowed ends by which the spear heads are fastened to their shafts is termed the *omubunduuro*. All the tools have a Rukiga name.<sup>1</sup>

The blacksmith, *omuhesi*, requires two assistants; one, *omujugusi*, for the bellows and the other, *omutesi*, to assist in the forging of the metal and to make the simpler objects. The latter is usually the son learning the trade. The *omuhesi* and the *omutesi* beat the red hot metal with their hammers alternately until the metal becomes too cool to shape. It is then thrust back into the fire and the *omujugusi* jiggers away. The blacksmith builds up his fire with the poker and splashes the perimeter of the fire with water to ensure that he has just sufficient charcoal to produce just sufficient heat. As soon as the iron is hot again the two forgers hammer away as the bellow boy rests. Where a fine finish is required, cow or goat horn is pressed against the hot metal and run along its surface. This produces a dull black surface which provides a fine contrast to the untreated silvery surface.

- A surprisingly wide range of products are manufactured. These include:
- omusyo*: small knives used for harvesting millet or for peeling matoke and sweet potatoes.
  - empaburizo*: a large knife which is fixed to a stick, suitably shaped for cutting leaves and fruit from banana trees.
  - embaijo*: a jembe shaped tool used for hollowing canoes.
  - efuka*: a hoe, more usually repaired than made.
  - omuhoro*: a sickle shaped cutting tool.
  - omuhunda*: the pointed cone shaped end of walking sticks and spears.
  - orunana*: a long *omuhoro*, but with a smaller head.
  - eichuma*: a spear head.
  - empasha*: an axe head.
  - omwambi*: an arrow head
  - ebihosho*: a tool used in the digging of holes for the posts of houses.
  - emitwerere*: an iron chisel with a curved cross-section, which is used for boring holes in wood.
  - emiterere*: the pointed end for men's walking sticks and which is also used in the digging of pits.
  - enyerere*: the wire, which is worn in coils about the ankles by married women, is bought and then coiled by a blacksmith. There is not actual blacksmithing in the work. The wire is either copper or iron and is wrapped round goat hair.
  - ebitare*: coiled copper wire worn around the wrists.
  - empindu*: big spear shaped needles used for weaving baskets.
  - enjogera*: a bell tied to the dogs used by hunters.

Besides manufacturing, blacksmiths also repair and renovate old implements. The two main outlets for selling are the local market and private



customers. As the trade declines it would appear that the latter provides the main business. Some smiths sell a few of their wares to the gift shop in Kabale, and so their goods enter the national market; but this source of income appears limited.

An extraordinary exception to the rest of Kigezi is the village of 21 blacksmiths called Mushunga in Kitumba gombolola, Ndorwa.<sup>2</sup> It is situated high on the ridge at about 7,000 feet or 1,000 feet above the valley to the east. Evidently all these smiths descended from one man, their grandfather. At the height of the group's importance around 1900 there were 100 blacksmiths, each with his assistants. The ore was evidently brought all the way from the iron ore deposit behind the District Commissioner's house at Kabale, where today one can see shallow pits from which the ore was dug. This is a distance of five miles away and 1,500 feet lower in altitude than Mushunga. It is difficult to understand how so many could flourish together in this place. They are not sited on an iron ore deposit, though very likely there is a little ore in the hills close to the village. They are in an area with a high density of population, but no more so than in many other parts of Kigezi. They are very close to the major market of Kabale, but when the group was in its prime Kabale did not exist. Grouping together does seem to have had some effect on the trade of the individuals, since one of the group has decided to move to Kihiihi in Kinkizi, where he says the trade will be better since there will be fewer competitors.

A blacksmith in Rukiga is an *omuheesi*. The *Abaheesi* are the members of the blacksmith clan. Only 33 of the smiths belong to this clan, of which 21 live in the village of blacksmiths. Blacksmiths do not belong to any particular clan since 29 different clans are represented. Nor are particular clans found confined to particular gombololas or counties, for example the *Abazigaba* are represented in 8 gombololas and in 4 of the 6 counties.

Today there are 21 smithies at Mushunga, but at one time there were around 100. Elsewhere in Kigezi the picture of decline appears to be the same though precise figures are impossible to obtain. The underlying reason for the decline of the trade is the replacement of the locally made tools by the hoes, pangas and sickles manufactured abroad and now in Uganda. This naturally has led to a decrease in demand, a drop in income, and so to a decline in status. Edel noted that the wealthiest man in Bufuka village in 1933 was the blacksmith.<sup>3</sup> This is far from the case today.

Some smiths just cease production and apply themselves to farming. Some retire with age without having been able to find anyone to train to follow on from them. Migration within and out of Kigezi has helped the decline, since the migrating smith will not be replaced in his old home area by a new smith. The Kigezi blacksmith does not appear to have had the same status as a Muganda smith, who was found to receive "a higher price than his work warrants in a good many cases because superstition still give it a value beyond the merely utilitarian"<sup>4</sup> and as a result of this "the smith feels he is secure, that there can be no such thing as foreign competition".<sup>5</sup> The protective cloak of mysticism has not been present in Kigezi. The traditional hoe, which was customarily given as part of the marriage dowry, as also occurs in Madi,<sup>6</sup> has been superseded by the manufactured one or else the custom has died. Further evidence of past activity lies in the name Haruganda, Bufundi, meaning evidently "the place where blacksmiths are", though today there are none.

Although the decline in this trade will continue, it will probably be gradual.

Margaret Trowell stated twentyeight years ago for the craftsmen of Buganda, "most of the highly skilled craftsmen are old men—the last of their kind".<sup>7</sup> This is not what has happened in Kigezi. The initial period of innovation brought about with the opening up of the area has ended. For the majority of the people the rate of change is still very gradual. The number of blacksmiths will continue to decline, but the trade is likely to continue for many years yet. This is shown by the optimism of some of the smiths. In Kyanamira, Ndorwa, a smith claimed to earn Shs. 150 per month from smithing, which in Kigezi is very good. Another in the same gombolola said "even my children and their children's children will take up this art". Of the blacksmiths who were reported to have commented in some way on the state of their business about half were optimistic about conditions.

The main difficulty in attempting to survey all the blacksmiths in Kigezi was the problem of ensuring that all were included. From the map certain areas look strangely empty, whether this is due to a lack of information or of blacksmiths is difficult to tell. Without doubt more smiths will have been overlooked. However the survey provides a picture of the blacksmith of Kigezi where there are 146 blacksmiths out of a total population of very nearly half a million people.

*Aknowledgements.* I should like to thank Mr. S. Brazier, Resident Tutor, Kabale, Centre for Continuing Education, Makerere University College, for his advice. In particular I am indebted to the fortyone pupils of Kigezi College, Butobere, for their eager participation.

#### NOTES

1. Many of these Rukiga words appear similar to blacksmithing terms in Luganda. Thus *Echeru* in Rukiga equates with *Nkero* in Luganda. *Oruhijja* with *Oluyija* and *Ebiondo* with *Ennyondo*.
2. Grid Reference 313549 on the 1:50.000 sheet Map U.S.D. 93/4.
3. Edel. M. M. *The Chiga of western Uganda*. 1957. p.110.
4. Trowell. K. M. Some royal craftsmen of Buganda. *Uganda J.* 8. 1941. p. 47.
5. *Ibid.* p. 50.
6. Birch. J. P. Madi blacksmiths. *Uganda J.* 5. 1937. p. 48.
7. Trowell. *op. cit.* p. 47.

Note: For Photographs see facing page 59

Table 1

	BUFUMBIRA			KINKIIZI			NDORWA			RUBANDA			RUKIGA			RUJUMBURA			TOTALS																	
Tribe	Bukimbiri	Busanza	Chahi	Nyakabande	Nyaruziza	Nyabwishenya	Kambuga	Kayonza	Rutenga	Kirima	Rugyezo	Buhara	Kabalé	Kamaganuzi	Kitumba	Kyanamira	Maziba	Rubaya	Bubale	Bufundi	Ikumba	Muko	Bukinda	Kamwezi	Kashamba	Nyakiscnyi	Nyarusanje	Rwamacucu	Bugangari	Buyanza	Kagunga	Kebisoni	Nyakageme	Ruhinda	TOTALS	
Mukiga ..	1	4	1	2	6	8	3	6	4	4	4	3	7	23	9	4	3	2	1	5	2	1	1	3	2	3	5	7			2	1	113			
Munyarwanda ..	1	4	1	2	6	8	3	6	4	4	4	3	7	22	5	2	2	1	5	1	5	2	1	1	3	2	3	5	7			2	1	16		
Muhororo ..	1	4	1	2	6	8	3	6	4	4	4	3	7	22	5	2	2	1	5	1	5	2	1	1	3	2	3	5	7			2	1	9		
<i>Number of families together</i>	2	4	1	2	5	8	3	6	4	4	4	1	7	22	5	2	2	1	5	1	5	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	6	1	1	2	5	1	109	
1	2	4	1	2	5	8	3	6	4	4	4	1	7	22	5	2	2	1	5	1	5	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	6	1	1	2	5	1	18	
2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	
3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	
4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	
<i>Occupation</i>																																				
Full time ..	..	..	..	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	22	
Seasonal ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	
Two or three days a week ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	64	
Irregular ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37	
<i>Settlement</i>																																				
Family always lived in present location ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	74
Arrived recently, but settled ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	54	
Temporary resident ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	
<i>Charcoal</i>																																				
Made himself ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	121
Bought at Market ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Bought locally ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
<i>Iron</i>																																				
Uses local scrap ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	125
Uses pig-iron from local iron-ore	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4*	
Buys bars from market ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	
<i>Training</i>																																				
From father ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	113
From neighbour ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25

Total Number of Blacksmiths Enumerated = 146 + 8 smiths who were not questioned.  
 \* Usually use local scrap, and sometimes as pig-iron.

Table 2

Clans	KINIKIIZI										NDORWA									
	Bukimbiri	Busanza	Chahi	Nyakabande	Nyaruziza	Nyabwishemanya	Kambuga	Kayonza	Rutenza	Kiritima	Rugyeyo	Buhara	Kabale	Kamaganuzi	Kitumba	Kyanamira	Maziba	Rubaya		
Abahesi	..	2	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	23	1	1	..	..		
Abazigaba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abasingora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abagabira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abasakuru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abahiiga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abagyeyo	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abasinga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abagyescra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abagara	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abarihira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abainika	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abakara	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abagyciri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abasigyi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abazobokyi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abacuzi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abarinda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abagahc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abazira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abaitira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abasyaba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abajecje	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abakimbiri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abanyangabo	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abarengyc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abungura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Abahororo	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Ababumba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		

Table to show the clans of the blacksmiths and their distribution

Table 2

Clans	RUBANDA										RUKIGA										RUJUMBURA									
	Bubale	Bufundi	Ikumba	Muko	Bukinda	Kamwezi	Kashamba	Nyakiscenyi	Nyarusanje	Rwamacucu	Bugangari	Buyanza	Kagunga	Kebisoni	Nyakageme	Rudinda	Totals													
Abahesi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33													
Abazigaba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10													
Abasingora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4													
Abagabira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1													
Abasakuru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1													
Abahiiga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6													
Abagyeyo	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4													
Abasinga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14													
Abagyescra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2													
Abagara	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3													
Abarihira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3													
Abainika	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3													
Abakara	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2													
Abagyciri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8													
Abasigyi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10													
Abazobokyi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2													
Abacuzi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2													
Abarinda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3													
Abagahc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1													
Abazira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2													
Abaitira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4													
Abasyaba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1													
Abajecje	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2													
Abakimbiri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6													
Abanyangabo	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1													
Abarengyc	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2													
Abungura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3													
Abahororo	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1													
Ababumba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1													
Totals	133	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	133													

amongst the Gombololas

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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*Father J. P. Crazzolaro* is a long established authority on the history of the Lwoo, having first written on this subject in the *Uganda Journal* in 1937. At present he is residing at Kangole Mission, Karamoja. He is an Honorary Life Member of the Uganda Society.

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*John Wetherby* has published articles on the Sebei in the *Uganda Journal* previously, but in this issue turns his attention to peoples further north whom he meets between teaching art at the Senior Secondary School Moroto.

*Roger White* has taught geopgraphy at Kigezi College Butobere since, 1962.

