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The Uganda Journal

THE JOURNAL OF THE UGANDA SOCIETY

VOLUME 31

1967

PART 2

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Published by

THE UGANDA SOCIETY
KAMPALA

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The
Uganda Journal

THE JOURNAL OF THE UGANDA SOCIETY

VOLUME 1

THE UGANDA SOCIETY
KAMPALA

Published by the Society

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Published by
THE UGANDA SOCIETY
KAMPALA
Price Shs. 15/-

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THE DIARIES OF EMIN PASHA—EXTRACTS XII

Edited by SIR JOHN GRAY

(These extracts from *Die Tagebücher von Emin Pascha*, edited by Dr. Franz Stuhlmann, vols. i, ii, iii, iv and vi, (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1916-1927) have been translated and provided with introductory notes and comments by Sir John Gray. They have been planned to appear in the *Uganda Journal* as a series covering Emin's first visit to Buganda in 1876, his visit to Bunyoro in 1877 and his second visit to Buganda in the same year, followed by such portions of his later diaries as are relevant to Emin's contacts with the Uganda region during the years spent as Governor of Equatoria until his withdrawal in 1889. Extracts I to X have appeared in successive issues of the *Uganda Journal* commencing with Extracts I in *Uganda J.*, 25, (1961) no. 1 until *Uganda J.*, 29, (1965) no. 2. Extracts XI appeared in *Uganda J.*, 30, (1966) no. 2. (EDS.)

XII—THE REBELLION AT DUFILE

19 August to 15 November 1888

Introductory Note

These present extracts deal with the period when Emin was held captive by mutinous Sudanese officers at Dufilé. The site of this station on the west bank of the Nile was to come under Belgian control in 1894 as being within the Lado enclave. But following the death of King Leopold in 1909 it passed to the Sudan by whom, in 1914, it was transferred to Uganda.

The portions of Emin's diaries which deal with these three months fill pages 155 to 181 of Volume *iv* of Stuhlmann's edition of the *Tagebücher*. In Schweitzer's *Life* of his uncle (as translated by Felkin) they occupy only eight pages of summary with a few excerpts from his diary.

Contemporary accounts by others who lived at Dufilé during that period are to be found in

(a) A. J. Mounteney Jephson, *Emin Pasha and the rebellion at the equator* (1890). Chapters VII to XI not only supplement Emin's diary in a number of details, but also supply particulars regarding Emin's reactions to his captivity. Jephson has drawn copiously from his own diary, which is shortly to be published by the Hakluyt Society. I am much indebted to Mrs Dorothy Middleton, who is to edit that publication, for supplying me with extracts which do not appear in Jephson's book.

(b) Gaetano Casati, *Ten years in Equatoria* (English translation from the original Italian, 1891), ii, 175-92. Mrs Middleton informs me that Jephson's diary is full of unfavourable comments upon Casati. Reading between the lines one is disposed to think that such comments are not entirely undeserved.

He and Emin from time to time quarrelled, but the fact remains that at times he proved a useful intermediary between Emin and the mutinous officers. In the very last lines of these Extracts, Emin pays tribute to this fact.

(c) Vita Hassan, *Die Wahrheit über Emin Pascha* (1895), ii, 153-73. This gives an account of the author's experiences as a captive of the mutinous officers and his personal comments upon Emin, Jephson and Casati.

Extracts from Emin's Diaries

August 19, 1888, I got ready sixteen porters for my people (two for myself and three for Jephson) and at 5.30 a.m. we marched out (from Khor Ayu). Just before this I heard that with the utmost secrecy letters had passed through to the officers of the first battalion, no doubt to summon them to Dufile. Marching well we reached the River et-Tin at 9.25 a.m. where we rested and reached Dufile at 3.15 p.m., where everybody was drunk. Neither were there any of my soldiers ready to receive me nor did any one come to greet me—an ominous sign. We had hardly got into our house, when a guard was posted there in front of it. Hawash Effendi's servants were permitted to bring us all our necessaries and after a while our servants were allowed to go out and in. I have sent to Selim Aga to learn what is the cause of this disturbance. He came back a little later without having seen the leaders of the rebellion. He said letters had come from the Egyptian officers at Tunguru and allegations had been made by Ahmed Effendi Mahmud, one of the prisoners who had been released and the preparations for the evacuation of Mugi were responsible for it. The officers were now intending to summon a large meeting of all the officers and had already written to Wadelai and Tunguru and were waiting to see what would be decided. Selim Aga asked us to be patient. He promised to come back in the evening after he had seen Fadl-el-Mula Aga.

Later in the evening he came back. The chief speakers were two other officers—not Fadl-el-Mula. Hawash Effendi, with whom I have an understanding, must in all circumstances act in accordance with their wishes. As regards myself, they have unanimously decided to accept me, if I accept them, but if I do not, to replace me by another officer. Vita is employed as a spy and must be got rid of etc. etc.¹ That sounds very edifying, and moreover I have heard that I will not be allowed to return to Wadelai. But nothing will be so warm to eat as that which is cooked.

August 20. The night has passed quietly. The sentries in front of my door have not been withdrawn. Selim Aga has not been to see me today. I hear he had his midday meal with Hawash Effendi. Strangely, entry is strictly forbidden to everybody. In the evening Hawash's servant came with the following letter in his handwriting:

"The officers are demanding further things of you. Firstly, my dismissal . . . Secondly, the people are not willing to leave here. Thirdly, the restoration in rank of the officers just recently set free and in this do as they wish. They are all your children, and, if Mr. Stanley comes, you can then always do as you wish. Selim Aga is working zealously on your behalf and thinks all these things are necessary. Excuse the freedom I have taken with you"².

Later in the evening Selim Aga informed me that he has not been able to come to me, but he wishes to come to me early in the morning after he has spoken to Fadl-el-Mula Aga about the sentries. Only I must be patient.

August 21. Two of my clerks have sent me a couple of lines to express their regret for what has happened here and the troubles which have overtaken

me. One of these was locked up as being a friend of Hawash Effendi, but has been set free today. Selim Aga came in the evening. He has had a long talk with the officers from Pabbo. As he promised, he had asked for the sentry to be withdrawn from in front of my door. The reply was that it was impossible. (A number of officers whose names are set out are being summoned to Dufile). We shall have to wait. Owing to damage to various parts of the machinery the steamer is out of action. As always, Selim Aga counsels patience.

August 22 to 27. (Emin sets out daily and at length various messages and reports concerning the activities of the mutinous officers. Some of these are of a most conflicting nature).

August 28. Today a mail has been brought from Wadelai. Soon after its arrival all the officers were summoned by Fadl-el-Mula Aga. There must be a mail from Mswa.

August 29. Early today I sent to Selim Aga to tell me what the mail from Wadelai has brought. He informs me that there are two covers directed to me from Shukri Aga and Kodi Aga requesting me to come in all haste. Stanley has reached the Lake (Albert) and Suleiman Aga has been sent with the *Nyanza* to fetch him. God be thanked! Selim Aga has come to me. One of the two letters which arrived yesterday bears my address and the inscription "Very urgent—good news". Fadl-el-Mula wanted to send it to me, but his colleagues have prevented him and have left the letter unopened (!) until the officers arrive tomorrow. The other letter was from Koki Aga to Fadl-el-Mula with the information that Stanley has arrived, bringing with him three elephants and a large boat and a request that I at once send to him.³ It is rumoured that Fadl-el-Mula Aga thinks of going himself to Stanley, Hamid Aga is halfway to Kiri, but he is being brought back to Rejaf. The people from Rejaf should come tomorrow.

August 30. Rajab Effendi sends a quite unintelligible note, from which it may be gathered that the steamer will leave on Saturday and that the news of Stanley's arrival is true. After I had sent back a note to him, I received from him the information that, according to what he has heard, it is intended to take Stanley by surprise and seize his property and ammunition, that the steamer sails on Saturday, and that possibly, on hearing of Stanley's arrival, the people from Rejaf will be frightened and will prevent this plot. All this is gossip. On the other hand Vita says Fadl-el-Mula's clerk has told Hamid Aga's clerk that the officers are going to Stanley and will give him an indictment against Hawash and myself with a request that he will take us to the Viceroy and set up another governor in my place.

August 31. In the evening Hawash Effendi sent a message to me to say that he has heard that tomorrow there will be a great open air meeting to which I shall be brought. They will deprive me of all my servants who have by their words stirred up unrest in the Province. Whither they will go Hawash does not know.

September 1. Mr. Jephson was sent for. After an hour's discussion he came back. After much debating it was decided that next Tuesday he will go on the steamer to Wadelai in order to go with the officers to Stanley in order to lodge their complaints (?). I and Vita are to remain here in custody. If Stanley and his officers come, I together with Hawash will be brought for trial before them, as I have been intriguing with Hawash. God be thanked that Jephson is going there.

September 2. Chor Aga, the officer of this place, came in full regalia with a letter.

(The letter and Emin's reply are set out in the Appendix A).

I sent my answer to this letter at once, but up to now have received no reply.. It has cost of lot of talking to obtain consent to Jephson's journey to the south. He had further been assured that the steamer would leave on Tuesday, but its departure has secretly been ordered for Monday. Finally, he is permitted to go on the condition that, if Stanley is not there, he shall come back here.

September 3, Monday. At 7 a.m. the *Khedive* left for the south. Jephson went with her and six officers, one clerk and fifty soldiers. After much talk Stanley's boat was also taken. At the last moment Jephson's journey was very nearly prevented, because his clerk Ahmed Mahmud, whom he had dismissed and he said was a rogue, went to Fadl-el-Mula Aga (to complain). If Stanley is really there, it is unfortunate for us to hear of this. I fear that the people in the south would stir up considerable unrest.⁴

September 8. Every day we hear hundreds of different rumours without being able to know whether they are really reliable. Yesterday there was a new moon and the new year 1306 according to Muslim reckoning began.

September 10, Monday. Today a dragoman came from Wadelai without any letter for me. Jephson has undoubtedly written but found nobody able to bring the letter. The dragoman says that soon after the arrival of the steamer at Wadelai the officers from here took possession of the magazine. The rumours regarding the doings of the officers in Wadelai are so contradictory, that no reliability can be attached to them.

September 17, Monday to September 23, Sunday. (Rumours and gossip).

September 22. A mail has arrived from Wadelai without any letter for me.

September 23. At 6.30 a.m. the *Khedive* arrived and at noon the *Nyanza* with Jephson and Casati, whom I was expecting. Stanley has not come. He is at a big river (? the Ituri) with a lot of armed men. Perhaps they may be Arabs. Jephson had written to me twice and given the letters to Marco, who sent them back to him. They informed me as to what was happening at Wadelai etc. It is hoped that a decision will be arrived at here.

September 24. Quite early a great number of officers, clerks etc. gathered under the trees before my door. Casati, who was present, reports that after a stormy discussion it was decided to write to me to set up a commission to inquire into all their grievances. The clerks had spread a report that I wrote to Egypt saying that all the Sudanese officers were rebellious. My copying books were called for and it was found that it was exactly the opposite. In the evening I had a note from Arif Effendi giving more or less the same information.

September 25. Early to-day Vita had this note from Osman Effendi: 'Inform the Pasha that last night Tai Effendi, Mustapha Effendi Ahmed, and Sabri Effendi drew up a document demanding his immediate deposition, and want to get this signed by all the officers. Let him send Jephson and Casati to Hamid Aga at once, so that Casati may be with him when the document is presented to him.' Raphael Effendi and Arif Effendi confirm this note.

A large meeting was very promptly held, presided over by Hamid Aga, who came up from Rejaf yesterday, but I was refused admittance. Casati was there. The three clerks read out their long list of complaints against me, and as they doubtless acted in agreement with Fadl-el-Mula, the meeting was taken by surprise, and a declaration was signed to the effect that I was reliev-

ed of my functions, Hamid Aga being appointed Commander-in-Chief and Administrator of the Province, Selim Aga commander of the second Battalion, Abd-el-Wahab Effendi of the first. Then with much noise and shouting, all Hawash Effendi's belongings were confiscated; nothing but absolute necessaries were left him, the rest being deposited in the magazine. After a long search only 800 dollars was found in money. What they mean to do with me is not clear.

September 26. Another stormy sitting, and repeated calls for the original orders from Egypt; in the end they were admitted to be genuine, and were hailed with acclamation. In the afternoon I had a note from Osman Effendi, with a request for a certificate that he wished to hand to Stanley. I asked what the purpose of this request might be. He then wrote that it had been decided to send me to the north, Vita to stay here, and Hawash to go to Beden. In the evening I received a letter from Hamid Aga (signed: Administrator of the Province), and addressed to me without the title of Governor. Rajab Effendi, whom I sent for, says that I am to go to Rejaf, Vita to Makraka, and Hawash to Beden.

September 27. Casati went early to Ali Aga Jabor, to obtain the reversal of my decree of banishment.

Ali Aga and Feraj Aga pledged their word to obtain it. Mustapha Effendi-el-Mjani has promised the same. Is this true? Hamid Aga, Selim Aga, and Mustapha likewise promised Casati to keep me here if possible.

At one o'clock in the afternoon I at length received the decree deposing me, in these terms: 'In consequence of the irregularities of which, in conjunction with Hawash and Vita, you have been guilty, the officers have met together and decided to remove you from the direction of affairs, and, as soon as their investigation is completed, to bring the matter before the supreme authorities. Any documents belonging to the Government that may be in your possession you must forward to me with a table of documents. Signed by both chief clerks, and by Hamid Aga as Lieutenant-Colonel (!) and Administrator, and addressed to me as a private individual without any official title.

In the evening all the Sudanese officers met in secret. Halil Aga, who is taking the lead of the discontented officers and men here (in my favour!) was ordered away to-day to bring in the Dufile dragoman Fadl-el-Mula, suspected of an intention to join the rebellious negroes in Nurviva mountain, but he directly refused to go, and has been left here. The whole day has been spent in endeavouring to pacify the clerks, but without arriving at any result.

September 28. Early a note from Osman Effendi. Mugi has been chosen as my destination and Pabbo as Vita's. Casati went out to obtain information. He did not return till noon. There was a meeting lasting three hours. The Egyptians were excluded, but Casati was admitted and was almost insulted. It has been decided to send me to Rejaf. Nothing has been settled about Vita or Hawash.⁵

September 29. The soldiers here are greatly excited, and refuse to have anything to do with the new order of things. Casati is much annoyed at the treatment meted out to him, and did not go out till towards evening. After sunset Osman Effendi sent me the following note:

"In writing as you did to Hamid Aga about caps etc. you did well. I (Osman) have today received orders, which appoint me to be chief in all inquiries respecting Hawash, Vita and others and all documents have been handed over to me. If any letters are written to you, they shall be calm, businesslike,

and free from anything calculated to offend. Don't let anything worry you. For the present you will not go north, but remain here. Get Hamid Aga's permission to go away and fetch your daughter; Vita ought to do likewise. Send no one to me but Binza, with a note in your own handwriting, upon which I will write my answer, and which you may then burn. Tell no one of these communications. I am sending a hundred dollars for Mr. Jephson.' Casati came subsequently, bringing me much the same news, from Ahmed Effendi Mahmud, especially as regards my staying here provisionally. They are fully occupied in searching for Hawash's money.

September 30. We hear a rumour that Ali Aga Jabor is preparing to proceed to Rejaf. Also that the under-officers who have been detailed as orderlies to Selim Aga have refused to do so and that the steamers are being made ready to depart. Once again I have been written to demanding the orders which came from Egypt and accordingly sent them. Towards evening Kodi Aga sent for my three orderlies. Later a note came from Osman Effendi. 'Ali Aga and Kodi Aga are not going yet. I beg you not be to anxious. At last things are becoming calm and it would appear as if the soldiers are opposed to your going from here elsewhere. Casati should come to me early tomorrow.'

October 1, Monday to October 7, Sunday. Casati has been to Osman Effendi. Both steamers are to go to the south to fetch the families of the clerks etc. Hamid Effendi requests me to have my household effects brought here. All the Egyptians, clerks etc. are against me. Early today my three orderlies were taken away. The two steamers should sail on Thursday.

At eleven o'clock there was a great uproar. Osman Effendi threw himself into the river, but has been fished out.⁶

Towards evening Casati went to Hamid Aga to request him and Selim Aga to come to me tomorrow morning. He hears that Osman Effendi, being over weary with all his drudgery, has entirely withdrawn and is now living in his house. Furthermore, sentries have been posted at our doors to prevent our servants from entering the houses of Hawash and Osman.

October 2. Early, Arif Effendi brought me an exceptionally civil letter. He told me the officers were supposed to be sending to Wadelai to search my house and Marco's for money belonging to Hawash. In the evening there was a great clamour. Hawash was called to the divan. During his absence six officers and officials forced themselves into his house and beat the women on account of the money. However, they found only a few iron shovels. Hawash came back, but was not permitted to enter before the scene was over. Then they locked him up in one house, and the women in another and will search again tomorrow.

Osman Effendi wrote to me saying it was too much for him. Hence he had thrown himself into the river. He has simply been ordered to keep to his house. Hamid Aga and Selim Aga have not come. Early in the morning I sent to Hamid Aga to let him know we had neither meat nor oil in the house; that I wanted some from the stores as part of my salary, for which I would give him a receipt. He answered my servant that he must consult the officers first. That is our new chief of the land. However, at the instance of Casati, a goat and some oil was sent us later on. Early today I had a letter from Hamid Aga saying 'Up to the present we have not confiscated your house. But we must request you to inform us what caps, ammunition, ivory, cloth, and papers belonging to the Government are in it, and who has charge of them, so that we may send and have them brought here, and put an end to the matter'. ne

reply, I asked them to consent to Casati's going to Wadelai, and men with him, in order to see what was in my house. They promised that they would do so. In the evening, however, I heard that it had again been determined to confiscate all our belongings of every kind, and to send up some of the officers and the clerk Ahmed Mahmud for the purpose. I am also informed that Marco, Ibrahim Gattas, Haji Ahmed, and some of the under-officers have been ordered to come here.

October 4. Today Hawash presented a petition to the officers, stating that I had defrauded him, and claiming from me 1,300 dollars, 99 head of cattle, 500 goats, 160 pieces of damur, etc. His scribe was Ahmed Effendi Mahmud. In the evening the Sudanese officers assembled and violently disputed with one another about me. Ali Aga insisted on conveying me to Rejaf; Selim Aga, Hamid Aga, and Fadl-el-Mula Aga spoke against this. Finally they wanted to come to me! The clerk Raphael Effendi sends me similar information quite late. Even Kismallah has gone over to my enemies!⁷

October 5. Promotions were conferred today upon the soldiers at Wadelai. A lot of rumours in the air, but none of them are good. Tomorrow the *Khedive* leaves for Wadelai, Tunguru, and Mswa. The *Nyanza* follows in a few days.

October 6. The *Khedive* left, having on board Kodi Aga, Auad, Ahmed Mahmud, Taib Sabri etc. Casati, too, went by the steamer to be present at the examination of my house. Jephson attended (sc. to see him off). The steamer left at 7.30 a.m. A little later Ali Aga Shamruch came with further written questions to me. Hawash Effendi, who has made presents to the clerks, now throws all the blame upon me. To put an end to this disgusting affair, I have given written notice to the officials concerned that I cannot recognise their right to interrogate me. They must collect all the evidence against me and lay it before the Minister of the Interior. As soon as he inquires into it, or sends an official to do so. I will be prepared to answer for myself. That settles the matter. Today Abdallah Aga Mansal and Bachit Aga Bargut arrived from the north.

October 7. In the evening Abdallah Aga Mansal sends me with his greetings a letter from Mugi. I am to fear nothing. The soldiers have been questioned and have with one voice declared against the new regime and have asked for my reinstatement. A little later Raphael Effendi told me more or less the same news. At 5 p.m. the soldiers had been asked what they wanted and they had declared that, if I was not again reinstated, they would take their weapons and go home.

October 8, Monday to October 14, Sunday. Shortly after half the soldiers had been sent into the forest to fetch wood, the remainder were mustered and the officers went to them. Fadl-el-Mula Aga announced to them that I wanted to betray them. When four sergeants and an under-officer spoke against this, they were locked up. Selim Aga then announced that he wanted me to be sent to Rejaf and Hawash somewhere else. Therewith the movement in my favour has come to an end. A little later the under-officers went to Hamid Aga, who for some days past has not left his house and does not meddle in anything, and asked for the release of the prisoners, which was at once granted. In the evening Mr. Jephson was at Hamid Aga's and met Bachit Aga there, who assured him that all the soldiers were on my side and that with patience we should yet attain our object (?). Hawash had sent to Jephson to say that all that he had written against had been extorted from him by the clerks under threat of death.⁸

October 10. Early today I heard from Osman Effendi that Ahmed Raif had been with him, and related that the officers had become somewhat irresolute because I threatened to kill myself, if coerced into going to Rejaf. In the evening he sent me a note saying he had heard that he was to go to Labore, whilst I should remain here, but it was still uncertain.⁹

October 12. At midday the officers met at Hamid Aga's. Ali Aga was invited to fetch two companies from Makraka-Rejaf in order to set up stations towards the east. He declined, and threatened to take me to Rejaf by force, if I did not go there willingly.

October 13. The steamer *Nyanza* left for Wadelai early today. Late at night I had word from Osman Effendi that the non-commissioned officers and men had determined to set me free, and that I was not to be alarmed at hearing a hubbub and trumpet sounds before my house.

October 15. Monday to October 21, Sunday. (A report is received that three steamers and eight boats have reached Lado from Khartum. It is decided to send troops to Rejaf to ascertain what are the facts).

October 16. (The expedition set out 6 a.m. under the command of Hamid Aga. Emin sets out the names of the officers. Ali Aga Jabor refused to go "The biggest scamps unfortunately remain here").

(A letter from Rejaf arrived at midday. The arrivals at Lado are Dongolawi from Khartum commanded by Emin's former clerk Osman Erhob, who sent four messengers with a letter to me, which should reach Dufile on the morrow. The Dongolawi are in possession of Gondokoro).