## A PRELIMINARY NOTE ON THE SORAT (TEPETH)

By J. WEATHERBY

The Tepeth are a mountain people living in northeastern Uganda, in southern Karamoja. According to a census made in 1964 they number about 2000. Until recently little was known of their culture or language. It has recently been established that there is some similarity of vocabulary between their language and that of the Teuso who live at the northeastern extremity of Karamoja and who call themselves *Ik*. There is also similarity, but to a lesser degree, between the above two languages and that of the Iraqw of northern Tanzania'. Since the Tepeth call themselves by their own name Sorat<sup>2</sup> this name will be used henceforth throughout this paper.

The Sorat occupy three extinct volcanic masses in southern Karamoja, which lie some sixty miles apart, forming the points of a triangle. The southernmost of these is Mount Kadam, the others being Moroto, to the north and Napak to the west, known to the Sorat as Tungi. These mountains are surrounded entirely by pastoral peoples of the Karamojong cluster, except for the Kalenjin Pokot on the southeastern side of Kadam and the Turkana on the eastern side of Moroto. The Karamojong are today the chief enemies of the Sorat who have considerable ties of friendship with the Pokot and with the Sebei<sup>3</sup>.

In the distant past when, according to tradition the Karamojong did not come further south than the Apule River, the Sorat lived partly around the foot of their mountains and moved freely between them and even eastwards into the Karasuk hills. Later the pressure from Karamojong raiders and others forced them to seek safety in the higher altitudes of their mountains where the innumerable caves had always offered a refuge from intruders or wild beasts. The Sorat regard Kadam as their traditional centre and as the repository of much of their secret ritual. The same Sorat clans can be found in Kadam, Moroto and Napak, but it is in Kadam alone that they are traditionally territorial.

The elevation of the plain surrounding the three mountains is approximately 4000 to 4500 feet. Kadam to the south is 10,067 feet, Moroto 10,116 feet and Napak 8300 feet. The surrounding plains are grassland with scattered trees except along rivers where thicket and occasionally forest is formed. All three mountains support a dry montane forest with the southern slopes of Kadam and Moroto considerably drier than the northern. The mean annual rainfall is between 40 and 50 inches on Napak and about 40 inches on Kadam and Moroto, the latter having the driest climate of all three. The rain season continues sporadically from April until September with a short break in June and July.

The earliest account of the Sorat was given by Powell-Cotton in 1903. His photographs show the Sorat of Elgon whom he saw in their natural surroundings. Until 1940 several of the caves in the upper regions of the three mountains were still occupied by the Sorat. Between 1954 and 1956, the Uganda Forestry Department carried out their first demarcation of the Forest Reserve which forced the Sorat to descend below the established boundary. By 1959 most of the community were to be found in the lower valleys of the mountains. In 1963-

64 a revised demarcation took place. It now seems unlikely that the Sorat will succeed in returning to their old habitat in the upper regions.

In spite of the customary raiding between the Sorat and their neighbours, the Sebei and Pokot, enmity has always been less between them than between the Sorat and Karamojong. This affinity between the former three is probably of very long-standing since there is linguistically a considerable common vocabulary underlying the Sorat, Sebei and Pokot languages. Such words of common derivation being regarded by the Sorat in many cases as some of their oldest words. On the other hand the many words of Karamojong to be found in the languages are regarded by the Sorat as merely borrowed.

The staple crops of the Sorat are traditionally sorghum with some eleusine and more recently maize has increased. These are planted in April and harvested in October or November according to altitude. Other crops are beans, pumpkins, cassava and sweet potatoes, and, in addition, varieties of wild spinach and fruits are gathered. Tobacco is also grown. The pumpkins, when sliced and dried are kept in granaries or spare wooden beehives which are stored in caves. Apiculture is extensive, honey being used partly to brew mead, with the fermenting agent being the sausage-like fruit of *Kegelia*. The meat of cattle, sheep, goats and game is important in the diet, as also is milk. Blood is drawn from cattle and goats and is eaten mixed raw with milk. Fish, against which there is no taboo, are caught mainly in the Namalere and rivers of western Kadam. Famines have occurred at least once in very decade, if not more frequently, and have partly caused the temporary settling of Sorat, Sebei and Pokot in each other's territories from time to time in the past. Chicken which were brought to the Sorat originally from Elgon were not known before about 1930 and donkeys came into use even later. Chicken and eggs are eaten freely by women. Men tend not to eat the meat of pigs and wart-hogs, leaving it for girls and children.

Circular fenced compounds standing on areas of level ground are to be seen in the valleys and hill recesses. The compounds may be seen in groups of two to four, where relatives or friends live near one another. A married son may build a hut at first in his father's compound, and remain there a year or two if he and his father get on well together and the women do not quarrel, otherwise he will build another compound close by or move away altogether but remain within the territory associated with his clan. Within the compound of a man (in a section reserved for the family) is the hut of each wife and a hut for the girls. Cooking is done in the yard or in the women's huts. In the part of the compound fenced off for the cattle is a hut for the unmarried men.

There are gardens near the homestead and gardens situated some distance away often on the opposite side of the valley. A wife has garden space according to her physical strength. Men clear the virgin ground of trees and women usually do the digging and cultivating. If hunger or disease weaken the women, their men will help them if they can. In a polygynous household wives of equal staying power help to preserve peace in the household, since a weak wife, married perhaps for her physical attraction, may receive help from her husband in cultivation and be a cause of jealousy.

Traditional Sorat huts have a central pole and a domed roof of grass. Today roofs can sometimes be seen which are mud smeared, a style adopted from the neighbouring Pokot. There are granaries built near the huts and others stand in the gardens. They are built high off the ground on stilts from 5 to 6 feet in height. In the gardens they are frequently used to store wooden

bowls or pots. Formerly the men went naked or wore skins of cattle or of wild animals. The skin covered the back and shoulders and was fastened in front for warmth. The wearing of baboon skins denoted prestige and importance in the community. Today the men wear a light cloth over one shoulder in the manner of the surrounding tribes. Before the adoption of the Karamojong style of mud hairdo, the Sorat traditional style, which is still common, is a somewhat elongate plain bun of hair which gives the appearance of an elongated cranium. The women wear the pubic leather apron and long pleated skin skirt of the surrounding pastoral peoples, but formerly the Sorat style was a short pubic apron of skin and a short skirt tied to hang down, just above the knee level.

The Sorat appear to possess some thirty to thirtyfive clans. Of these nine claim foreign origins. The same clan names can be found in any of the three mountain areas. The fact that in Kadam alone the clans are associated with their particular territories would appear to strengthen the impression that the man claims to know of all the lineages of his clan in Kadam. In some cases this may be possible. At one time, certainly before the diffusion of the Sorat by the forestry laws (which some twenty years ago forced them to leave the higher altitudes and caves and to settle in the foothills and on the edge of the plain) the clans tended to keep to their own territorial areas.<sup>4</sup> The clans never recognized any particular leaders but clan elders would assemble on occasion in their territorial area to discuss important matters.

The Sorat have their centres of ritual in Kadam and rain-making is an ancient practice. The climate of Kadam is considerably drier than that of Elgon, 30 miles to the south where rain-making was never a known practice among the Sebei. The Sorat also have a type of Ritual Expert, *Ich*, who corresponds to the *Worrgoyandet* of the Sebei, *orkoiyot* of the Nandi, and *Werregoin* of the Pokot. The originator of this office in Kadam is traditionally said to have come from the northern Cherangani hills. He is also reputed to have come from a clan of that region called Kapcai.<sup>5</sup> It is perhaps significant that the Sorat call the Pokot of the northern Cherangani hills *Cepcai*.

The *Ich* of the Sorat does not play any direct part in the control of the society, nor do the Sorat appear to have any form of discussant comparable to the *Kirwogindet* of the Sebei and related groups. Sorat are emphatic that when crime is committed, revenge should not be taken independently by the victims relatives or clansmen. Available elders will meet to give their opinion and repayment in the form of cattle will be decided upon. The compensation will be made even if it demands the raiding of herds as distant as one of the other two mountains.

Cattle and theft are the main cause of lawlessness and violence among the Sorat. Fratricide can arise since the father provides one source of cattle for his sons. Murder is therefore less likely to occur between cousins. Overt fratricide would lead to the death of the culprit, although selfhelp is severely disapproved of. Fratricide by secret means would lead to the remaining brothers dividing the cattle and wives. Ill treatment and beating of older people would lead to an apology of gifts being made for fear of mystical sanctions later. Any individual of either sex, adult or child, if persecuted and clearly innocent can with confidence retaliate effectively by pronouncing curses.

The Sorat believe that all the Spirits of the dead live on invisibly in the upper regions of their mountains. There is a society of elders who alone act as mediators between these spirits and the living community. This society is a permanent institution, new members being elected from any clan as the older

ones die out. Rites are performed by the society after the death of any adult male or female but only the society members are present at the ceremonies. It is forbidden for lay-men and women (except for certain female members of the dead family) to be present, this being primarily for their protection since fear would in any case keep them away. The same society alone performs the necessary rituals in the presence of the spirits, when any man wishes to placate the spirits at a time when disease or adversity is troubling his family. Planting and harvesting of staple food and ceremonies for rain are carried out at times appointed by the society who perform the necessary rites in seclusion. When it is necessary that women should be present at such rites they are kept out of sight in a special hut near the place of ritual. Thus on vital occasions throughout their lives the people are dependent on their relationship with the throng of spirits who are never far away, and the mediators between the dead and the living are firstly the esoteric society of elders and secondly the women. The status of the latter is doubtless favourably affected by their participation in the rites. This whole dialogue between dead and living imparts a unifying influence upon the community and can be seen as a controlling factor in event of internal strife.

The future of the Sorat as a somewhat unique community is not a bright one. It is questionable whether their culture and traditions will be maintained by the present young generation. They give the impression of being an alert and active people. Unfortunately only a handful have so far reached primary schools and none have gone to secondary schools. The remoteness of their homes is, in most cases, a drawback and the backwardness of their milieu causes a breakdown in school fees and school attendance. Three men known to the writer to have worked as labourers in Kampala (probably the first to reach that area) returned to their mountain and prefer the more healthy existence of those altitudes. In Moroto mountain a number of homesteads are within easy reach of the town. The proximity of an urbanized area contrasting with the backward life and poverty of the Moroto Sorat has an adverse effect on their well-being. Only the older generation of those in Moroto Mountain still speak Sorat, the remainder use the Karamojong language. Sorat who hail from Kadam look with disapproval on the mixed culture and the disregard for tradition of those on Moroto.

The Sorat, a small mountain community surrounded by aggressive tribes have preserved their traditional institutions and way of life and language to a remarkable degree. The above few notes could suggest that this is due, not only to the fact of their being a mountain people living in remote places, but, also to their unique spirit Cult which is vital to the well being of their community and has acquired for them a notoriety among surrounding people, of being possessors of a dangerous and powerful magic.