October 17. (Osman Effendi sent Emin a report regarding the steamers, regarding which Emin writes "This sounds comical").

Ali Aga Jabor has given an order to Selim Aga (his superior officer!) to send Hawash Effendi and all his servants to Pabbo.

(Orders have been issued for the families of the men in the stations to the north to be sent to Dufile and thence to Wadelai).

At 4 p.m. the emissaries of Osman Erhob arrived here with the letter. They are three Dervishes dressed in their customary patchwork clothes. One has a long sword and there are three lances, but no guns. They were received by Fadl-el-Mula Aga and most of the officers and the letter was read. Feraj Aga proposed that they should be killed, but he was outvoted, and it appears that they will be interned at Pabbo.

October 18. Fadl-el-Mula Aga assembled the officers early in the day. To my surprise an officer came and requested me to come to the meeting. This I refused to do but declared myself ready to receive them if they came to me. They all came and there was read to me an Arabic letter from Osman Salib, the head of the Mahdists.

(An English translation of the letter is set out in full in Jephson pp.245-53. It was addressed to the "Honoured Mehmed Emin" as Mudir of the Province. Emin gives a brief summary of its contents. It informed him of the deaths of Gordon and Hansal at Khartum and that Slatin, Lupton, and Nur Bey (see Extracts I and II) were prisoners. Jephson says (p.253) "there was a second letter much shorter than this addressed to the Christian clerks of the divan, in which Osman Saleb granted them free pardon provided they consented to embrace Islam.")

I was asked to give my advice as to the answer to be given to this letter, but I refused because I had been removed from my post. I said I would write to Stanley and would do this in order to secure a return journey for Jephson.

Soon afterwards Ali Aga Jabor, Feraj Aga Aojoli, Ali Aga Shanruch, and Dau-el-Beit Aga set out for Rejaf. What is now going to happen I do not know.

(At midday at a meeting of the officers and clerks certain measures were decided upon to cope with the situation. They included (*inter alia*) "No servility but war against the Dongolawi". All weapons in the hands of the Mahdist messengers were to be taken from them and they were to be sent to the south).

October 19 and 20. (Emin received various reports regarding the Mahdists and the operations against them).

October 21. (Further reports of a like nature received. According to one "Feraj Aga's company has fought well, but has eventually fallen back on Kiri").

October 22, 23 and 24. (Further reports of a like nature).

October 25. Yesterday evening a letter came with the following contents.

The chief ship's officer of the Khartumers says Stanley has come and brought a large quantity of ammunition, but he has gone back and is now waiting with much ammunition and many Europeans. Haste must be made to attack us. At the same time the letter says the Khartumers are not showing any activity . . .

The three Khartumers have today undergone a form of torture, whereby bamboo splinters have been tied round their heads and gradually drawn tighter. They have announced that they came on an invitation from me. (Their information as to the military strength of the Mahdist expeditions is set out in detail). Now my people are ready to believe this nonsense.¹⁰

October 26. Jephson went yesterday to Fadl-el-Mula Aga, who told him that if matters at Rejaf go wrong, he will send him (Jephson) and me to Tunguru (?).

Hawash Effendi has let Jephson know that he has no evil intentions regarding him and that all that he has said against me is untrue. He has only done this because he was threatened with death.

(Jephson also received a message from Osman Effendi, which is set out in full in Emin's diary. It reports the capture of Rejaf by the Mahdists and threats to Mugi and ends by saying "It appears to me that they (the troops) are only brave in their cups. May God grant that Stanley comes soon." Reports have arrived that Stanley is at Nsabe. Emin's comment regarding these reports is that "I regard all these as the imagination of drunkards.")¹¹

October 27 and 29. (Further reports regarding the Mahdists and Stanley).

October 29, Monday to November 4, Sunday. A servant of Ali Effendi has come to me here from Rejaf. At 5.30 p.m. the Khartumers took the station at Rejaf. No clerks and only a few officers have escaped.

At noon Osman Effendi wrote to me that the soldiers at Mugi refused to fight on the pretext that I was a prisoner, and they would take no orders from their officers.

October 30. At 7 a.m. the *Khedive* at last returned from Wadelai with Casati. The steamer had lain ten days at Mswa. Shukri Aga was making a razzia from there, and had not yet got back. My house at Wadelai was searched by the people sent to search it and every thing they found—goods, beads, etc.—was confiscated and lodged in the Government store. No news of Stanley . . .

(Reports are coming in from many out-stations that soldiers are refusing to obey their officers' orders).

October 31. (Reports as to casualties amongst the officers). Ali Aga Jabor at Mugi is utterly contemned by his soldiers and does not leave his house. Feraj Aga Adjole is now their commander.

(There is talk of Emin's reinstatement in his post).

November 1 and 2. (Fugitives are coming from the northern stations).

November 3. In the evening Osman Effendi writes "The officers have split into two parties—one for you (me) and the other for Fadl-el-Mula Aga." (He asks for advice as to the attitude he should adopt).

November 5, Monday to November 11, Sunday. Today the *Khedive* arrived from Wadelai and I have received some letters! The steamer goes on Thursday to Wadelai and with it Osman Effendi, who today offered to give me 250 dollars—150 for myself and 100 for Jephson.

November 6. Osman Effendi is getting ready for his journey. He has sent me 150 dollars. I am to repay him in Egypt! He sent 100 dollars to Jephson. Letters arriving today say that the soldiers marched yesterday from Mugi to Rejaf. The boatswain of the *Khedive* has asked for his discharge. The captain is going to be discharged. A loss to my poor steamer!

November 7. Permission has been graciously granted me to send one of my servants to Wadelai. In the afternoon the belongings of Abdallah Aga Mansal and others arrived. Osman Effendi sends me a cypher key for correspondence with him at Wadelai. My new informant, Ejub Effendi, a Coptic clerk, writes as follows: "The troops from Mugi marched to Kiri, where they met twelve men and an under-officer whom Hamid Aga sent to Makraka previously. Two hundred and seventy men have been sent from Makraka. Their arrival at Kiri is now being awaited. When the Khartumers heard that it was intended to attack Rejaf, they fled, putting many of the Rejaf people in irons. As soon as I get further particulars I shall write again." The bearer of this mail frankly said that the soldiers are grievously discontented, obeying neither Hamid Aga nor Ali Aga. As soon as the Makraka soldiers reach Kiri, the soldiers propose to take counsel among themselves. I fear the end of it will be an exodus to Makraka.

November 8. (Names given of officers and families proceeding to Wadelai).

November 9. News has come from Kiri that the soldiers have revolted against Ali Aga Jabor. . . . Hamid Aga, Abd-el-Wahub Effendi, Feraj Aga are said to have declared themselves to be on the soldiers' side.

November 11. Departure of the *Nyanza* with Hawash (for Wadelai). Yesterday and today there were some very agitated meetings, at which Suleiman Aga has supported me and told the clerks and their supporters the truth. On the whole my party is become braver and more in evidence.

November 12, Monday to November 18, Sunday. Ibrahim Aga Gattas has died at Wadelai. He served twenty-five years here and Bahr-el-Ghazal. He was one of the old school, but reliable and honest. I am sorry to have lost him.

November 14. Suleiman Aga has intervened with Fadl-el-Mula Aga regarding my departure for Wadelai. He has told him that he is responsible for the first battalion to me and must write to that effect.

November 15. Some negroes have brought the news that white men have been seen south-east of Padibe. Suleiman Aga has sent for Casati. On his return the latter said that a letter had been received from Abdallah Aga with the following contents. When the soldiers reached Rejaf, they were taken by surprise by a sudden onslaught of the Khartumers and left the place in a thorough panic. (Casualties amongst officers are here set out).¹² Until now this

news has been kept secret.

Since quite early a lively discussion has been going on at Selim Aga's, and the loud tones of some of the officers can frequently be distinguished. The clerks, too, were called together, but after a short time went away. It looks as if Selim Aga had made up his mind to treat after all. At 11.30 a.m. Casati was called to him, returning soon after with the intimation that the officers intended to call on me. At noon they came: Selim Aga, Fadl-el-Mula Aga, Suleiman Aga, Bachit Aga, and Abd-el-Wahd Effendi (Egyptian). I began to chat with some of them, but Selim Aga begged me to listen to an intimation they desired to make. He explained that amongst other things that he had convoked all the officers early that morning to tell them it was about time to let me go back to my own house at Wadelai. Matters were getting wearisome, and everybody saw very well that all these things could only lead to a disaster. But a number of clerks and officers thought that if I returned to power I should take vengeance on them. So, to reassure them, and to give time for informing the absent officers who took part in the former conference, they had resolved to ask me to go to my house at Wadelai. I was to leave tomorrow morning, as Suleiman Aga wanted to wait till I returned home. They assured me that they still looked upon me as their chief and benefactor, and begged my pardon for the harm done here at the instigation of a few scamps. As soon as all the officers came from the north, everything should be put in order, and I would be told how it all happened and requested to lead and direct them as I had done hitherto. During this speech Fadl-el-Mula Aga, my gaoler, stood by Selim Aga, looking very downcast. Suleiman Aga then began an apology for him, saying that he had been led astray by the clerks, but was loyal to me at heart. I cut this short, however, and I thanked the officers for their friendliness, and declared my readiness to start tomorrow morning. As to resuming the conduct of affairs, that was out of the question; even if they wished it, I could not entertain the suggestion. Selim Aga begged me to defer the consideration of this point and added a few words in favour of Fadl-el-Mula Aga, with whom I thereupon shook hands, promising to forget what he, misled by others, had done to me. He pressed my hand, but when the officers took their leave he was obviously glad to get away. Before they left Selim Aga begged me to do my best to interest Stanley on their behalf when he arrived. Then they went, the sentries were withdrawn from the door of my house and I was free once more. Jephson and Casati were present.

I may at once state what appears to me to have led to this revulsion of feeling. To begin with, the officers were no longer sure of the men. Even the soldiers who arrived at Kiri from Makraka had declared for me. The utmost difficulty was experienced in getting together the expedition to Rejaf. The soldiers were unwilling to fight for officers who maltreated them and misled them by misrepresenting that Khartum remained in the hands of Egypt, and that I had deceived them and intended to sell them to the English, etc. Consequently they abandoned their officers and ran away. The mutineers at Labore publicly declared that their captain, Surur Aga, had driven them to mutiny, and that they meant to tell me so. Only yesterday, at Dufile, when one of the soldiers was put in irons by Fadl-el-Mula Aga on a charge of collusion with me, his comrades immediately delivered him by force. Moreover, when told off for the usual evening duties, they point-blank refused to do them. In addition, there was the depressing news of the death of the six officers, among them four of the ringleaders. Besides, a party had been forming in my favour for some time

among the officers at Dufile, and, though some of them were sent to Wadelai, the rest became all the louder (sc. in their support). In this group I include Selim Aga, Hussein Effendi, Bachit Aga, Suleiman Effendi, Abd-er-Rahim, and others. Suleiman Aga, in fact, since his return from Pabbo, had never ceased to inveigh against the seditious agitators, and it is due to the pressure exercised by Suleiman Aga and Casati that Selim finally consented to treat. Fadl-el-Mula Aga had long been urged to sanction my departure; but he constantly entrenched himself behind his promise to Ali Aga Jabor, to hold me a prisoner until his return to Dufile. But this morning Selim Aga sent for all the officers here and simply told them that in view of the occurrences at Rejaf he had decided to send me to Wadelai. All approved immediately, except the two Egyptians, Mustapha Effendi who had summoned Fadl-el-Mula Aga to Dufile, and Effendi el Adjami, who both demanded guarantees for their safety. Selim Aga next sent for the clerks, the instigators of all the mischief (Ahmed Mahmud, Sabri, Ahmed Raif, Michael Saad, etc.), and in blunt words told them what the officers had determined. The two first-named tried to remonstrate and declared they would rather die, but were met by a brusque reply and sent about their business, with the intimation that their rule was ended, and that in future they would take no further part in consultations. Selim Aga next requested the captains to accompany him in full uniform to acquaint me with their decision. All consented, except Mustapha Effendi el Adjami, who openly declared he 'did not want to look upon my face.' They ignored him and came to me.