See also page 124 for Notes

## MAMMALIAN FOSSILS FROM THE PLEISTOCENE OF LAKE EDWARD AND THE KAZINGA CHANNEL

By W. KROMMENHOEK

### **Introduction.**

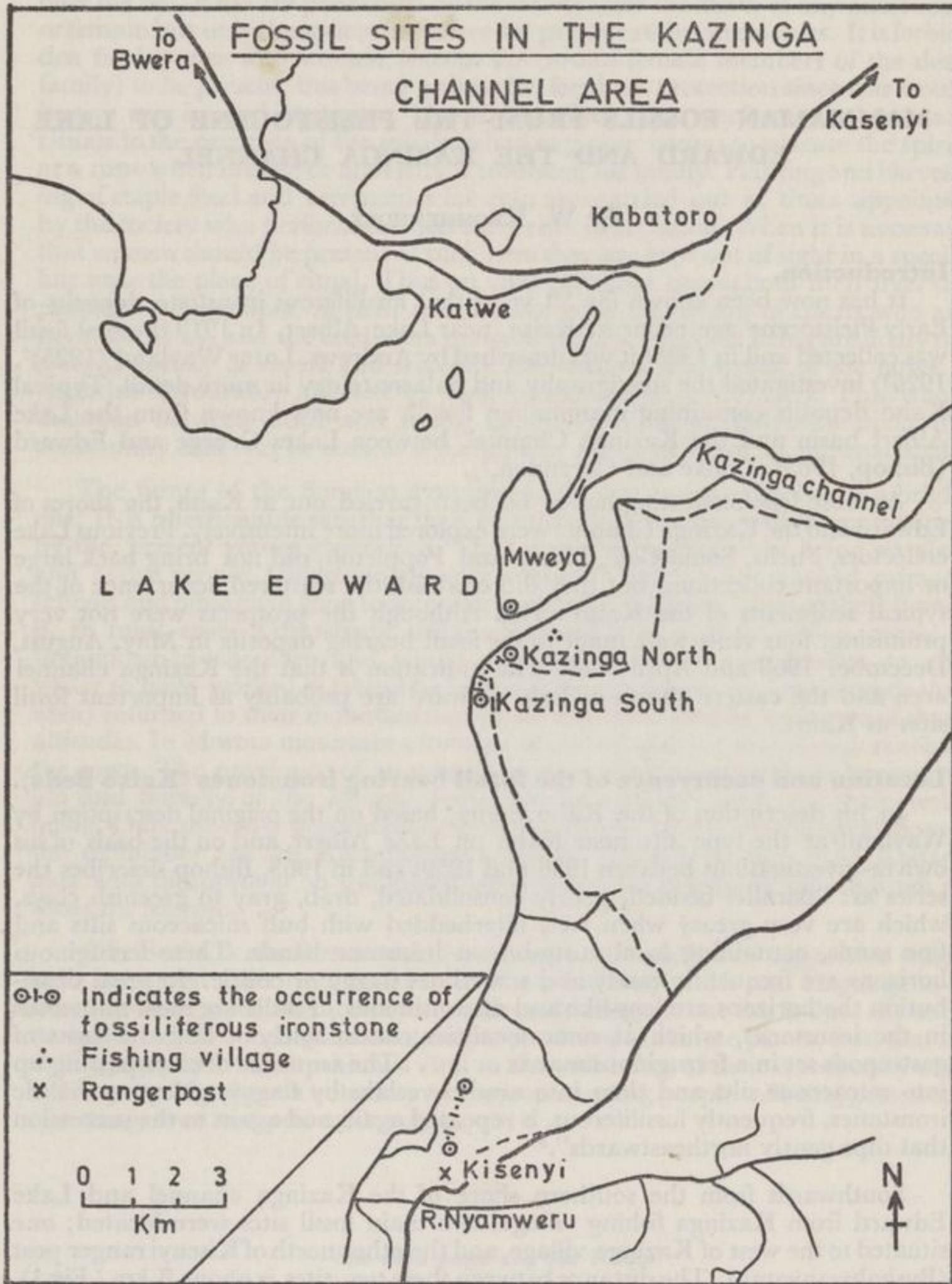
It has now been known for 50 years that fossiliferous ironstone deposits of Early Pleistocene age occur at Kaiso, near Lake Albert. In 1919 the first fossil was collected and in 1923<sup>1</sup> it was described by Andrews. Later Wayland (1925)<sup>2</sup>, 1926<sup>3</sup>) investigated the stratigraphy and palaeontology in more detail. Typical Kaiso deposits containing mammalian fossils are now known from the Lake Albert basin and the Kazinga Channel, between Lakes George and Edward (Bishop, 1965<sup>4</sup>; Cooke and Coryndon,<sup>5</sup>).

As most fossil collecting has so far been carried out at Kaiso, the shores of Edward and the Kazinga Channel were explored more intensively. Previous Lake collectors, Fuchs, Sonia Cole, Bishop and Poppleton, did not bring back large or important collections, but they did establish the scattered occurrence of the typical sediments of the Kaiso series. Although the prospects were not very promising, four visits were made to the fossil bearing deposits in May, August, December 1968 and April 1969. The indication is that the Kazinga channel area and the eastern shores of Lake Edward are probably as important fossil sites as Kaiso.

### **Location and occurrence of the fossil bearing ironstones (Kaiso Beds).**

In his description of the Kaiso Series, based on the original description by Wayland at the type site near Kaiso on Lake Albert, and on the basis of his own re-investigations between 1956 and 1959, and in 1963, Bishop describes the series as: "parallel bedded, poorly consolidated, drab, gray to greenish clays, which are very greasy when wet, interbedded with buff micaceous silts and fine sands, containing local rusty-brown ironstone bands. These ferruginous horizons are frequently sandy and sometimes flaggy or oolitic. In areal distribution the horizons are lens-like and discontinuous. Fossils are most numerous in the ironstones, which at some localities consist solely of limonite casts of gastropods set in a ferruginous matrix . . . . . The sequence of clays passing up into micaceous silts and then into sands overlain by flaggy, gritty, or oolitic ironstones, frequently fossiliferous, is repeated again and again in the succession that dips gently northeastwards"<sup>4</sup>.

Southwards from the southern shore of the Kazinga channel and Lake Edward from Kazinga fishing village, two main fossil sites were located; one situated to the west of Kazinga village, and the other north of Kisenyi ranger post (Bushabwanyama). The distance between these two sites is about 8 km (Fig 1). Each site is approximately 1.5 km in extent and consists of a number of open patches of Kaiso clay, covered with weathered ironstone. This ironstone appeared to have washed out from lens-shaped horizons which were visible in situ in several places. The height of these spots varied from 2 to 30 metres, above the level of the lake. The terrain between the two main sites is covered by vegetation, and so the occurrence of fossiliferous ironstone could not be



fossil site is approximately 1.5 km in extent and consists of a number of open patches of later clay covered with weathered ironstone. The ironstone appeared as have washed out from land-slipped banks which were visible in situ in several places. The height of these spots varied from 2 to 10 metres above the level of the lake. The terrain between the two main sites is covered by vegetation, and to the occurrence of fossiliferous ironstone could not be

established. The same is true for the northern shore of Kazinga channel. One exception, however is Mweya peninsula where some mammalian fossils and ironstones were found.

Fossils were scattered all over the surface as a result of weathering. Except for gastropods, no fossils were found in situ. As a result of this, the procedure of fossil collecting only involved searching an area, whenever a new spot was found within each main site. As in Bishop's description, lateral facies-changes in the ironstone were found; sometimes over a distance of only a few metres changing from sandy into oolitic. The lens-like and discontinuous character of the ironstone could be seen clearly; in some cases lenses had a diameter of only a few metres. On the average the thickness of the ironstone bands varies from 10 to 30cm. Whether the sequence of clays and ironstones is repeated, is questionable for the Kazinga area. According to observations in the Kazinga site, the lenses are arranged in banks which dip gently northeastwards, showing one horizon in the northern part, two in the middle and three at the southern end. What Bishop described as Kisegi Series and Wasa Beds<sup>4</sup> were probably found at the Kazinga site. The former were distinguished by the presence of gypsum crystals and calcareous nodules, the latter were recognised from the occurrence of several Acheulean artifacts, including easily determinable hand-axes.

#### Faunal evidence

In his description of the occurrence of fossils in the Kaiso deposits Bishop mentions: "Throughout the Kaiso deposits fossils are relatively common. Molluscs are most abundant, fish are frequent, and reptiles (mainly crocodile) are constantly present. Mammals occur sparingly and are concentrated in particular patches. It is possible to trace a lateral change in the fauna of one ironstone band from molluscs through fish and reptiles to hippopotamus with only occasional mammals . . ." Most of this description fits the Kazinga deposits perfectly. However, the lateral change in fauna was not always very convincing. Indeed, there were concentrations of gastropods and molluscs with almost no vertebrate remains, but on most occasions careful searching yielded invertebrates as well as fishes, reptiles and mammals from almost every site. Only in a very few cases, where the ironstone consisted solely of gastropods, were there no mammalian remains.

A preliminary list of the fossil mammals from Kazinga channel includes:

- Suidae: *Mesochoerus limnetes* Hopwood  
 \**Nyanzachoerus* n. sp. 'A'  
 \**Nyanzachoerus* n. sp. 'B'  
*Phacochoerus* sp.
- Proboscidea: *Archidiskodon* sp.  
*Loxodonta* cf. *africanavus* Aranbourg  
*Mastodon* sp.  
*Stegodon* sp.
- Hippopotamidae: *Hippopotamus* cf. *amphibius* L.  
 \**Hippopotamus* *imaguncula* Hopwood.
- Bovidae: *Alcelaphus* sp.  
*Kobus* sp.  
 cf. *Onotragus* sp.  
*Redunca* sp.  
*Strepsiceros* sp.

\* Indicates that Specimens were found at Kisenyi as well as Kazinga.

Hippopotamus remains comprise 60% of all fragments; Bishop found 63% for specimens collected in the Kisegi-Wasa region. Next, the *Bovidae*, *Suidea* and *Proboscidea* follow in numerical importance. In my opinion there are no principal differences in the faunal composition of the Kazinga and Kisenyi sites. In both localities dwarf hippo material is abundant and the two *Nyanzachoerus* species were also found in both sites.

As can be seen from the faunal list, most species are found at the Kazinga site. But only three days were spent in the Kisenyi area and most effort was made at the Kazinga site. A distinction between Kazinga North and Kazinga South appeared to be purposeless as no differences in faunal composition were noticed.

Except one lower jaw fragment with M2 and part of M3 of *Loxodonta* cf. *africanavus*, the proboscidean material is rather fragmentary. The same is true for the bovid material. With the exception of a mandibular fragment of *Kobus* sp. with one molar, the material consists of separate teeth, frequently broken and fragmentary.

In some cases it is not impossible that the covering matrix is Katwe ashes. This would indicate a much younger age than the real Kairo Series specimens. In these cases the state of fossilisation of this obviously washed-in material looks different from the iron-impregnated Kairo specimens.

In contrast with the material from the Kairo and Kisegi-Wasa areas, no Equidae of lower Pleistocene age were found in the Kazinga Channel area.

#### Brief description of the Suidae and Hippopotamidae

*Suidae*. Among a premolar and a molar fragment of *Phacochoerus* sp. and some small indeterminate fragments, the collection includes:

*Mesochoerus limnetes* Hopwood (1926): right canine, the preserved part of which is 42 mm. long, unworn.

*Nyanzachoerus* n. sp. 'A'.<sup>6</sup>

	Length	Breadth
2 unworn incisors		
left maxillary fragment with P3		
right P3, unworn	24.5	17
left M3, slightly worn	52.5	33.5

*Nyanzachoerus* n.sp. 'B'.<sup>6</sup>

	Length	Breadth
right P3, worn, damaged		
right P3, slightly worn	20	16
left P3, worn damaged		
left P4, worn	22	17
left M2, worn	38	29.5
3 fragments of M3 and M3		
left M3, slightly worn	69	34

*Hippopotamidae*. The collection includes about 40 identifiable molars and premolars, including elements of the deciduous dentition, some of which are emplaced in a mandibular or maxillary fragment; 45 smaller fragments of molars and premolars; 2 larger fragments of canine, 4 of incisor and another 20 smaller fragments thereof; 2 fragments of right maxilla, each with the roots of canines and 2 premolars; 1 mandibular fragment with the roots of 3 incisors, the canine and 2 premolars, and another 6 smaller jaw fragments.



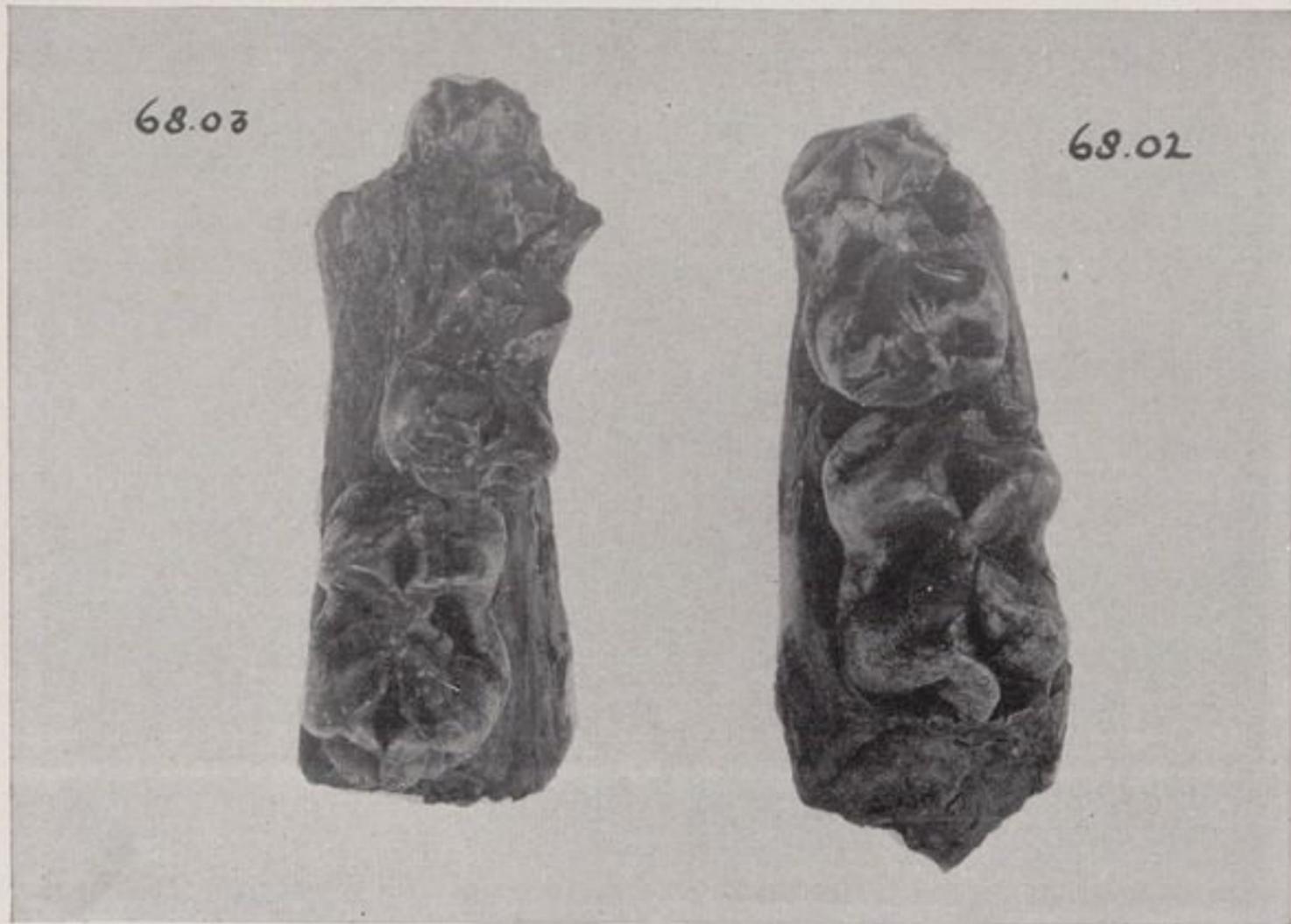
A. Left M 3 of *Nyanzachoerus* n.sp. 'B' (left) and *Nyanzachoerus* n.sp. 'A' (right)



B. *Loxodonta africanava* lower jaw fragment with M 2 and part of M 3.



C. *Hippopotamus imaguncula*: lateral view of left mandible with broken canine, part of P2 and complete P3 and P4.



D. *Hippopotamus imaguncula*: right mandibular fragment with D M 2 and M 1 (left); and left mandibular fragment with M 1 and M 2

The majority of the specimens represents *Hippopotamus imaguncula*. A full account of this material may be given at a later date, when the description of the Kaiso material by Cooke and Coryndon has been published, so only a brief mention of the most outstanding specimens is made here. *Hippopotamus* cf. *amphibius* L. Right M2, worn (length 49 mm, breadth 41 mm).

***Hippopotamus imaguncula* Hopwood (1926).**

		Length	Breadth
Left mandibular fragment with the roots of 1-13, fragment of C, fragment of P2 and P3-P4. Width of the 3 incisor alveoles 110 mm, max. diameter of C 43.5 mm, min. diameter 25 mm .. .. .	P2	31	18
	P3	33.5	21.5
	P4	36	25
Right mandibular fragment with slightly worn M1, not fully erupted M2 and last deciduous molar. .. .. .	M1	39	26.5
Left mandibular fragment with .. .. . M1 and M2 .. .. .	M1	38	26
	M2	44	30
Right maxillary fragment with M1, worn	M1	41	35.5
Left M1 .. .. .	—	39	27.5
Right M2 .. .. .	—	42.5	38
Left M2 .. .. .	—	42.5	31.5

According to Prof. H.B.S. Cooke (personal communication), the Kazinga specimens tend to be bigger than the corresponding Kaiso material, indicating the existence of at least two different types of dwarf hippopotamus. Further statistical analysis has yet to reveal whether these differences in size are significant or not and may lead to a distinction at the subspecific level.

**Acknowledgements**

I am indebted to the Ministry of Culture and Community Development, for without the license kindly given for fossil collecting this work would not have been possible. I want to thank Fr. B.A.M. Kuipers, headmaster of Namilyango College, for his generous help to make possible the first and second Kazinga expeditions in which Namilyango students participated. I am very much indebted to Dr. H.B.S. Cooke for his identification of the pigs and Dr. A. Walker for his stimulating comments. Next I want to thank Fr. B. Hayes who joined me in the field on every occasion and is responsible for many of the finds. Also Fr. J. Fraughen, Mr. J. Berntsen and Mr. D. Greenberg for their help during the December 1968 and April 1969 fieldwork, and last but not least Mr. A. Labongo and his staff of the Queen Elizabeth National Park who made the actual work in the field possible. The success of all the expeditions is due in no small way to their generous help and co-operation.

## NOTES

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3. Wayland, E.J. and others. *The Geology and Paleontology of the Kaiso Bone-Beds*. Entebbe 1926, *Occasional Paper, no. 2.*
4. Bishop, W.W. Quaternary geology and geomorphology in the Albertine Rift Valley, Uganda. (*Geological Society of America Special Paper, 84*, pp. 293—321.)
5. Cooke, H.B.S. and Coryndon, S. Pleistocene mammals from the Kaiso Series and other related deposits in Uganda (in press).
6. Dr. H.B.S. Cooke of Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada, has identified the suid material and reports that it includes specimens belonging to each of two new species of *Nyanzachoerus* which are being described in a joint paper with Dr. R.F. Ewer. Both these species occur at Kanapoi, northwestern Kenya (Patterson 1966). *Nyanzachoerus 'A'* is fairly close to *Nyanzachoerus Kanamensis*, Leakey (1958). *Nyanzachoerus 'B'* has relatively larger and more complexly folded third molars, although the teeth are not very hypsodont.

*Note* In the tables overleaf the initials are used as follows:— I=incisor, C=canine, P=premolar, M=molar. Bold numbers have been used to distinguish teeth from the upper jaw (maxilla) and italic numbers for teeth from the lower jaw (mandible).

### UNDERWATER SOUND IN LAKE EDWARD

By E. E. SUCKLING, I. DUNN, S. K. ELTRINGHAM and J. M. LOCK

We have commenced to look for underwater sounds of biological origin in Lake Edward and the Kazinga Channel in the Queen Elizabeth National Park, Uganda. A few sound patterns probably originating from lungfish, catfish or other species have been heard. It is difficult to do this work at night because a background of sound originating under the water has been found which dominates the environment in most areas in which we have worked during darkness. This background sound which is almost entirely absent during the day is heard at a level of 5—15 dynes per square centimeter and comprises at least three distinct patterns. Pattern (a) can be compared very closely to the noise made by a steam engine drawing a load at a slow speed up a hill. The "sh-sh" sounds occur about four times a second. The sound seems to come from organisms which are synchronising with each other over a large area. If the amplifier is gradually turned down and then it is sometimes possible to hear the sound directly through the air. It does not appear to come through the boat hull. Pattern (b) is often heard at the same time as (a) and is like the movement of sand being stirred about in water in a basin or like the sound of a maeacca being swung about or moved slowly. It repeats at about 50 periods a minute or more slowly. Pattern (c) is very reminiscent of crickets or cicadas and in fact with a boat near the shore there has sometimes been a suspicion (ultimately proved false) that crickets were the actual origin of the sound. Pattern (c) can sometimes be detected in the water near to weeds during the daytime.

Some of the sounds have been obtained in dishes of lake water in the laboratory in which practically the only non-microscopic organisms were corixids. In one experiment, patterns (a) and (c) were obtained until the smaller (1 millimeter) water beetles ultimately left the water. Pattern (a) was then definitely associated with the larger ( $\frac{1}{2}$  centimeter long) specimens. Disturbance of the water caused pattern (c) stop for a few seconds. It is possible that all the sound patterns are from corixids but that different species generate or synchronise in different ways. It is presumed that the sounds have an ecological significance under water corresponding to that of the sounds of crickets or cicadas on land.

The hydrophone used in listening to these underwater sounds was a C.I.C. model SB 154-C. The sounds were heard in the month of December.

### LAVA TUNNELS IN KIGEZI

By A. L. JOB

Tunnels in the lava deposits of the Kisoro area of Kigezi have been known since 1909, and have been written about from the scientific standpoint by E. J. Wayland (Lava tunnels and some possible gas effects in Bufumbira, *Nature*, Vol. 200, October 1963). The Duke of Mecklenburg had entered this region in 1907 and commented on the tunnels in *In the heart of Africa*, 1910, p.119. Wayland had examined the caves in 1919 and found a lunette of the Wilton culture. The

Duke of Mecklenburg was shown a tunnel containing a heap of patinated bones, but these were shown to him only under an oath of secrecy as to its whereabouts. Thus the tunnels may well be deserving of further excavation.

I entered a tunnel not far off the track leading to Schandl's camp at the foot of Muhavura. Walter Baumgartel of the Traveller's Rest and myself were guided by Reuben, the well known mountain guide. The tunnel extends in the general direction of Muhavura for perhaps 500 or 600 yards in length and finally ends in a narrow fissure. For the most part one can walk upright in the tunnel except for one short section where the roof drops to only four and a half feet above the floor. One extraordinary feature was the extreme regularity and smoothness of the walls over some distance. The roof was arched and the effect was that of a man-made tunnel cast in cement. The tunnels would seem to have been formed by flowing lava. The smooth walls give the appearance of water flow action, but water has not, it seems, been a factor of any importance.

I was told that this particular tunnel also extended in the opposite direction from the point at which I entered and that other tunnels existed in these basalt lava fields.

### YAMS IN EAST AFRICA

By D. G. COURSEY

Professor Posnansky in the review of my book, *Yams*, in the last issue of the *Uganda Journal* discusses the possibility of the distribution of yams in East Africa being more widespread in the past than my book stated. I would like to take up further this point about the importance of yams outside the West African Yam Belt, and in East Africa in particular. I must start off by confessing that I have never been further east in Africa than Tanganyika Province of the Congo, and that only for a short time, and so I only have my knowledge second-hand. I do realise that yam may formerly have been grown rather more than today, but I still think that its importance was always less than Posnansky appears to suggest. I have looked up the reference which he gave, and see that Kirwan has made the regrettably common confusion of including other crops with yams. He spoke of "three main species of yam", but of course cocoyam is the same plant as is so-called in West Africa, *Colocasia*, which is an aroid. It is southeast Asian in origin, and reached Africa only comparatively recently, though certainly earlier than the sweet potato, possibly through Malaysian influence via Madagascar, or, in my opinion more likely, across Asia to the Mediterranean ca. 500 B.C. It was in the eastern Mediterranean in classical times. Then diffusion southwards brought it into Africa (See Burkill). *Mmere y'omu ttaka* is the true yam, *Dioscorea*, though which species I cannot be sure (probably several), while *nnumbu* is, from the description, *Coleus*, otherwise known as *Solenostemon*. The former name is better known, but the latter, I am told, the botanically valid one. *Coleus* seems to have been grown all over Africa, but it is a very poor crop plant. Not only is it labour consuming, but the yields are very low. As far as I can see, it is only *Coleus* for which there is any definite linguistic or other evidence of displacement by sweet potato. I am sure that the real yam was displaced to some extent by the introduction of sweet potato, but my main thesis in this matter is that yams (i.e. *Dioscorea*) were never very important crops in Africa outside the yam zone.

## THE END OF JACOB WAINWRIGHT AND AN AFRICAN ODYSSEY

By H. B. THOMAS

Jacob Wainwright will be remembered as one of the 'Faithfuls' who brought Livingstone's body to Zanzibar in 1874. Speaking English, he alone of his companions came to England to be present at the funeral in Westminster Abbey. Later he spent some years in Uganda as is described in *Uganda Journal* 15, 1951, pp. 204-5. This ends with the question "What was the end of Jacob"? A question which can now be answered.

It was my privilege to be in intimate contact with that great Africanist, Dr. Edwin Smith, in his later years. Shortly before his death in 1957, he passed on to me a virtually completed script of *An African Odyssey: the story of two porters, Mombai (c Bon:bay) and Mabruki*, for the publication of which he had not been able to arrange. In the appendix is 'A note on Livingstone's and Stanley's men, and, against Jacob's name, I have recently noted a note, "He was afterwards in the employ of Mr. Draper of L.M.S. at Urambo and died there sometime after 1888. I owe this reference to the Rev. Dr. Macnair. E.W.S." (Dr. Macnair was the first director of the Livingstone National Memorial at Blantyre, Scotland).