In the afternoon various people came to give me their good wishes. Towards evening I paid a short visit to Selim Aga to thank him for his efforts. Jephson went with me to obtain an order enabling him to take Stanley's boat; it was granted immediately. Selim Aga was most affable, and begged me not to be angry with him; he would do his very utmost to put everything right. He had ordered Abdallah Aga Mansal to bring the soldiers to Dufile as soon as practicable; subsequently they would come to Wadelai and follow my lead, if I liked. Soldiers, under-officers etc. came to Selim's house to kiss my hand. In the evening my things were put on board, whilst in the station there was music and dancing to celebrate the occasion. I cannot close these notes without again emphasising how much I am indebted to Casati for all his endeavours.

APPENDIX A

Correspondence

(1)

Letter of rebel officers to Emin delivered to him on 2 September 1888.

To the Governor of the Equatorial Province Excellency, Some officers and officials have in disregard of military orders issued from Egypt been deprived of their rank. We have therefore decided to deliver this petition with a request that a letter be sent to the Diwan to order their restoration in rank with all that appertains thereto so that the public peace may be restored and we are at rest."

(2)

Emin Pasha's reply to (1) dated 2 September 1888.

In order to restore public peace all orders relating to the officers and officials referred to in the petition have been retrospectively revoked and they are restored in rank.

(Jephson p. 182 says "the rebels also requested Emin to sign a paper relating to a change in the administration of the Province; to this he also put his seal.")

(3)

Letter received on 10 October 1888 by Emin from Osman Effendi Latvi

My Benefactor, I have the honour to tell you that your servant has heard, that the soldiers, when the officers read them their decision to put you aside, declared unanimously they did not wish your deposition, but they wished the removal of Hawashi Effendi, Ibrahim Effendi, and Abdul Wahab Effendi only, and wished you to remain here and look after them as before, for that you were their mother and father—and the soldiers are all united in this opinion. When you have been addressed in a letter and questioned about ivory and other things and you have answered the rebels "I am your Pasha and Mudir and no one can put me under examination except the Minister of the Interior in Egypt" you have done very well, for it is perfectly true, and from this moment they have refrained from troubling you with any questions. The chief clerk, Mahomed Effendi Raif and others, who have made themselves chiefs amongst the rebels, are very much discomposed and the council has now become a mere farce. Moreover they are getting to be afraid of the soldiers and fear Mr. Stanley's return. Tell Mr. Jephson to go to Fadl-el-Mula and ask him to let him have some fat-tailed sheep, and a milch cow, from those which have been taken from Hawash Effendi, before they are sold. I am sure Fadl-el-Mula Aga will give Mr. Jephson whatever he asks. I have heard the rebels have decided to leave you here in Dufile and I am to be sent to Labore for not having submitted to their Government. Without offence I beg you to make my best compliments to Mr. Jephson. He should be tranquil about what happens. I beg you for some few words, for a letter is half equal to a personal interview. With every respect I kiss your hands.

Osman Effendi Latvi.

APPENDIX B**Emin Pasha's Will**

Jephson p. 233 told us that Emin had made up his mind for the worst and decided to make his will, but gives no date for the signing of that will. Mrs Middleton has kindly supplied me with the following extract from Jephson's diary bearing date 4 October 1888.

"The Pasha sent for certain of the officers today and a clerk to write his will in case anything happens to him. He wishes me to take charge of Ferida, his little girl, if I can get out of the country and he cannot. He makes over the few thousand pounds he has left out of all his money which was lost in Khartum to me to hold in trust for her. I suggested that another guardian should be appointed as well, so he said he would write and ask Felkin to act with me."

In his book Jephson (p. 233) says that at the time of making this will Emin "told the officers and priest (sic) that he would sooner blow his brains out than go to Rejaf and that was what he intended to do if the rebels used violence to him."

It is doubtful whether Emin ever wrote to Felkin, as Jephson suggested. What appears to be certain is that Felkin never received any such letter.

Later evidence points to the fact that Emin handed over this will to Jephson. It would appear to have been a perfectly valid will according to Muslim law as applicable in Egypt.

Emin may well have forgotten the existence of this will after his arrival at Bagamoyo. In any event on 8 March 1890, he made a second will, which was deposited with the German Consulate at Zanzibar in April of that year. It evidently had the effect of cancelling the will of 4 October 1889. It translates as follows:

"In the event of my decease on the journey I bequeath all my property without any exception whatsoever, as well as all my claims for salary and pension now in course of settlement by the Egyptian Government, to my only legitimate daughter Ferida, whose Mother, the deceased Abyssinian, Safaran, was my legitimate wife. And I appoint my sister Melanie Schnitzer, to be Ferida's guardian until her twentieth year; thenceforward my daughter shall be free to dispose of the legacy herself"—(Schweitzer (trans. Felkin), ii, 301-2).

On 10 April, 1890, the following note appeared in *The Times*.

"The will of Emin Pasha is on its way to the Stanley and African Exhibition at Brussels, where it will be on view on Saturday next. It was written when Emin Pasha was taken prisoner by his revolted troops, and he was ordered to execution. He then made his will and appointed the Khedive of Egypt and Mr. Jephson his executors. The will was witnessed by some of his officers who had remained loyal. Accompanying the will is a letter written by the Mahdi to Emin Pasha. These great curiosities have been put into the care of Mr. D. de Pinna, who is at present representing the Stanley and African Exhibition at the reception given to Mr. Stanley at Brussels."

Putting aside any question as to whether the above statement accurately represents the contents of the will of 4 October, 1888, one asks how did this document get into Mr. De Pinna's hands. Either it was given to him by Jephson or else Jephson handed it to Stanley.

Both Jephson and Stanley had left Zanzibar for Egypt at the end of January 1890, and were in all probability completely unaware of the fact that Emin had made a new will on 8 March 1890, and had deposited it with the German Consulate at Zanzibar in the following month. But it is immaterial whether or not they had this knowledge. It also matters not whether this earlier will was valid or invalid or whether or not it was revoked by this subsequent will. The earlier will was Emin's private property and could only be disposed of in accordance with his wishes. After his quarrels with Stanley it is impossible to believe that he was prepared to surrender the ownership thereof for purposes *ad majorem gloriam Henrici Stanley* at Brussels.

On 15 March 1889, Emin records in his diary the fact that Jephson then gave vent to his feelings regarding Stanley by saying "he may be everything, but he will never be a gentleman". (Schweitzer, i, 305, German edition omitted from Felkin's translation). Was Jephson very far wrong? The earlier will and his subsequent correspondence shows that Emin was anxious to provide for Ferida's well-being. If that will had stood alone, this parade of it outside its legal custody in Stanley's thirst for self-glorification might well have deprived the child of the benefits which her father was anxious to bestow on her.

For Ferida's after career see Schweitzer (trans. Felkin), ii, 303. Stuhlmann was one of the sponsors at her baptism into the Lutheran Church. She died in 1923 (Margot Krohn, *Emin Pascha im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, *Jahrbuch des . . . Universitat zu Breslau*, 1963).

NOTES

1. Jephson, pp. 160-4, describes the reception of himself and Emin on their arrival at Dufle. He supplies the following additional information:
 "As for me, they said they had personally nothing against me, except that I was an envoy of Stanley, and was helping the Pasha and him to carry out their plans of forcing the people to leave the Province, but they supposed I was only obeying orders. I was free to go about the station, but I should be followed by sentries who would report to them all that I did".
2. Jephson, p.166, tells us that Emin's and his own servants were occasionally able to smuggle in a note from Hawash Effendi and the few well-affected people in the station "under vegetables or corn which they had been sent out to buy for us." The passages in Hawash Effendi's letter which deals with the demand for his dismissal have been omitted here in the interests of brevity.
3. Stanley did not return to Lake Albert until 16 January 1889.
4. Jephson, pp.185-206, gives a full account of his journey to the south and back to Dufle. He says Marco had explained to him that his reason for not forwarding Jephson's letter to Emin was because "things had been so unsettled in the station and he had so constantly been threatened by people for being friendly to the Mudir, that he had not dared to send the letter for fear of its being discovered, in which case he would probably have been put in prison." (*ibid.* p.203). According to Jephson he had handed over only one letter for Emin to Marco (p.191).
5. I am indebted to Mrs. Middleton for the following extract from Jephson's diary.
 "Today being Friday, the Arab day of rest, the council is not sitting, but there are a good many officers out under the tree talking very noisily. Casati, however, who has just come in, has told us that the discussion was on the subject of the Pasha's place of residence. Ali Aga Jabor, Feraj Aga Ajok, and Hamad Aga Dinkawi were the chief speakers and they strongly insisted on Rejaf being the Pasha's residence. Casati spoke very strongly. They were absolutely rude to him and asked him what he had to do with it. They had met here to settle the affairs of the country and no one had asked him to put in his word. Just these four (*sic*) officers by dint of shouting and insisting strongly carried the motion against the entire lot of officers assembled. It is always so, one or two determined men may do as they please. No Egyptians or clerks were admitted to the conference. Now that it is tolerably certain that the Pasha will have to go to Rejaf, he is in much better spirits. It is the uncertainty which was bad."
6. I am once again indebted to Mrs. Middleton for the following extract from Jephson's diary of this date:
 "The orderlies have been taken away this morning, they came to kiss our hands before leaving. Some of the boys came in to tell us that Osman Effendi, the Vakil, who is a strong friend of the Pasha's, refused to put his signature to a paper the rebels wished him to sign and on their trying to force him to do so, he threw himself into the river. Some of the rebels cried out "Let him perish, do not save such carrion", but other people fished him out in a boat. He had been put at the head of a commission for enquiring into the charges made against Hawash Effendi and Signor Vita; he was our last link by whom we got information and now he has been put aside and sent to his house and Selim Aga has been put in his place. He also is a friend, but is weak and perfectly useless to us. Things are getting worse and worse, one never knows what the day will bring forth."
7. Emin omits to mention that on this day he made his will. As to the contents and history of that will, see Appendix B.
8. Mrs. Middleton has kindly supplied me with the following extract from Jephson's diary under this date:
 "If he (Emin) is taken away to Rejaf, I'm afraid Stanley will never be able to extricate him from the country. In case he goes to Rejaf, I shall go with him, if I am allowed by the rebels, for I cannot desert him, and I shall probably be in the same box. We hear that there are secret orders to bring the Pasha's house and people back in the steamer and his little girl as well. He declares he will not go to Rejaf. He will shoot himself sooner and this he has firmly made up his mind to do. He has spoken to me about it and tells me that it means starvation for him to go to Rejaf, as there is nothing there. If he is once there neither he nor his little girl will ever get out. Therefore to save his girl he will destroy himself, for if he is dead the rebels will allow me to take his little girl with me. I promised him I would do all I could. I am sure amongst my friends at home, I shall be able to find someone who will be kind to the little Ferida."
9. A translation of Osman Effendi's letter is printed in Jephson pp.233-4 without any date being assigned to it. The English translation thereof is set out in Appendix A3.