This accords well with the recorded movements of the devoted missionary, Walter Draper, (1861-1927). He had come to Urambo in 1888 and, latterly singled-handed, remained to hand over the mission station to the Moravians in 1898 (see, N. R. Bennett, *The London Missionary Society at Urambo 1878-1898*, *Tanzania Notes and Records*, 65, March 1966, pp. 49-52.).

\* \* \* \* \*

The script of *An African Odyssey* has been deposited in the Library of the Royal Commonwealth Society in London, and can be commended to the notice of students and others interested in the opening up of equatorial Africa during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In essence the remarkable story of the association of Bombay and Mabruki with most of the prominent explorers of their day—Burton, Speke, Grant, Von der Decken, Livingstone, Stanley, Cameron, Charles New, Shergold Smith and Alexander Mackay. This is also a glowing tribute to the astonishing endurance and loyalty of the caravan porters who were, by common consent, the indispensable support of those who were probing the way into the interior of the continent a hundred years ago. It is moreover the distinguished author's last testament of his affection for the peoples of Africa to whose service he had devoted his life and outstanding literary gifts.

### A NOTE ON THE END OF THE LIMI.

By A.T. MATSON

Writing to Mr. H.B Thomas in May 1967, Charles Stokes' son, Mr. Charles Kasaja Stokes, states that his mother, Nyanjala, remembers that the *Limi* was 'used many times' after Stokes' death in January 1895 until it became a total wreck near Munyonyo-Salama, a few miles south of Port Bell. She cannot however recall who operated it or when the wreck occurred.

Until news of Stokes' death reached Uganda later in 1895, the *Limi* presumably continued to sail under the command of Stokes' Muslim captain. Boustead, Ridley & Co., Stokes' agents, doubtless assumed control of his affairs in Africa when the trader's death was confirmed and early in 1896 they were duly appointed administrators of the assets which had to be realized on behalf of his estate.

The company's representative, T.R.D. Munro, arrived at Kampala in October 1895 in charge of Bishop Uucker's caravan from Mombasa, and remained there for the early months of 1896. He then probably assumed responsibility for the *Limi*, as he did of Stokes' posthumous child, Charles Kasaja, then only a few months old. Munro may have operated the *Limi* or sold it, but from the fact that the boat is not mentioned in any account of Mwangi's rebellion of the Sudanese Mutiny, when shipping was in great demand, it may be inferred that it was wrecked before mid-1897. At the time of Stokes' death the *Limi* had been in almost constant use for some six years, and may well have been fit noly for coasting purposes for some time before the wreck occurred.

### THE LUZIRA-KAMPALA MONORAIL

By W. J. PEAL AND J. COMPTON

When the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Winston Churchill, visited Uganda in 1907 he discussed with the Uganda authorities ways of transporting goods from Port Kampala (Luzira) to Kampala town. Amongst the persons consulted was a Mr. Watts who had experience of the Ewing Monorail system in India, and this system was subsequently recommended. In the earlier years of the century the monorail had been introduced by a Mr. C.W. Bowles as a more convenient means of transport than the usual light railways for use on building construction sites. By 1907, as State Engineer of Patiala in India, he had started a regular system of transport by monorail between towns 14 miles apart in that state.

The track used in India was a single line of 18 pound rails; but it appears that 24 pound rails were used in Uganda. On these rails ran double-flanged wheels, set a little off-centre from the centre-line of the trucks. The trucks were kept upright by broad wheels running on a road alongside the rails and in theory these wheels should have supported only 5% of the load. The first equipment for the Uganda line was ordered early in 1908. It consisted of 7½ miles of rails and 10 three-ton goods wagons and one passenger truck. Motive power was initially provided by oxen, four to a truck, for goods and by mules for the passenger truck. The total capital outlay was estimated at only £3,000.

Twentyfive oxen were bought in January 1909 and the line was opened on 10 February. The use of Munyonyo as a port for Kampala had been terminated in the previous month<sup>2</sup> and Port Kampala (Luzira) was renamed Port Bell on 12 May 1910<sup>3</sup>. In the first few months of the monorail operation there was a heavy mortality among cattle with 21 dying before the end of June. More oxen and two steam tractors were bought. For the year ending 3 March 1911 there was a profit of 3,500 rupees out of an income of only 8,400 rupees,

but it is not clear whether allowance was made for upkeep of the track and cart-road by the P.W.D. In that year 2,053 tons of goods were carried at a rate of 12½ cents (rupee) per 50 lb. load;<sup>4</sup> but a far larger quantity was carried over the same road as head-loads. Already by 1910 the monorail service was supplemented by a motor van.<sup>5</sup>

By July 1911 the Director of Uganda Transport was reporting that it would be impossible to continue the service much longer, and he wrote in somewhat disparaging terms "To call the monstrosity a monorail is in my mind a fallacy".<sup>6</sup> The tractors were very good in dry weather, but in wet weather a return journey of 6¾ miles each way took two days or more. There were frequent accidents, perhaps as a result, as the Director reported, of half of the strain being thrown onto the balancing wheels. It is also probable that the road on which the balancing wheels ran was not so well kept as those in Patiala, where the same engineer was responsible for both rail and roads. Another problem may have been that there were too many porters hitch-hiking on the booms which carried the wheels. By November 1911 the Director suggested that the trucks were nearly worn out, and that the rails should be sold.

It appears that the monorail may have struggled on a little longer but by 1913 the metre-gauge railway was under construction and the monorail was not even capable of serving as a construction line. In his address to the Caledonian dinner in 1913 H.E. the Governor jokingly referred to the monorail being reserved a place in the new wing of the British Museum.<sup>7</sup> Thus ended an interesting experiment in Uganda transport.

## NOTES

1. Day, J.R. An Indian monorail: the Ewing system in Patiala. (*Railway World*, February, 1962, pp. 52-53 and 66.).
2. Uganda Gazette, 1909, p. 6.
3. Uganda Gazette, 1910, p. 123.
4. Uganda Gazette, 1909, p. 210.
5. Uganda Gazette, 1909, p. 400. The charge for which was only 7½ cents per 50 pound load.
6. Annual Report, 1910—11, Director of Uganda Transport, to Chief Secretary, 25 July 1911.
7. *Uganda Herald*, 6 June 1913.

### OCCURRENCE OF A NAIL ON THE SECOND DIGIT OF A POTTO HAND

By A. C. WALKER

The members of the primate sub-family Lorisinae have reduced second digits on their hands and feet. This reduction is part of the development of the hands and feet as pincer-like grasping organs of wide span and it facilitates the retention of a strong grasp on a support when the wrist and ankle are dorsiflexed. In the foot the reduced digit bears a grooming claw with which regions of the body inaccessible to the grooming tooth-comb (e.g. ears) are scratched. In the hand the two Asian species, *Loris tardigradus* and *Nycticebus coucang* have small nails on the second digit while the two African species, *Arctocebus calabariensis* and *Perodicticus potto*, are always recorded as having no nail on the

remaining stump. An adult male East African potto, *Perodicticus potto ibeanus* Thomas, from the Mabira Forst, Uganda has been found to have a nail on its second digit (see Plate ). This is the first recorded occurrence of this condition and it must be assumed, since this species has been known for a considerable time, that it is extremely rare.

Confusion exists in the literature as to whether or not the potto's second digit has two or three rudimentary phalanges. Clark<sup>1</sup> records only two, while Hill<sup>2</sup> and Napier and Napier<sup>3</sup> record the full complement of three. The occasional presence of a nail in *P. Potto* is an indication that the terminal phalange is still present, but, as loss of phalanges usually involves the middle phalange, X-ray pictures have been taken as a further check. X-rays of several specimens of *P. potto ibeanus* show that three phalanges are present.

#### NOTES

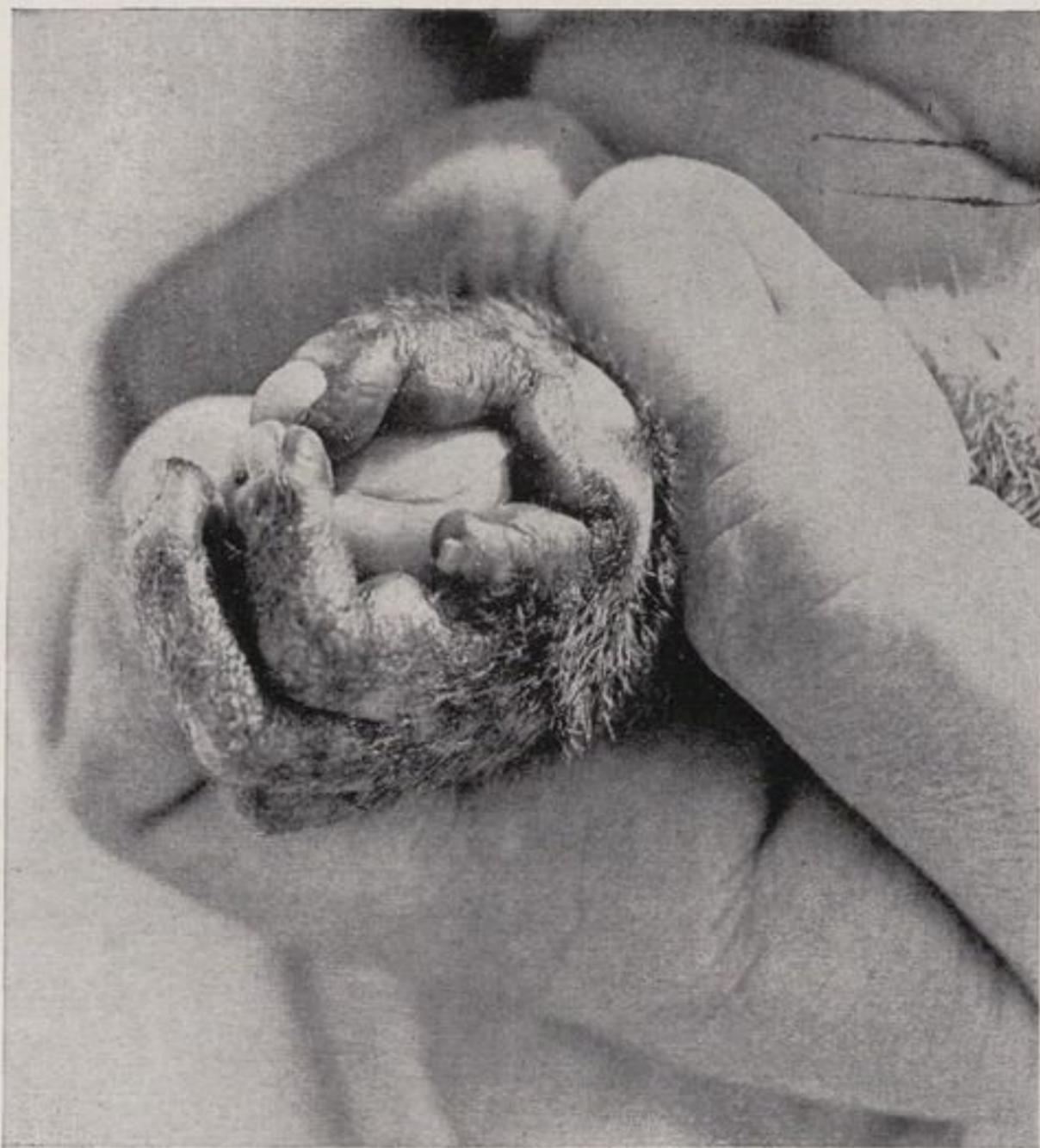
1. Clark, W. E. Le Gros, *Antecedents of Man*, Edinburgh, 1959.
2. Hill, W.C.O., *The Primates Vol. 1*, Edinburgh, 1953.
3. Napier, J. R. and Napier, P. H., *Handbook of Living Primates*, London, 1967.

### NEW EVIDENCE FROM UGANDA REGARDING THE DENTITION OF MIOCENE LORISIDAE.

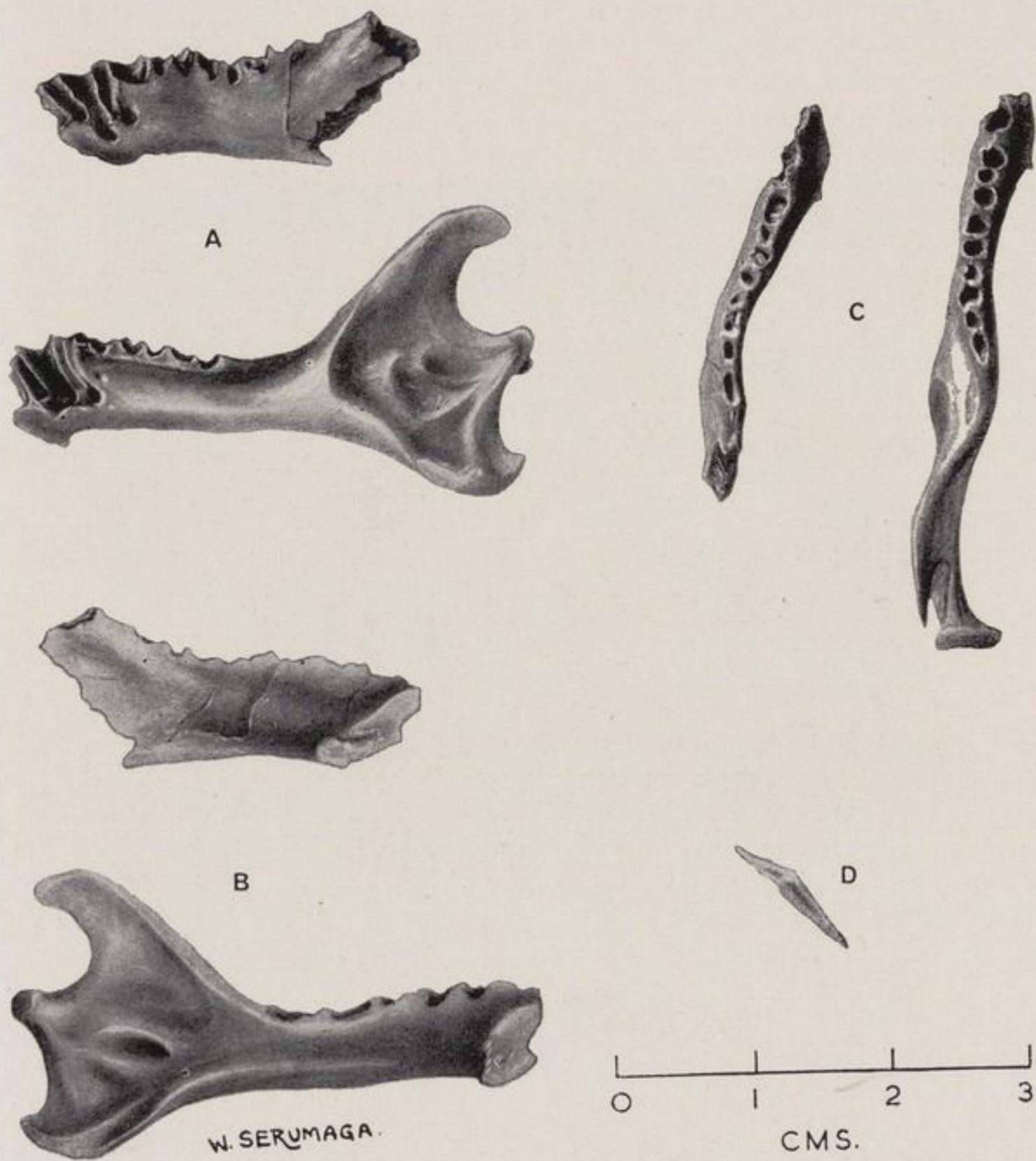
By A.C. WALKER

Knowledge of the anterior lower dentition of the Miocene lorisisds of East Africa has been based upon two specimens; these are a left mandibular fragment of Rusinga Island and a right mandibular ramus from Songhor.<sup>1</sup> A new specimen, a left mandible showing the alveoli for all lower teeth, was found at Napak IV, Karamoja by Dr. W.W. Bishop. The Napak sites are reasonably dated at about 19 million years B.P. and are broadly contemporaneous with the other sites of Koru, Mwanfanganu, Rusinga and Songhor that have yielded lorisid remains.<sup>2</sup>

In modern lemurs and lorisisds the lower incisors and canines are procumbent and combine to form a grooming-comb that is used both for auto-and allo-grooming of the fur. On the basis of the Kenya specimens assigned to *Progalago dora* MacInnes and *Komba robustus* (Clark & Thomas), Clark and Thomas<sup>3</sup> concluded that the canine was not completely taken over into the incisor series and that the canine and incisors were procumbent, but not to the degree found in modern lorisid primates. Simpson<sup>4</sup>, using the same specimens, could find no significant morphological differences between them and corresponding parts of modern *Galago*. The Napak specimen (UMP. 68 20) is also referred to *P. dora* on the basis of size and mandibular shape. The disposition of the alveolae is almost exactly the same as that found in recent members of the genus *Galago* (including *Euoticus* and *Galagooides*). The symphysis is, however, more forwardly inclined and gives a greater impression of procumbency than in specimens of modern *Galago*. The procumbency of the anterior three teeth is not only due to the angulation of the roots but also to the crowns, which are bent forwards on their roots. With the finding of a third, more complete, specimen it seems fairly certain that the condition of the grooming-comb was almost exactly the same in the Miocene forms as it is in modern ones.



Left hand of adult male *P. potto ibeanus* from the Mabira Forest, Uganda showing rare occurrence of a nail on the reduced second digit.



Mandible of *Progalago dora* compared with that of *Galago crassicaudatus*—lateral view (A) medial view (B) and superior view (C). The alveolae for the anterior teeth have been exposed in the modern form for comparison. (D) Isolated lower medial incisor from the grooming comb of *Galago crassicaudatus*, lateral view

Other features that can also be used to determine whether there was a grooming-comb in the lower jaw are the presence of a gap between the upper medial incisors and the presence of a depression of the palate medial and posterior to the upper canine. The tooth-comb elements do not normally occlude with the upper incisors but occasionally a small wear-facet at the tip of the lower canine indicates wear against the medial side of the upper incisors or, as in the case of *G. (Euoticus) elegantulus* in which the comb is particularly long, between the upper medial incisors. The caniform second premolar is accepted into the depression of the palate behind the upper canine. The occurrence of such a depression and a gap between the upper medial incisors, taken together, are strong indications of the presence of a tooth-comb in the lower dentition. In the two specimens of anterior upper dentition known, the type of *Progalago bishopi* (Leakey)<sup>5</sup> and a skull ascribed to *Progalago dorae*<sup>6</sup> the depressions of the palate are seen and the gaps between the incisors are wide. The relative widths of the gaps indicate that in these two species the comb was more elongated than is normal for modern species of *Galago* except, perhaps, for *G. (Euoticus) elegantulus*.

The fact that the Miocene lorises of East Africa had a grooming-comb as developed as modern lemurs and lorises supports the idea that these two major groups could have shared a common ancestry in pre-Miocene times in Africa. Unfortunately there is still no clearer idea as to whether or not Miocene lorises belong to the sub-families Galagonae or Lorisinae. Specimens of post-cranial remains of at least three and possibly four species of Miocene loriseid are now known.<sup>7</sup> All of these were active, arboreal, leaping forms like modern galagos. It is considered that this leaping type of locomotion was the first arboreal locomotor specialization of primates<sup>8</sup> and it now seems likely that the modern galagos represent fairly unchanged end-members in the evolution of the family. It also seems possible that the two sub-families are not discrete phylogenetic groups but adaptive ones and that some species of *Galago* may be phylogenetically closer to some lorises than others. Biochemical and karyological investigations may help to solve this problem.

## NOTES

1. Specimens G. and H. of Simpsons (1967) consolidated list. See note 4.
2. Bishop, W. W. The later Tertiary in East Africa-Volcanics, Sediments and Faunal Inventory in *Background to evolution in Africa*, edited by Bishop, W.W. & Clark, J. D. Chicago 1967. pp.s.1-56.
3. Clark, W. E. Le Gros and Thomas, D.P. The Miocene Lemuroids of East Africa. *Fossil Mammals of Africa* (Brit. Mus. (Nat. Hist.))i. 1952. pp. 1-20.
4. Simpson, G.G.. The Tertiary Lorisiform Primates of Africa. *Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool.* 146. 1967. pp. 39-61.
5. Leakey, L.S.B.. in Bishop, W.W., the Mammalian Fauna and Geomorphological relations of the Napak Volcanics. Karamoja. *Records Geol. Surv. Uganda*. 1957-58 (1962) pp. 6-8.
6. Clark, W.E. Le Gros. A Miocene Lemuroid skull from East Africa. *Fossil Mammals of Africa* (Brit. Mus (Nat. Hist.))i. 1956. pp. 1-6.
7. Walker, A.C.. (in prep.).
8. Napier, J.R. and Walker, A.C. Vertical Clinging and Leaping-a newly recognized category of locomotor behaviour of primates. *Folia primat.* 1967.i; pp. 204-219.



## SOCIETY NEWS

During 1968 there had been a very slight decrease in the number of full members of the Society, but a large increase in the number of associate members who make full use of the Society's reading room. A number of administrative changes had been implemented concerning the category of Vice-President, and also new Trustees had been appointed following the deaths within a short time of each other of Mr. B. K. Mulyanti, O.B.E. and Mr. S.W. Kulubya, C.B.E. who between them had served as trustees for over thirty years.

In spite of rapidly increasing financial commitments to the printing of the *Uganda Journal*, the financial position of the Society remained reasonably satisfactory due to continuing large sales of back numbers of the journal. As an aid towards meeting the cost of the journal the Society is grateful to the Milton Obote Foundation for generously meeting the cost of printing the Uganda Bibliography.

### *List of meetings*

The Uganda Society maintained an active programme of lectures and excursions throughout the year, with attendances varying widely from 5 to 120. The programme of meetings is set out below:—

#### Programme of the Uganda Society, 1968

17	January	Some people I have known and tales of old Uganda as told to a child—Dr Crabtree.
14	February	The Press in Uganda—Mr. D. Nelson
28	February	Water addiction and how to overcome it (with special reference to tropical mammals)—Mr. A. Schoen.
20	March	The Bukwa dig—Mr. A.C. Walker, Mr. A. Hamilton and others.
23	April	Some medical plants of Uganda—Dr. G. Davidson and Dr. R.E.Q. Ferreira.
15	May	The psychology of building up a nation—Professor H. El-Abd.
26	May	Natural History full day excursion to Butolo Forest
28	Film	"African safari" and talk on hunting and Uganda wildlife—Mr. B. Hearn.
12	June	The beat in music—Professor P.J. Faini assisted by musicians from the Uganda Museum.
18	June	The desert locust—Dr. G. Greathead.
19	June	The language problems of a multilingual society—Mrs. R. Glick.
16	July	Karamoja in colour—Mr. W. Cowen.
20	July	Natural History half-day excursion to the Entebbe Botanical Gardens.
31	July	Waters of Lake Victoria—Dr. K.V. Krishnamurthy.
21	August	The new concept of zonal rural development in Uganda—Mr. T.F. Betts.
27	August	Grasslands in Queen Elizabeth Park—Dr. J.M. Lock.
4	September	Hakuna Kazi?—Mr. N. Paine.
15	September	Natural History morning birdwatching excursion on Makere Hill led by Professor W.B. Banage.
24	September	Herbage and herbivores in Uganda—Dr. R. Musangi
12	October	Natural History half-day excursion on Introduction to Uganda geology and landscape, led by Dr. R. Macdonald.
27	October	Full day excursion to Kome Island.
30	October	Pastoralism and prejudice—Dr. P. Rigby.
6	November	Kabaka Mwanga and his political parites—Presidential address by Dr. M.S.M. Kiwanuka.

- 12 November Exotics in Uganda forestry—Mr. W. Kriek.  
 16 November Natural History half-day excursion to Kaazi on "Common flowering plants" led by Miss A.C. Tallantire.  
 7 December Natural History half-day excursion to Namulonge Cotton Research Station.  
 11 December Implementing the national language policy—Mr. C. Musisi and Mr. W.W. Harrison.  
 14 December Natural History visit to Makerere Botanical Garden led by Miss A.C. Tallantire.

### Summaries of Natural History Meetings

The Natural History branch of the Society has published a Newsletter, which has been circulated to local members each month. It had been hoped that summaries of talks presented to the Society could be included in the *Uganda Journal*, and a start is being made in this direction by editing notes from the Natural History Newsletter. These extracts are drawn from summaries of meetings initially prepared by Dr. W. Van Eck and Mr. A. McCrae for circulation in the Newsletter.