10. On 23 October Emin received the following note from Osman Effendi:
 "The officers intend to collect here and to send the women and children to the South and with them some soldiers for opening a new station south of Mswa. And only soldiers with their arms and ammunition will remain here. At least so I hear, but what are their true intentions no one knows but God whom I pray will assist us."
 I am indebted to Mrs. Middleton for the following extract from Jephson's diary of 24 October:
 "The chief clerk and Ibrahim Effendi Ellam went this morning down to Labore to try and persuade the officers not to go down to Rejaf and to try and retake it, but to concentrate here. This move was in consequence of our having heard last night that the officers in Labore had made up their minds to try and retake the station. The artificers have been at work all day making silver bullets to fire at the Khartumers. They have taken a hundred dollars from the money they took from Hawash Effendi and each dollar makes a bullet. They do this because they believe the Mahdi's people are some of them impervious to ordinary bullets, but silver bullets will kill them, if they were the devil's own people."
11. In his diary Jephson records on 26 October, that "the Pasha has been very seedy for the past three days. He cannot get his breath."
12. The casualties included Hamid Aga amongst the killed. Jephson, p.286, pays this tribute to his memory.
 "He was the best, by far, of all Emin's Sudanese officers. He was a thoroughly good, honest, straight-forward old fellow, and moreover a firm friend of Emin in fair and foul weather. He was greatly beloved by the soldiers, particularly by those at Wadelai, of which station he was formerly chief. His death created a profound impression amongst the soldiers and made them more than ever discontented with the rebel officers. At the taking of Rejaf some weeks before, all his wives and children were captured by the Dongolawi, and he seemed from all accounts to have become reckless in consequence. He was one of those fatherly looking old negroes, with white hair, and I felt really grieved I should not see again his kind old face."
 Feraj Aga Ajok (one of Baker's "Forty Thieves") was reported to be missing, but it was believed that he had escaped to Makraka. For his subsequent career see Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, pp.335, 365, 367, 565, 569, 584.

THE RECEPTION OF ALIEN RULE IN TESO: 1896-1927

By G. EMWANU

This essay is a study of the introduction of British rule amongst the Iteso people, the second largest group in Uganda. 1896 has been chosen for the beginning of the survey because in that year a deputation of Iteso chiefs visited Mengo to ask the Kabaka Mwanga for protection against the Lango.¹ The survey ends in 1927 when the important Iteso chief, Enoka Epaku, was deported.² The initial period of alien rule was by the introduction of Baganda agents. The impact of this system and the reaction to the 'reign of terror' imposed by the Baganda led to the creation of a degree of cohesion previously unknown in Teso. The manner in which the Iteso reacted to the alien influences in the first three decades of their contact with foreigners is the subject of this essay. A theme can be traced throughout this period to the effect that although the Iteso could and did welcome many outside influences, a trait of resentment was always noticeable whenever the Iteso realised that the foreigners did not always act for the good of the local people. This theme of resentment and resistance has largely been ignored by earlier writers on the history of Teso. More usually the impression has been given that the Iteso were the most easily conquered and the most responsive to the implementation of changes introduced by the aliens of all the peoples of Uganda, only occasionally has it been recognised that the alien over-rule faced minor mishaps, and then these events have been undervalued. As an illustration *The Iteso* by J. C. D. Lawrance may be cited. The gist of what Lawrance has to say about the subjugation of the Iteso by Kakunguru and his followers is set out in the following passage:

"The pattern of occupation was everywhere the same; first an armed expedition would be made from an established fort to a new area; the pretexts were often obscure, sometimes a request for help from a warring faction or sometimes a threat of attack by local inhabitants; after skirmishes or pitched battles a new fort would be established and a garrison of armed Baganda installed. This garrison would then extend its influence over the surrounding countryside by establishing armed posts or minor forts. When local opposition had been overcome the region would be proclaimed as *saza* and the smaller areas controlled by the outlying posts would be defined as *gombolola*. Baganda chiefs were appointed down to *muluka* level".³

Within this context some questions become evident. In particular there are three points requiring further investigation: firstly, whether or not in the type of encounters mentioned there were any Teso leaders with organized followers; secondly, how harmoniously or otherwise the conquerors and the people lived together in the years following the military subjugation; and, thirdly, how meekly or otherwise the local people conducted themselves in response to the policies of the British administrators during the period of transition, when the Iteso were being placed in important posts of chieftainship to replace the Baganda agents.

Although the Iteso were what the anthropologists call a segmentary decentralized society whose organization was based on lineage and age-set arrangements, they had nevertheless achieved a good degree of group organization by the turn of the century. It was this organization that had enabled them to terrorise some of the tribes around them. As the late Eria Emookor, one of the early *saza* chiefs in Teso, said "When Kakunguru came, there was already a system of chiefs appointed by the people", and the most important duty of these chiefs was to lead their followers in battle.⁴

There is a good deal of evidence to indicate that the regional groupings that existed among the Teso people were considerably bigger than is usually assumed. It would appear, in fact, that these groupings in some cases contained the germ of the modern county or at least subcounty arrangement. At any rate by the time of Kakunguru's march through the district there were specific persons' names that stood out and are still well remembered in the district. In Usuku county Okolimong had a wide influence extending beyond his home area of Usuku subcounty to parts of Katakwi subcounty; while Omiat of Amuria was well known over Amuria county and parts of Soroti county. One of the leaders for Kabermaido county was Otagi and that for Serere was Oiba. In Ngora county Okalany commanded a very large following; and in Kumi county Oumo was the leader of his people. Bukedea county had Okalang as one of its outstanding leaders, while Pallisa was controlled by Tukei.⁵

When Otagi, Omaswa, Amolo and about a hundred others,⁶ contacted Kakunguru at his fort on Kaweri Island in 1896 to lead them to seek help from Mwanga against the hostile Lango, it may be assumed that the Teso leaders were looking for effective means of ensuring the security of their people and also that they hoped thereby to maintain their own positions of leadership. Kakunguru had been commissioned by Colonel Ternan "to bring the unruly tribesmen under control and keep the region free of mutineer fugitives".⁷ When Kakunguru came to Teso, the Teso leaders were unaware of his commission and assumed that he came in response to their request for help and to help maintain themselves in positions of leadership. They were soon disillusioned.⁸

Kakunguru subdued the Lango at Kagaa and Dokolo, and established a fort at Bululu in 1900.⁹ When the external threat was removed and when the Teso leaders had seen how effective an alliance with the Baganda could be, they sought assistance from the Baganda in dealing with various internal problems in gaining control over local rivals.

Ijala of Ngora was one of the people to avail themselves of this opportunity. After earning the disfavour of his wealthy father Omasuge, for alleged social misbehaviour and, therefore, incurring heavy fines which had to be paid by his father, Ijala had been banished to Busoga.¹⁰ From there he heard of the presence of Kakunguru's men at Gogonyo fort in Pallisa. Ijala therefore made his way to Gogonyo and offered the Baganda a warm welcome in Ngõra provided they would subdue his arrogant father. Meanwhile Kakunguru had already been contacted by Sir Harry Johnston, the Special Commissioner for Uganda, who directed him to extend his influence to the rest of Teso so as to make sure that all signs of unruliness in the country were removed. So, when Ijala made his request¹¹ to the Baganda, the latter promptly complied and, going through Opege, where they erected a fort, fulfilled their mission against Omusage.

Another example was that of Omiat of Komolo, in present-day Amuria county. Omiat was already a great leader.¹² He was a huge, dark man of com-

manding structure who wore a sizeable bell, similar to the type commonly tied round the necks of bulls and cows.¹³ But there was noticeable resistance to Omiat's regime, especially on the Katakwi side across the great Komolo swamp, where he had ambition to extend his control. He therefore desired to hasten the downfall of his adversaries and extend his domain by obtaining the help of the Baganda. Owing to unfavourable circumstances, Omiat approached the Baganda several times in different places before his petition was eventually met. The first time he did so was in 1901 at Bululu, when he accompanied his petition with ivory as a present for Kakunguru. Unfortunately for Omiat, Kakunguru had just gone to see to the complaints of his people in Bugwere. Reubeni Bitege, who was in charge of Bululu, therefore told Omiat of this fact, adding that Kakunguru would be fully informed.¹⁴ The second time that Omiat asked for help from the Baganda was in August 1904 at Gweri, where Kakunguru and his party were camping on their way back to Mbale. But Omiat was again unsuccessful as Kakunguru could no longer undertake commitments of the nature requested by Omiat without first consulting the District Commissioner resident in Mbale. Eventually, Omiat had to present his petition in Mbale itself, in October 1904, before it was favourably answered. With the Baganda help under him, Omiat was able to establish a more effective control over his domain.¹⁵

* * * *

These three episodes, the petition of the Otagi deputation, and the approaches of Ijala and Omiat, indicate that in some senses the Baganda were invited to appear in Teso. This phase of 'invitations' represents the initial stage of the reception of alien rule. To those who had been directly responsible for inviting the Baganda, the presence of the latter in Teso was at best a convenient weapon with which to put their own house in order. As soon as the immediate aim of the invitation had been achieved a question arose as to the future of the 'guest-host' relationship. The Baganda soon began to assert their authority. They asked to be directed to all areas of possible resistance and moved from place to place building forts and enforcing orders on the local people.¹⁶ The initial hosts would probably have desired the guest to eliminate potential rivals from neighbouring areas. Thus in Ngora, after eliminating Ijala's father, the Baganda spread out into neighbouring areas killing and capturing many people, such as Okelo of Kokong village, Emugenyait of Akisim, Orena of Omatenga and Okwerede of Aler.¹⁷

Whether it was a local leader who directed the trigger against his own people, or the Baganda gunmen who on their own moved round devastating the country, the people were faced with an intolerable situation in which death was always imminent. Before the arrival of the Baganda the order of the day had been hostility to all strangers. Semei Kakunguru realized the existence of this hostility from the local people as early as 1896 when he established a fort at Kaweri Island, and he communicated the same fact to Captain Kirkpatrick of the Macdonald Expedition in 1896, while surveying the shores of Lake Kyoga.¹⁸

One aspect of the local hostility to the Baganda took the form of open group resistance as the Baganda moved from one area to another. In this case the natives would organize themselves under a leader by making an alarm and blowing a horn or a gourd on hearing reports of the approach of the Baganda. When the moment of action came the natives concerned would all run forward to meet the enemy in spite of the bullets which were showered on

them.¹⁹ In such a battle the outcome was usually a foregone conclusion, as it was merely a question of the gun triumphing over the spear.

But the Baganda did not always have it their own way. There were a number of battles in which the Iteso displayed great bravery and effective tactics of warfare. The battle of Opege, two miles north of Ngora headquarters, offers a striking illustration of how serious a clash between the two sides could be. The Kiganda side was led by three generals: Samu Kaggwa, Arajabu Sabakaki and Jafferi Mayanja. The Iteso were led by "a very famous and fierce man called Okalany. He was extremely tall and big. He used to wear on his head a huge hat of ostrich feathers, a very large shield of elephant skin and he used to carry four spears. All this made his appearance all the more terrifying."²⁰ The Teso army on this occasion was unusually large and the battle lasted about five hours. Although Okalany himself was killed along with many of his soldiers, the Baganda also lost as many as seventy of their own number. This was in 1900.

A second battle in which the Baganda had a very hard time against the Iteso also took place in Ngora a year later. The leading combatants in this battle were Esitasi Bakka on the Kiganda side and Oluka on the Teso side. Again, the battle was chiefly noted for the bravery of the Iteso: "Oluka was a brave and fearless man, for example, when he heard that Kakunguru was at Budaka, he cleared all the roads saying that since Kakunguru would be passing through there and he wanted to pass through clear roads, 'I am clearing this so that he might come and fight me.'"²¹ The fierce attack which the Iteso launched against the Baganda ended in the death of Oluka, but not before he had killed at least one prominent Muganda by the name of Semei Muwanga.

In another clash which occurred at Abela near the present county headquarters of Usuku, the Baganda were so thoroughly routed by Okolimong's people that all plans of subjugating that area had to be put off for at least a year from 1907 to 1908,²² in this case the reason for the defeat of the Baganda lay in the fact that those who actually took part in the battle on their side were few and inadequately armed. They therefore relied far more on the native helpers from Omiat's domain than on their own strength. To make matters worse, at the time of the battle the great warlike Omiat himself was away, and this fact alone may have contributed to the lowering of the morale of his people.²³

It is worth noting too that the people of Usuku county were relatively braver and more resistant to the incursions of foreign influences than in any other part of Teso. It took the Baganda and the British almost ten years to establish their administration effectively in that county, and during that period there were no less than four incidents of serious military resistance. This stamina for resistance among the Usuku people is still very clearly noticeable. They are for instance the only Iteso near the Teso-Karamoja boundary who have been able to stand up to the challenge presented by the Karamojong determination to steal the Teso cattle.

Another aspect of the hostility offered against the Baganda was that of a secret nature, in which a military attack was conducted almost entirely at night. A group of natives would get together at dusk and swoop upon a Kiganda camp, taking the occupants therein unaware. The attackers in this case would usually retreat as quickly as the Baganda within the camp got at their guns and began shooting in self-defence. Soon this method of attack

became impracticable owing to the adoption of an effective defensive system by the Baganda, whereby rectangular moats were made to protect the camps.²⁴

During the period when they were making contacts with the Baganda, the Iteso were said to be "Natives rich in flocks, herds and food . . .". Iteso invariably fled from their villages and homes and stayed in hiding for days on end. If these people eventually returned, they could count themselves lucky if they found their homesteads unburned. The sight of burnt homesteads could be sufficiently shocking to stamp an indelible mark of revengefulness in the hearts of the vanquished for all was pillaged to an unforgettable degree.²⁵

Although this state of affairs was bound to make the Iteso very resentful to the presence of alien rulers in their country, many of them soon realised that the new order had come to stay. The local leaders of fortune who were originally associated with the invitation of the Baganda were the first to profit in this new regime because they were the ones utilised by the Baganda in attempting to communicate with the people, especially for purposes of public works. A number of others also soon realised the futility of military resistance and the advantages of becoming subservient to the Baganda rulers. Within a short period there was a host of headmen, butlers and messengers, ready to carry out various orders among their fellow tribesmen.²⁶

* * * *

Thus following the initial invitations a period of resistance developed, and the Baganda retaliated by devastating the countryside and imposing, what may reasonably be described as a reign of terror. This was sufficiently effective and further resistance was reduced to opposition to communal works. The ensuing years may be referred to as a period of resentment. Communal work was necessary for the construction of forts, chiefs' homes and roads. But labourers were unwilling to do this work for which they were not paid. This intensified the ill-feeling against the Baganda and the "loyalists". Force was necessary to obtain labour. Usually the lowest rank of chiefs were directly charged with ensuring that the labour was maintained. Potential labourers ran into hiding, and severe punishments were imposed if a person was caught trying to escape from the work-gangs. Countless incidents are remembered of punishments such as severe caning, having stomachs sat upon and having to handle red-hot objects. In some areas women were forced to do public labour works.²⁷

In the early part of the second decade of the century the use of force to get and keep labour began to be discouraged by the British administrators who in 1909 opened an administrative centre in Kumi where they were thus able to keep a closer look on the manner in which their Baganda agents dealt with the people of the district. Instead, voluntary labour was encouraged. But this new policy was prematurely introduced because nine years later, in 1918, the District Commissioner felt himself obliged to ask chiefs to collect, by force if necessary, over 1,500 people for distribution to ginneries, missionaries and government departments "on the ground that all such work is of a public nature and helps to forward the prosperity of the District."²⁸ As a matter of fact, during 1917 the war demands called for greater effort on a number of public activities and collection of porters by force became unavoidable. Even during the 1920's forced labour had to be used for the continuation of the construction of roads.

Despite the opening of poll tax registers as early as 1912,²⁹ and the introduction of a wage of 3 shillings a month in 1917 as a lure for volunteers to come

forward as labourers, there was no satisfactory response to the new policy. Moreover any genuine intention to adhere to the policy was undermined by the fact that for the purpose of private and personal work chiefs were allowed, within their own areas, the labour of each adult male person for three to five days a month.³⁰

Those peasants who might have required money for various purposes felt satisfied with what was obtained from their cotton, reported to be doing very well even as early as 1913. In that year the Director of Agriculture having toured the district reported that he had "no hesitation in putting on record the fact that, as a cotton growing centre, this district is unique in Africa—excepting Egypt . . .".³¹ The success of cotton growing in Teso at that early period of its introduction probably resulted from one or both of two factors: either the Baganda agents and the British Administrators used sufficient force to make sure that the required cotton was promptly and properly cultivated, or the people themselves realised the usefulness of cotton, and therefore took to its cultivation seriously on their own. On the first factor there would seem to be little doubt that in the initial stages people must have been forced to grow cotton.³² One of the reasons for this conclusion is that cotton growing was an innovation in the district and therefore the people could not be expected to appreciate its cultivation on a voluntary basis. A second reason is provided by the rapid rise of the amount of cotton produced from just under two tons in 1909, the year of its introduction, to five hundred tons after only one year.³³ A third reason lies in the fact that the Government attached a great deal of importance to the activity of cotton growing in the whole country as a means of bringing about economic development. This was illustrated by the early establishment of a cotton experimental station at Kadungulu in 1909 to be moved later to Simsa in 1909, and to Serere in 1920.³⁴ Then there was also the fact that after it was collected from the plots the seed cotton had to be transported on human heads to the lake ports, such as Budongo and Lale, where canoes could convey it to steamers. The district never looked back once it had taken to cotton growing. People eventually came to realise the usefulness of cotton growing and therefore cultivated without force. Previously cattle formed the most powerful means of satisfying one's requirements, but the disastrous rinderpest of 1890 as well as the plundering in the initial contacts with the Baganda agents, had left many people destitute. Moreover it was not at all possible for cattle owners to be certain of getting the traders to buy their animals. Cotton became the most accessible means of obtaining money. Cotton cultivation became essential for raising money for taxes and for paying for missionary education. Education became a necessary possession for promotion in the chiefship hierarchy.

After the pacification of Teso the leaders were commonly those survivors of the earlier leaders who later co-operated with the new regime. This is shown by the fact that the persons put in to understudy the Baganda masters during the first decade of the Baganda presence in Teso were the local chiefs who were already influential at the commencement of imperial rule.³⁵ Among these chiefs were such outstanding personalities as Emookor of Bukedea, Oumo of Kumi, Ocepa of Mukura (Ngora), Ejoku of Kapir (Ngora), Ojenatum of Ngariam (Usuku), Amugei of Adacar (Usuku), Omiat of Komolo (Amuria), and Okurut of Serere. Practically all of them were the first to meet the Baganda when the latter set foot in their particular localities. Together with many more of their countrymen they were introduced into administrative positions by

1913 and two were gombola chiefs in 1917.³⁶

The main qualities required for this early chieftainship were a good impression of hard work and courage as well as total obedience to the new rulers.⁴⁷ Only the first aspect of these qualities was likely to be found naturally among the Iteso, namely, hard work and courage. But on the question of "total obedience" it is not at all clear how such a quality can be regarded as having had strong roots in the tradition of the tribe. Meanwhile the Iteso realised that chieftainship was the key to a good life in the new pattern of things, so it had to be striven after. Conversely disobedience was the main case for dismissal.

Soon after the initial appointments it was evident that the Government wished for a type of chief who had had some elementary education. So the main basis of qualification shifted from mere personal qualities to a need to possess some sort of formal education. This change of emphasis helped to make the attendance of schools more attractive. In this way the missionaries became most valuable not only to the people they taught but also to the Government which wished to recruit educated young men into its service. As early as 1913 the district administration started to keep a register containing the names of educated people supplied by the C.M.S. and the Mill Hill missions for the recruiting of literate people to help in the civil service.³⁸ Three years later the Administration went even farther on this matter when the District Commissioner asked the C.M.S. missionaries of Ngora High School to teach their pupils the art of keeping tax registers so as to obtain "properly trained clerks".³⁹ There gradually arose a new type of chief on whom greater expectations were held. Consequently the demands too were greater as a new and higher standard efficiency in chieftainship was expected. Those who did not measure up to such a standard had to give way for other talents to be tried. In 1914, for instance, the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, made the following observation in a letter to the Chief Secretary, Entebbe: "The District Commissioner, Teso, reports that now that the headquarters of the district have moved to Soroti, Aliabu Chief of Soroti is quite unable to keep pace with the new conditions prevailing, being a chief of the old school . . .".⁴⁰

It was through the system of chieftainship that the Teso people came to realise their unity in the most unmistakable form within the second decade of the twentieth century, thanks to the arrangement of W. G. Adams, the District Commissioner concerned. They did so by coming together half-yearly from the various corners of the district to discuss, among other things, ways in which they could help more effectively in carrying out Government policies and developing the many services necessary for the well-being of the district as a whole. These meetings were held in different county headquarters in rotation.