The *Bukwa dig*: a talk by Dr. A.C. Walker, Mr. A. Hamilton and others on 20 March 1968.

The content of this talk has been printed in the *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 32, no.2, 1968, The lower Miocene fossil site of Bukwa, Sebei, by A.C. Walker, pp. 149-156, and some plant fossils from Bukwa, by A. Hamilton, pp. 157-163.

*Lake Nabugabo*: an excursion on 24 March 1968.

Lake Nabugabo has been studied in detail by limnologists (L.C. Beadle) and geomorphologists (W.W. Bishop and P.H. Temple). The lake had been isolated from the main body of lake Victoria by a sandspit, formed probably about 4,000 years ago. It now has a very low content of dissolved mineral salts, so much that *Biomphalaria* snails, the intermediate hosts of bilharzia, are virtually absent. At the north end of the lake a sphagnum swamp occurs which is unusual for this altitude. The swamp fringe forest is rich in orchids which flower in March, and the area is rich in butterflies and birds.

The *Butolo (Kamese) Forest*: an excursion, on 26 May 1968. The following notes on the forest were supplied by Mr. A. Hamilton.

Butolo forest is located beyond Mpigi on the Masaka road. Some controversy exists concerning the origin and present state of the forest. The forest does not appear to be old since there is (i) an abundance of large light-demanding trees, (ii) an abundance of seedlings and a deficiency of large individuals of certain species which in most mature swamp forests in the neighbourhood are considerably larger. However, the forest is not uniform and it must be assumed that different localities have undergone different treatments in the past, whilst the unevenness of the present canopy may also be due to pit-sawing. The raised *Piptadeniastrum-Lovae-Pycnanthus-Bosqueia* community can be regarded as a climax, and has affinities with Zika, Jubiya and other forests bordering the lake with high rainfall. It is distinct from the more inland forests such as Mpanga and Mabira which are *Colbis-Sapotacoe-Moraceae*. The *Mitragyna-Macaranga-Erythrina excelsa-Pseudospondias* swamp forest part of Butolo is similar to many in Mengo. Butolo forest was possibly open swamp fifty or a hundred years ago, with some fringing raised forest. During the visit a flock of more than a dozen Great Blue Plantain Eaters, a Batelour Eagle, a Ross Turaco and a Striped Grass Mouse (*Lemniscomys striatus*) were observed.

*Locusts: their natural history and present threat to East Africa:* a talk by Dr. D. Greathead on 18 June 1968.

During 1967 and 1968 a threat that the desert locust, *Schistocerca gregaria*, might expand into eastern Africa developed. The climatic conditions conducive to "swarming" occurred in northeast Africa and Arabia in March-April 1967 and again heavy rain in these areas in March-April 1968 seemed likely to initiate heavy breeding and a movement south of the swarm.

A fuller account of Dr. Greathead's talk is published in *East African Geographical Review*, Vol. 7, April 1969, pp. 91-93.

*Grasslands in Queen Elizabeth National Park:* a talk by Dr. J. Lock, on 27 August 1968.

The feeding habits of the 12,000 hippopotamuses of the park were seen in relation to the grassland habitats. At night the animals stroll two miles away from their daytime aquatic habitat and in doing so have gradually changed the range to a predominance of *Sporobolus pyramidalis* or even shorter bunch grasses and in some areas have created a complete denudation. Overgrazing and soil compaction have led to serious erosion which in turn has created the need for systematic cropping of the hippo. Experimental fenced-in plots show a quick return to the stem grasses such as *Themeda triandra* and *Chloris gayana*, typical of the surrounding savanna.

*Herbage and herbivores in Uganda:* a talk by R. Musangi, 24 September 1968.

Although it has been estimated on somewhat dubious premises that the world's land resources could provide a diet containing an appreciable amount of animal products for about 49,000,000,000 people, a population which on equally dubious premises may be reached about 2,350 A.D., present evidence suggests that there will still be room for many herbivores beyond that time. Even assuming that the bulk of food needs continue to come from crop production, there will still be need for herbivores to utilise the fibrous 'waste' products from crops and to turn them into meat and milk for man. Herbivores, such as cows, sheep and goats, can use these fibrous feeds much more efficiently than simple-stomached animals like man. Uganda's herbage is capable of supporting many more herbivores than it does at present, and steps to improve the herbage and increase ruminant livestock production are being undertaken. In addition systematic cropping of game in the national parks could be established. These game ruminants are a useful source of protein since they are more efficient utilisers to herbage than domestic herbivores.

*Studies of large mammals in the Queen Elizabeth National Park:* talk by Dr. C. Field, 8 October 1968.

Stomach analyses of various tame and wild-grazing ungulates and hippopotamuses indicate definite food preferences and selective grazing amongst the different animals in the Queen Elizabeth Park, which can be considered an insurance against food competition. Choice of forage relates to seasonal vegetational differences, anatomical characteristics of the species and to the occurrence of grass fires. Hippo grazing is limited to belts along shorelines and where overpopulation occurs leads to destruction of the grazing, but range deterioration following rapid hippo removal suggests that a gradual reduction is a better solution. Estimates of the nutrient budget of the ecosystem indicate that where soils are poor, overpopulation may quickly lead to a nutrient imbalance.

*An introduction to the geology and landscape of the Kampala-Entebbe area: an excursion led by Dr. R. Macdonald, on 12 October 1968.*

The cliffs below the Geological Survey offices at Entebbe reveal a rare outcrop of Karroo, representing the only rocks of the Palaeozoic era in eastern Africa. This shale outcrop extends as a mile-wide fault block across the Entebbe peninsula, but no fossils were found on this occasion. North of this area schists with quartz veins provide Pre-Cambrian outcrops which are much more typical of the predominant rock formations of Uganda. At mile 12 from Entebbe Pre-Cambrian phyllites occur in the centre of an anticlinal fold of which quartzite formations clearly marked the outline since their relative resistance to weathering has left them standing as high ridges. Raised beaches occur along the lake shore as relatively recently formed landscape features, whilst remnants of old land surfaces can be seen in the remnants of former peneplains further from the shore. The formation of lateritic crusts in the soils of old surfaces has slowed their erosion, but some iron has been eroded, transported and redeposited in new laterite sheets on the lower pediment slopes, as can be seen in the murram pit at mile 10. Recent alluvial clay deposits can clearly be seen at the tile factory of Uganda Clays Ltd at Kajansi.

*Exotics in Uganda Forestry: talk by W. Kriek; 12 November 1968.*

Attention was drawn to the need for fast growing timber species to supplement supplies from the slow growing indigenous trees. Research in exotics has covered the introduction of species for high forest conversion and for the enrichment of existing forests. Species were introduced from Central America (*Cedrela, Cordia*), from West Africa (*Terminalia, Navula, Triplochiton*) and from Australia (*Flindersia*). For afforestation at higher altitudes and on grassland sites there has been success with several Central American and eastern Asia pine species and with the Mexican *Cupressus lusitanica*. A number of eucalypts have done well (*E. saligna* and *E. grandis*.) and *E. tereticorus* shows promise on marginal sites.

## HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN LUO

By B. A. OGOT

E.A. Publishing House Ltd., Nairobi, 1967 250, p. E.A. Shs. 20/- soft,  
30/- hard cover.

The last twenty years have witnessed a steady transformation of the study of African History. The subject today is no longer a matter of occasional scholarly forays nor is it treated solely as a mere extension of colonial history. True enough there are still diehards who believe that pre-colonial Africa has no history because of the absence of written records. This myth regarding historical sources has, I think, been successfully demolished since the beginning of the 1960s. The publication of Professor Ogot's book is important in more than one way. It grew out of a Ph.D Thesis which was based on unwritten sources and which, I believe, was the first of its kind to be accepted by a British university.

The book is divided into three main sections. It has an introduction and a fairly comprehensive bibliography. In the introduction the author discusses the merits and demerits of oral sources upon which he puts special emphasis. He points out that many of the respectable histories we read, such as that of Christianity or of the Anglo-Saxon invasion and settlement of Britain, were written from meagre sources which were generally oral or recorded long after the actual events had taken place. In this section Professor Ogot has ably demonstrated the inadequacies of many written accounts on Africa by European explorers, slavers and early missionaries. Often the writers had preconceived ideas which were reflected in their accounts. He deals also with the question of chronology which is an important aspect of any historical account. Without the knowledge of the art of writing, the African devised a method of remembering past events by referring to a point in a genealogy or to cyclical events. Without exact dates, an absolute chronology is out of the question and Professor Ogot argues that this is not really necessary. He has therefore worked out a relative chronology based on generations for the history of the Southern Luo. Historical methodology especially with pre-literate peoples is also dealt with. Basing it on his own experience, the author describes how he gathered elders and solicited information from them. Any one who wishes to research in the pre-colonial history of Africa will find this account valuable.

In the main section of the book the author deals with the history of the Nilotic peoples, tracing from their cradle land in the Sudan to the borders of Kenya and Tanzania. In the first section he deals with the geographical setting and demonstrates how this has influenced the Luo settlement. Then he deals with the question of whether the Langi are Luo or Nilo-Hamites. He discusses several points of view put forward by Tarantino, Crazzolaro, Driberg and others and it is clear from his postulations that this is by no means the end of the story.

In section Two of the book he deals with the history of the Luo in eastern Uganda, namely the settlement of the Padhola in Budama and other areas. This is followed by a discussion on the coming of the Iteso which is described as "marking the final process of filling up the the ancient migration corridor". Part Three of the book takes up the story of the Kenya Luo. Again the author discusses the importance of the geographical setting, the "first" Luo settlers in Nyanza, the Luo Conquest and occupation of the lake shore and of south Nyanza. The book concludes with what he terms "the last phase", that is the Lwo at the end of the last century and during the early decades of the present century. In the last two sections of the book the author describes the major contacts between the Kenya Luo and the Luo of eastern Uganda. Whereas in Nyanza, Luo settlements were based on lineage and the right of occupying land depended on the right of conquest, in Padhola, the right of occupance depended on the claim of prior settlement. The second contrast is that whereas some kind of chieftainship evolved in Nyanza, no similar development took place in eastern Uganda.

What does one feel after reading this interesting account? There seem to be a number of things about which readers may feel unhappy. What strikes the reader first is that the bulk of Ogot's sources, namely the *Lwo historical texts* are not readily available to other scholars. An early publication of these texts will be a major contribution to the advancement of knowledge about the Lwo. There seems also any over-readiness by the author to accept the claims of the Luo sources without sufficient critical examination. On page 69 for example, the author refers to the Kiganda corruption of a Luo word "Kabermaido". Readers would wish to know the origin of the word *maide* and when Baganda corrupted it. On pages 71 and 83 he seems to accept the Padhola claim that the land they occupied was uninhabited. Claims to prior occupation and first arrivals are some of the major pitfalls in traditional history and as and as such they ought to be treated with caution.

On page 97 Ogot writes "the pact concluded at Merekit nine to ten generations ago inaugurated a period of peace and stability in Budama that was not disturbed seriously until the arrival of Kakungulu in 1905". Anyone acquainted with the politics of the eastern Uganda would expect such a claim. Yet was Kakungulu a disturber of the age-long tranquility or a restorer of order? Dr. Ogot does not discuss the issue though on page 98 he seems to contradict himself when he makes a statement strongly suggesting that the Kakungulu era put an end to internecine warfare between the peoples. Between pages 21-26, the author describes his methods of gathering information. While it is true that there is no simple method for field work, some readers may feel that gathering information from a large group of clansmen is perhaps not the best method. First of all the group presents "the official version" of the story, and leaves out points which may be important clues to other valuable information. Some researchers might therefore prefer to work with individuals rather than groups.

As one reads through the history of eastern Uganda even in what was "Lwoland" one notices a considerable number of placenames which sound Bantu. If these names are indeed Bantu, might it not be that the Lwo impact in these areas has been exaggerated and also that the Padhola claim of occupying uninhabited land may be in need of modification? Between pages 174-185, Dr. Ogot discusses the origins of the *Wanga dynasty* and criticizes writers such as Dr. Were who attempted to link it up with that of Buganda. Ogot rightly warns against the dangers of looking for a single origin of kingships or chieftainships. Yet one wonders whether Ogot does not fall into the same mistake by attributing the origins of the dynasty to the conquering Luo minority (p. 180) who having evolved the Wanga States, "the new rulers like the Babito lost their tongue and through intermarriage their identity". Readers will find this conclusion difficult to accept. Throughout the book, Dr. Ogot has demonstrated the ethnocentricity of Luo, even those who settled among the Bantu. Why then is it that only those who are presented as founders of states lost their tongue and their identity?