The logical conclusion for these uniting meetings was reached in 1920. It was the District Commissioner who in that year called to a meeting in Soroti the only remaining Baganda agents in Teso: Temiteo Kaggwa, of Soroti county, Eria Gyagenda of Serere, Kezekia Musoke of Kumi and Yonasani Namutale of Usuku. They were called to decide a single name by which the whole district was to be known. "During the meeting, T. Kaggwa suggested that since there was a legend that all the people in those areas came from 'Tesyo' and since they were of one and the same origin, and since they were originally called the 'Tesio', it would be wise to call the whole area 'Tesio'. When the other agents heard they too

concluded likewise and adding that 'Tesio' would be the most appropriate name that would unite all people of that country. The District Commissioner agreed that it would be most wise and appropriate to use the name of their forefathers. The country, therefore, became known henceforth as 'Tesio' and the people as 'Iteso'. But as time went on these names changed slightly due to the bad pronunciation of foreigners. After that meeting others were also held locally to ask for the approval of that name."⁴¹

After this series of meetings, the British administrators felt that the Baganda agents had come to the end of their service in Teso. It was considered that local talent was now sufficiently developed to take charge of all the chieftainships. The remaining Baganda agents were therefore withdrawn and the Teso chiefs installed to administer the sazas in the district. Iteso county chiefs were: Nasanairi Ipuruket for Kumi, Enoka Epaku for Soroti, Yonasani Oumo for Serere, Eria Ocom for Usuku and Eria Emookor for Bukedea.⁴²

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This, one might say, sounded very much like the end of the story. An isolated group of people, knowing no other type of life than their own semi-pastoral and semi-agricultural one, with occasional glimpses of foreigners, such as the Lango from the west the Banyoro from the southwest and perhaps some Arabs, had experienced the greatest upheaval in their history; and had made a pathetic bid to retain what they had known of life for generations but had failed. Then, partly through acceptance of the inevitable and partly through indoctrination, people had come to embrace the new values introduced into their society by their conquerors; and at the beginning of the third decade of the century they once more appeared to be in charge of their own affairs.

But within a short period of this self-government there were a number of developments which were to show that perhaps the British administrators had overstepped their mark by appointing Iteso into the top posts of chieftainship in the district. The enthusiasm for chieftainship which had been aroused among the people had brought in a mixture of talents. At least one of these chiefs showed many signs of being a very gifted administrator. This was Enoka Epaku who early in his career as a public servant led a spectacular expedition which marked the boundaries of the district, covering an area much wider than either his fellow chiefs or the British administrators ever thought likely.⁴³ Within a matter of six months from his appointment as a chief, he was being highly commended by the District Commissioner as "an instant success; he is immensely popular among the bakopi and has a sense of justice and fair play".⁴⁴

As a county chief Enoka Epaku was put in charge of the county of Soroti. He was sufficiently close to be carefully watched by the District Commissioner's office, and was expected to organise public receptions for important visitors into the district, as such visitors were normally received within his county. An example of this latter responsibility was the enthusiastic reception organised for the Governor in Soroti in mid 1925, for which the District Commissioner commended Epaku and all his fellow chiefs.⁴⁵ The periodic reports that were made concerning his administration continued to be full of praise for his ability and tact, as well as "remaining very popular with all his chiefs and peasants".⁴⁶ A similar attitude was indicated as late as the end of 1926 when, for instance, it was proved that an earlier charge of corruption against Epaku was completely false.⁴⁷

It was however not the policy of the District Commissioners to shower praises on local chiefs unduly. The writer could find little evidence to show that some other Iteso chiefs were singled out for praise by the district administrators. One of the few in this category was the old Oumo of Kumi who died in 1916. Regretting the death of this chief, Assistant District Commissioner Adams wrote: "He was the most progressive chief of the true Teso type and had presided over Kumi Lukiko and his own area of Akum since the advent of the administration".⁴⁸ Another chief for whom evidence of praise by the British Administrators appears was Echodu who was appointed *saza* chief of Usuku in the re-arrangement of 1925. A report on this chief stated: "Saza Chief Echodu is doing well. He is exceptionally hard working and prompt in carrying out Government orders. He is clearly popular with the peasantry and keeps a good discipline over his sub-chiefs".⁴⁹ The third chief that fell into this category of having a complementary report was Yeremiya Opiti who was made a *saza* chief for Serere in 1925. He was described as "clever and progressive".⁵⁰

But Enoka Epaku was singled out for praise on a number of occasions. Yet within a matter of months of being exonerated on a charge of corruption at the end of 1926 he was deported to an area remote from his home.⁵¹ Epaku was sent to Port Portal, but there is no readily available source concerning the nature of his offence. His deportation came shortly after a general charge that the Teso chiefs were inadequate of intelligence and weak in character,⁵² but there can be no connection. A later writer has suggested that Epaku was deported for "arguing about Protectorate Government policies."⁵³ The severity of the action against Epaku also calls for comment in that chiefs normally dismissed for incompetence were not usually deported, and in any case all the evidence is that Epaku was competent.⁵⁴ A special factor in Epaku's situation was the immense popularity which he enjoyed amongst his own people, a fact which was well-known to the administration. He was especially concerned with the welfare of the people of Teso as a whole. It would appear that Epaku's sole unpardonable crime was to "argue about Protectorate Government policies".⁵⁵

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This episode of Epaku's administrative career has been discussed at length because it brings out in a striking way some of the more important features of the reception of alien rule in Teso during the period under discussion. Epaku himself was of the younger generation in Teso but he did not lack the spirit of his forefathers. He joined them in embracing the values of alien rule by taking up the new form of chieftainship seriously, as a channel of service to his country. However, he did so not in the fashion of the sectionalism of old but in the spirit of oneness for the district and its people. By his courage to stand on his principles in opposition to the wishes of his administrative superiors, he was not really setting a precedent of opposition to authority in Teso. His fathers had for a period resisted both the destruction of their political independence and the policy of forced labour. Epaku also put up a resistance, though of slightly different nature, against submissiveness and what he considered the further exploitation of his people.⁵⁶

Since 1927 the district has continued to develop on the basis of the unity gained in the first three turbulent decades of the century. Its earlier development however, had not been without its stresses, as illustrated in this essay and which had given the Iteso "the reputation of being such a 'difficult' tribe".⁵⁷

Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank his fellow Itesot friends J. A. Ilemut, B.I. Oluku and D. Omolo for help in interviewing informants. Among the various people interviewed were Mr. Y. Bukulubuta (96 years old approximately) and Mr. Mukidi (70 years) both former followers of Kakunguru; N. Okalebo (70 years), Y. Okwerede (65 years), E. Engulu (70 years), Esingu (65 years), E. Morunyang (50 years) and M. Akileng (60 years) all ex-county or sub-county chiefs; and T. Okello the son of Enoka Epaku. The author thanks all these and many others who readily answered his questions. He is also grateful for the helpful guidance of Dr. M. S. M. Kiwanuka.

Note: This essay was the winning entry for the Faculty of Arts Research Essay Competition, Makerere University College, 1966.

NOTES

1. Thomas H. B., "Capax Imperii", the story of Semei Kakunguru, (Uganda Journal, 6, 1939, p. 130, quoted in Lawrance, J. C. D., *The Iteso* 1957, p.17).
2. Lawrance, *Ibid*, p.35
3. Lawrance, *Ibid*. p. 18
4. Ingrams, H., *Uganda, a crisis of nationhood*, 1960, p. 166.
5. Kaggwa, T. M. *The history of Bukedi*, pp. 2-10 and 19-33. A manuscript account of his personal experiences with Kakunguru. Practically all the Iteso leaders mentioned were the first to meet the Baganda in their respective localities. Temiteo Mwebe Kaggwa was with Kakunguru from the time Kakunguru entered Teso until he left Mbale for Busoga. Kaggwa was then re-employed by the British Administration as one of its agents in Teso until the withdrawal of such agents in 1920. A copy of his memoirs are available in the Department of History, Makerere University College.
6. Lawrance, *op. cit.* p.17 mentions the deputation, but does not give the names. These names were given by Yoswa Bukulubuta of Serere who was with the Baganda force that first entered Teso with Kakunguru.
7. Thomas, *op.cit.* p.131.
8. The first disillusionment came when Kakunguru made it clear that he and his assistants had been sent to rule. Kaggwa, *op.cit.* p.1.
9. Lawrance, *op.cit.*, p.19.
10. *loc.cit.*, p.24.
11. Lawrance does not state at which place the agreement was made, but it is possible it was made at Gogonyo. Lawrance states that the agreement was made in 1901, but local informants assert that Ijala went back with the first Baganda to arrive at Ngora which probably occurred in 1900.
12. Kaggwa, *op.cit.*, p.22. Omiat is described as "a very important Mukedi". Kaggwa's name for him was Onyata.
13. This detail was provided by Enabu of Amuria who is still alive and who knew Omiat well.
14. Lawrance, *op.cit.*, p. 19 and Kaggwa, *op.cit.*, p. 22. Both sources agree on the date.
15. He became recognised as the first chief of the area with the rank of a gombolola chief.
16. Kaggwa, *op.cit.*, p.6 gives a good indication of the speed with which Kaberamaido (Kumam) was subjugated.
17. These names were provided by local informants who were already adult men when the Baganda came. These men were already quite old in 1966, and one of them Iluria of Wera died only a week after being interviewed.
18. Thomas, *op.cit.*, p.131.
19. Kaggwa, *op.cit.*, p.11.
20. *loc.cit.*, p.10.
21. *loc.cit.*, p.15.
22. Lawrance, *op.cit.*, p.24.
23. Omiat died bravely fighting a lion in January 1918. Teso District Monthly Report, 12 February 1918.
24. Some of these moated camps can still be seen, as at Opege and Gogonyo. The moats at Kagoa are particularly impressive.
25. Thomas, *op.cit.*, p.133. "In the latter part of 1901, W. R. Walker, a junior administrative officer, was sent to reside temporarily at Kakunguru's headquarters. He soon learned the true state of affairs. Almost all cattle, sheep and goats had been appropriated by Kaku-