This discussion leads into what Ogot has described as a contrast between the Kenya Luo and the Japadhola. He points out that whereas by the end of the 19th century the Kenya Luo were evolving a kind of chieftainship, their counterparts in Uganda had not. The reason he gives is that in eastern Uganda the Luo colonists occupied virgin territory and in the absence of a plural society they settled down to an era of peace and only fought against the forests. Some readers may feel that prolonged peace is conducive to state formation by evolution. Moreover, the account given by Ogot does not indicate that life in "Lwoland" of eastern Uganda was all that peaceful. In any case chieftainship in Nyanza took an extraordinarily long time to evolve. It was just beginning by the end of the 19th century. Here again Ogot has provided explanations for the considerable delay; such as clan feuds and attacks from the Bantu and Nile-Hamites. Some readers may look upon these factors as some of the causes that lead to accelerated growth of self consciousness and to the emergence of a single leader and eventually of chieftainship. Be that as it may, the absence of centralized states of clearly Luo origin in eastern Uganda and southwest Kenya provides an odd contrast to the claims which have been forward for the Luo as the progenitors of centralized states in Uganda. It is perhaps a timely reminder that there is need to re-examine the current hypothesis.

When all is said and done, the *History of the southern Luo* is a valuable book. Professor Ogot has added an interesting account to the growing body of literature on pre-colonial Africa. But the history of the Luo people will not be complete until that of their various neighbours has been studied, and cross-checked. Professor Ogot's valuable effort is thus the beginning of a long story.

M. S. M. KIWANUKA

## MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF AFRICANA IN RHODES HOUSE LIBRARY, OXFORD.

By L. B. FREWER

Oxford, Rhodes House, 1968, 100p., Shs. 20 (U.K. Price)

This catalogue of 1,200 entries recording the African holding of the Rhodes House Library archives will be of fundamental value to the researcher into Africa's colonial history. Inevitably the catalogue raises serious questions as to how and why these archives should have left Africa in the first place, but having found their way to England it is well that an academic institution should have protected them from further destruction. Having preserved them, the desirability of a published catalogue is manifest. It is understood that the material may be microfilmed so that a record may be returned to the country of origin. Better this than for the records and journals to be lost permanently. Historians should be grateful that the Rhodes House Library has now made the list of their holdings readily accessible.

The indefatigable researcher will spit blood, when having survived the camel ride to Wajir he finds he should have taken a train ride to Oxford for the Annual Reports for 1916-1926. This is an example of a fair amount of the material which is available in Oxford, which manifestly should never have left the country of origin. Former Governors (Sir Philip Mitchell for one) are, I suppose, free to deposit their memoirs where they will. 'Handing over notes' from police and railway officials, if these are the only copies available, would seem to be odd items to take with one on departure.

The collection is a very varied one, with the oldest item being dated 1700, but the bulk being twentieth century documents, diaries, journals, reports etc. A very limited number of items are still restricted. For the history of Uganda interesting items include a two volume diary of the period of the Sudanese Mutiny, Sir Philip Mitchell's diaries, Uganda Company Minute books, and the minutes of the Entebbe European Parents' Association! For the most part, but not always, the nature of the material is briefly described. One wonders if the occasional obscurity is in fact intentional; the name of the diarist may in itself be less significant than the information, not given, that the diarist was the Chief of Police at an important phase of a country's history.

Much though one may bemoan the fact that these archives have been lost to Africa, an important service has been fulfilled by the Rhodes House Library. Nor is it appropriate to bemoan this service when the provision for archival research in the local countries remains rudimentary and when local university libraries are unable to provide specialist archivists. The article in this current number of the *Uganda Journal* by Dr. J. A. Rowe emphasises how rich the local field is for those who are interested in collecting. Only a tiny proportion of Uganda's archives seem to have found their way to Oxford. The task should now be to collect and preserve Uganda's own remaining archives, and to publish a list of local holdings to allay the rumours that all our archives were not burnt, or dumped in the lake, prior to independence.

B. W. LANGLANDS

PREDICTING SUCCESS IN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE:  
A UGANDA CASE STUDY.

By H. C. A. SOMERSET

E. A. Publishing House, 1968, 115 p., Shs. 15.

Although about a quarter of Uganda's budget is spent on education, it is impossible to accommodate every child in the country at the existing primary schools. The quality of some of the primary schools, especially those in the rural areas falls far short of the desired standard. The primary school curriculum is geared to sending all children to Senior Secondary Schools. Secondary Schools, though much better in quality than Primary Schools, form, unfortunately, but a small fraction of the country's educational pyramid. It is surprising that with such an enormous primary school population the selection of a limited number of pupils for secondary education leads to the present rate of wastage at the secondary level. This, other things being equal, may be due to an inefficient selection system. Under such circumstances, the efficiency and fairness of selecting the best pupils from Primary Schools to Senior Secondary Schools cannot be over-emphasized. This is already a real problem which causes government, teachers and parents some concern. Somerset's book, in a scholarly manner, attempts to focus attention to this problem, to analyse it and to make appropriate recommendations.

In this book Somerset traces 881 African pupils who sat the 1964 Cambridge School Certificate (C.S.C) back to their Senior Entrance Examination in 1960. The aim of this project was to determine the efficiency of the Senior Secondary Entrance Examination as a predictor of success in the School Certificate Examination. His main finding is that there was only a moderate relationship between performance in the two examinations ( $r=.374$ ), i.e. the School Certificate performance of many pupils was very different from what would have been expected from their Senior Entrance Examination marks. He found, in particular, that a large number of pupils whose Senior Entrance Examination marks were just good enough to get them into Senior Secondary Schools were highly successful in their School Certificate Examination. This finding suggested that there were many pupils with equally good academic potential who were not admitted into Secondary Schools. An analysis to find out which Senior Entrance Examination subjects contributed to success in the School Certificate Examination showed that Mathematics was a good predictor of School Certificate performance in Physics and Chemistry; English Comprehension (not Language) predicted success in English Language, English Literature, Religious Knowledge and History fairly well; but none of Senior Entrance Examination papers had any predictive value in School Certificate Biology, Geography and Health Science. On this point Somerset recommends the inclusion of questions in general science to the Senior Entrance Examination

papers. Among the boys, Mathematics and English Comprehension were the best predictors of overall success in School Certificate and for the girls English Comprehension was the best and Mathematics the worst predictor of success. The results further showed that the quality of the primary school attended was a contributory factor in School Certificate success and that this factor could not be reversed by the quality of the Secondary School attended afterwards. Somerset recommends that marks in Senior Entrance Examinations should be converted to standard scores to enable results for different papers and for different years to be compared.

The design of this project necessitated the use of a lot of technical language in several places, and this makes reading quite heavy for the non-statistician. For example "Neither the second degree nor the third degree polynomial produced a fully satisfactory fit for the regression of CSC on JSLE: in particular, both curves underestimated the true angle of slope at the top end of the JSLE scale.", (p. 15). But Somerset spares no effort to explain this kind of technical language in order to communicate his findings to an enlightened reader. A summary of his findings at the end of the book is most helpful in this respect. While it is not fair to say that all other Senior Entrance Examinations in the past have been as inefficient in predicting success in School Certificate as the 1960 Senior Entrance Examination, or that the future ones will be as inefficient; these findings should act as a starting point for reviewing the whole selection system for the benefit of everybody concerned: pupils, teachers, parents, taxpayer and government. It should also act as a basis for further research into this acute problem. The limited Secondary Education ought to be given only to those who deserve it. This book is the first of its kind to analyse this problem in quantitative and qualitative manner in this country. It gives specialised advice which, with some modification and more research, may lead to the solution of the selection problem.

It is the personal opinion of the reviewer that other methods might be adopted to improve selection. The introduction of a General Knowledge Paper might help in this direction. But I think what is urgently required is the introduction of more subjects in the Examination to tap indirectly as many "abilities" as possible. This, no doubt, will be very expensive. Better still, in addition to English and Mathematics, there could be a General Ability Test which would indicate the pupils' overall intellectual or potential ability (I am purposely not using the word intelligence). This would be cheaper and educationally sounder than the mere addition of more subjects to the Examination. Headmasters' assessments should find a place in the final decisions especially in cases of some children who come from poor rural schools and those on the borderline. Age should be considered so that young children's performance is not compared without adjustment with that of pupils much older but doing the same Examination, as is the case at present.

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## UGANDA BIBLIOGRAPHY

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This is the twelfth bibliography on Uganda concerned with publications since 1961; previous issues of the *Uganda Journal* have contained bibliographies for 1961-62, 1962-63, 1963-64, 1964, 1964-65, 1965-66, 1966, 1966-67, 1967 and 1967-68. This list contains 360 entries of which well over a half are for 1968 and nearly a quarter are for 1969. The increasing length of the bibliography arises in part from including certain cyclostyled publications and the present list includes a few unpublished theses. Items which have been seen by the compiler have been marked with an asterisk. The following abbreviations have been used for works published in East Africa.

<i>A.E.R.</i>	=	<i>African Ecclesiastical Review</i> , Masaka
<i>E.A.A.F.J.</i>	=	<i>East African Agricultural and Forestry Journal</i> , Nairobi.
<i>E.A.E.R.</i>	=	<i>East African Economic Review</i> , Nairobi.
<i>E.A.G.R.</i>	=	<i>East African Geographical Review</i> , Kampala.
<i>E.A.J.</i>	=	<i>East African Journal</i> , Nairobi.
<i>E.A.J.R.D.</i>	=	<i>East African Journal of Rural Development</i> , Kampala.
<i>E.A.L.B.</i>	=	East African Literature Bureau, Kampala, Nairobi.
<i>E.A.L.J.</i>	=	<i>East African Law Journal</i> , Nairobi.
<i>E.A.L.R.</i>	=	<i>East African Law Review</i> , Dar es Salaam.
<i>E.A.M.J.</i>	=	<i>East African Medical Journal</i> , Nairobi.
<i>E.A.P.H.</i>	=	East African Publishing House, Nairobi.
<i>E.A.W.J.</i>	=	<i>East African Wildlife Journal</i> , Nairobi.
G.P.	=	Government Printer.
<i>J.E.A.N.H.S.N.M.</i>	=	<i>Journal of the East African Natural History Society and National Museum</i> , Nairobi.
<i>M.I.S.R.</i>	=	Makerere Institute of Social Research.
<i>M.M.J.</i>	=	<i>Makerere Medical Journal</i> , Kampala.
<i>M.O.F.</i>	=	Milton Obote Foundation, Kampala.
<i>O.U.P.</i>	=	Oxford University Press, Nairobi.
<i>P.E.A.A.</i>	=	<i>Proceedings of the East African Academy</i> , Nairobi.
<i>U.J.</i>	=	<i>Uganda Journal</i> , Kampala.
<i>U.P.H.</i>	=	Uganda Publishing House, Kampala.

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## ADDENDA

## Add to page 40. (J. A. Rowe).

*Yusufu Bamuta Papers* consist of about ten large folders of correspondence and records for the period 1928-1956. There were two folders devoted exclusively to records of a trip to England in 1929 to arouse support against the encroachment on Buganda powers by the local colonial government. Also draft editorials for *Dobozi* and detailed records of Bamuta's tenure in the mid-1950's as a member of the Legislative Council. The collection has been given to MCL by the heir, Omw. Dereka Bamuta of Kiwuma, Buddu.

## Add to page 78. (J. Weatherby)

## NOTES

1. Tucker, A. L. Fringe Cushitic. (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, 30 1967.)
2. The name Tepes, or Tepeth originated most probably among the Kalenjin peoples to the south. The name given by the Kalenjin to Mt. Elgon is Tabasiat. In the Sebei language, *tepes* means wide or big. The many Sebei who in the past settled on Kadam may have used this expression for the whole mountain mass.
3. The Sorat say that at one time there were no Karamojong south of the Apule river which flows westwards about 20 miles north of Moroto mountain.
4. The prefix *eu* before each clan name has the meaning 'home' or 'home of'. This is similar to the prefix *Kap* before Kalenjin names.
5. This clan is said by the Sebei and Sengwerr peoples to have originated in Kiptaberr in Sengwerr country and to have migrated thence in the distant past to Elgon. The clan Kapcai is responsible for a considerable number of famous *Worrgoyik* of Elgon in the nineteenth century.

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