- nguru's Baganda followers: while the natives were found to be practically destitute and were ousted from their land or relegated to the position of serfs."
26. Kaggwa, *op.cit.*, p.11 refers to such people as 'loyalists'.
 27. Teso District Annual Report, 1918-19, 13 May 1919.
 28. Teso District Annual Report, 1917-18, "Native labour and portage".
 29. Teso District Monthly Report, September, 1913.
 30. *Ibid.* 12 June 1919.
 31. Entebbe, Secretariat Archives, Department of Agriculture to Chief Secretary, 16 January, 1913.
 32. Kaggwa, *op.cit.*, p.38.
 33. Lawrance, *op.cit.*, p.25.
 34. *loc.cit.*,
 35. Entebbe, Secretariat Archives, Eastern Province Report, 28 June 1912.
 36. Teso District Monthly Report, 10 April 1917, listed two Teso chiefs of gombolola rank.
 37. Information from Stephano Akabwai of Wera who was a gombolola chief as early as 1922, Y. Ekimat of Mukongoro also provided supplementary information.
 38. Teso District Monthly Report, June 1913.
 39. Teso District Monthly Report, Native Education, 4 July 1916.
 40. Entebbe, Secretariat Archives, Report of the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province to Chief Secretary, 7 September 1914.
 41. Kaggwa, *op.cit.*, p.37. In fact the district had been known as Teso from when it was first gazetted in 1912 (Eds.)
 42. Lawrance, *op. cit.*, p.35, gives Onaba as the first county chief of Serere on information supplied by Onaba's son, Yakobo Inyoin. It should also be noted that Bukedea was not in Teso district at this time. (Eds.)
 43. No written evidence of the boundary demarcation has come to light, but Nasanairi Okalebo of Ngora, who was made a chief by Epaku took part on the expedition, was interviewed. Epaku seems to have marked trees along the line of the boundary.
 44. Teso District Monthly Report, January 1920.
 45. *Ibid.* June 1925.
 46. *Ibid.* February 1923.
 47. *Ibid.* December 1926.
 48. Teso District Annual Report, 1916-17.
 49. Teso District Monthly Report, August 1926.
 50. *Ibid.* March 1925.
 51. Lawrance, *op.cit.*, p.35.
 52. Teso District Monthly Report, October 1926.
 53. Ingrams, *op.cit.*, p.171. Ingrams himself places these words in inverted commas, presumably to indicate that this was the view of an informant, Ogaino, the Secretary-General of Teso. (Eds.)
 54. Teso District Monthly Reports, August 1924, and April 1925.
 55. The main history of the Iteso to date, by J. C. D. Lawrance has very little indeed upon the the reason for Epaku's dismissal. Since Lawrance was himself a later District Commissioner of Teso District the writer had supposed that Lawrance's silence on the matter of Epaku's deportation indicated a desire to avoid further publicity to the Epaku affair. Mr. Lawrance has responded to this criticism: "If the documents to which I had access when I wrote my Uganda Essay competition (which was later printed in the Uganda Journal and subsequently in my book) had revealed some sinister or shady action on the part of the Government in the Epaku affair, my position as an administrative officer might well have caused me to omit references which might have embarrassed the Government. But the facts are otherwise.

I wrote the essay while in Teso without access to Entebbe archives. I relied almost entirely on two sets of documents in the Soroti office—annual reports and the more intimate touring books. The archives were chaotic and despite efforts, I did not find confidential files on this subject. (In fact I found very few confidential files going back to 1926.). The material available to me referred only to Epaku's administrative failings as a county chief. It is, of course, possible that there were other, political, reasons for his dismissal, as Ogaino suggested to Ingrams in the passage quoted by Emwanu (footnote 53). The fact remains that no documentary source has been quoted for the assertion that Epaku was dismissed for arguing about Government policies and in the absence of such documentary evidence I see no reason to dispute the stated reason for his dismissal, namely corruption and inefficiency. It is by no means uncommon for a chief who has earned good reports in his early service, to deteriorate later in such respects. It is not safe to assume that because Epaku was deported, he necessarily committed some particularly nefarious

act. It was not always the gravity of the offence which dictated whether or not a dismissed chief was deported, but the degree of his standing and the effect which his continued presence would have on the maintenance of good order in the district. Epaku symbolised Teso "nationalism" in opposition to rule by alien Baganda agents and was undoubtedly immensely popular. Given that he was to be dismissed, his deportation was perhaps inevitable." (Eds.)

56. Informants interviewed by the writer maintain that Epaku was so strongly opposed to forced labour that he became the champion of the underdog by openly speaking against it. Others put forward the point that the British administration wanted to introduce a system of land tenure that would allow individual freehold which Epaku opposed. Yet a further reason given by the local informants is that Epaku had become so popular that the people wanted to make him "Kabaka" of Teso, a proposition which the administration would not allow.
57. Wright, A. C. A. Notes on the Iteso social organisation, *Uganda Journal*, 9, 1942, p.62.

THE REIGN OF KASAGAMA IN TORO FROM A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT

By O. W. FURLEY

Among the official archives at Fort Portal in Toro was a typescript in Rutoro, running to many pages, headed "Toro Notes". Some years ago in my studies of western Uganda history I used this document and had it translated into English by Mr. A. Manyindo, a Makerere student. The translation I headed "Kasagama's Diary", for this is what the document essentially was being a personal account of his reign, except for the last section which is a history of Toro by his Katikiro, Omuhikirwa. In an article called "Kasagama of Toro", in the *Uganda Journal* 25, no. 2, 1961, I made frequent references to it, and have had so many enquiries about it since that a fuller description and appreciation of it is due. This is especially true as the manuscript translation, in a large ledger-book bound in red, appears to have been lost since I deposited it in the library of Makerere University College.¹

Any material of this nature written from an African viewpoint is naturally of great interest to historians, and especially so in the case of this diary, which as far as I know is the only example of a personally written account of the reign of an East African ruler. It is hoped that the extracts given below from my own notes of the diary will give some idea of its scope and of its value as an historical source.

Kasagama's life was an exceedingly eventful one. The son of the royal line in Toro, as a child he had been forced to flee with his mother from Kabarega's invasion, and lived as an exile in Buganda. When the Imperial British East Africa Company arrived on the scene, an opportunity presented itself to go back to Toro and revive the monarchy of his fathers. Captain F. D. Lugard was known to be starting a journey to the west to enlist Emin Pasha's Sudanese troops somewhere in the region of Lake Albert. Kasagama decided to throw in his lot with him, and Lugard duly escorted him to Toro, set him up as Omukama, and built a chain of forts to be garrisoned by the Sudanese troops. These would protect Toro from the inevitable hostilities of Kabarega. The latter had his chance when, on Sir Gerald Portal's orders, the troops were withdrawn when the Company abandoned its activities in Uganda and instead a British Protectorate was declared. But this "protection" did not extend to Toro, and Kabarega's army again overran the kingdom, while Kasagama took refuge in the foothills of the Ruwenzori mountains. In 1894 Colvile drove out Kabarega's army and Kasagama was restored again, this time signing a treaty of protection with the British government's representatives. His reign thereafter was peaceful, though he had several brushes with the colonial authorities, and the Agreements of 1900 and 1906 raised many thorny problems, the land settlement being uppermost.

Most of these events are referred to in the diary, though some, especially the negotiations leading to the treaties and agreements, are given tantalisingly

brief treatment. But in many respects the diary is a history of his "life and times", and it begins with an historical account of how the Toro kingdom was first established by splitting away from Bunyoro. This tends to confirm the first, and as far as I know, the only two references to his diary in print. Ruth B. Fisher, the Toro missionary's wife, in her book *On the borders of pygmy land*, describes Kasagama, with whom she was on very friendly terms, as hard at work writing a history of Toro, having acquired a typewriter and the services of a typist. This was in the year 1900, so we may with some justification date the beginning of his writing the diary then.²

He first describes how Omukama Kaboyo I came to Toro to set up an independent kingdom, having quarrelled with his father, the Mukama of Bunyoro. He tells the story, which has often been repeated elsewhere, of how Kaboyo deceived his father by saying his wife had given birth to twins in Toro, which meant that he must be permitted to go to visit her. He went, never to return, but his defection must have been forgiven at some stage, for the diary describes how the royal drum of Toro (*Butwarane*) was sent to Kaboyo as a gift from his father.³ Kaboyo's rule is outlined in some detail, including his conquest of Busongora and other conquests, and the names of his sons who were made chiefs of the conquered districts are given. Kaboyo was a ruler of substance, "brave and respected", sociable and ready to reward hard-working men and women. He mixed with the people and became known as "Friend". A list of his royal residences is given. Toro became thickly populated under his régime, but after his death a period of confusion followed, with civil wars between his sons. An attack on Toro by the Banyankole was encouraged by Kato, one of the princes, who also invited a Buganda army to invade, in 1871. Kato as a result became Omukama, but was soon chased off the throne; the former Omukama, Nyaika Kasunga, was able to return, and apparently established better relations with Bunyoro. His daughter was betrothed to Kabarega, with a bride-price of 700 cattle, several maids and servants. The diary lists the reasons for Kabarega's later attacks on Toro, the immediate provocation being the theft of a cow (its name is given) by some of Nyaika's men and Nyaika's refusal to return it. There followed a series of regular attacks by Kabarega, and the next Omukama, Kyebambe, ("The Pretender") was put to flight on 30 November 1873. After nearly four years of confused fighting, the whole of Toro was captured by Kabarega, and it was during this period that the infant Kasagama was taken by his mother to Ankole and later to Buganda. Kakende attempted to rule as Omukama, and brought another Buganda army to Toro, but he was driven out and died in Buganda.

Very little is said of Kasagama's period in exile, and instead an insert is included, describing the travels of his brother, Z. K. Musuuga. The first details of Kasagama's association with Lugard come only when they have arrived in Toro, and people were flocking to them. Lugard is recorded as giving him a present of four cows from a captured herd when he signed the treaty with the Company. Lugard also relates this. Concerning the Sudanese troops whom Lugard brought back from the north to garrison the Toro forts, Kasagama says they came to guard Toro, and "we were very pleased". Nothing is said of the ravages and plunder which these troops perpetrated in surrounding areas later on, but there is an interesting reference to the arrival of Moslems from Buganda coming to try to persuade the Sudanese to join in the "rebellion" of 1892, that is, the religious war in Buganda.

The arrival of Sir Gerald Portal in Uganda and his decision to declare a Protectorate, had very important repercussions for Toro, but these events

are not mentioned. The foreign relations of Buganda were evidently of no immediate interest. Portal ordered Owen and Grant to evacuate the forts, and wrote to Owen that if Kasagama chose to remain in Toro, he did so entirely at his own risk, as his treaty with Lugard did not now bind the British government to continue protection. This could only be given if Kasagama withdrew nearer to the new British Protectorate, and Portal suggested Kitagwenda as a suitable area.⁴ Kasagama refused to withdraw, and Owen entirely sympathised with him, eventually persuading Portal to abandon only the northernmost fort, and to build another, Fort Gerry, later called Fort Portal, to protect Kasagama. Another blow came, however, when Capt. J. R. L. Macdonald, the new Commissioner, went a stage further than Portal and withdrew all the Sudanese troops, again offering Kasagama a safe retreat elsewhere. Macdonald actually feared that Kasagama might join Kabarega,⁵ but the diary reinforces the view that he had no such intention, and wished to stand his ground. Macdonald was able to report; "Kasagama King of Toru (sic) was offered territory in Buganda for himself and his people, or if he thought he could hold his own with some additional guns, Major Owen was empowered to let him have up to 200 muzzle-loading guns and some ammunition. Kasagama decided that he could look after himself with an addition to the guns he possessed of 160 odd, which have been given to him."⁶ Kasagama confirms this in his diary, saying he was now allowed to lead an army against Kabarega, and Grant gave him a total of 200 muskets, but did not leave him many cartridges. Fighting took place, and he describes one battle between his army and Kabarega's, each displaying themselves on opposite hills, only to postpone the fight because of the threat of rain. It does not appear that the muskets gave the Toro army any advantage, and in 1894 the diary records a series of defeats, at the end of which Kasagama had to retreat to Bwamba. He was in fact reduced to being a fugitive with a diminishing band of followers, and the diary describes the very precarious time they had with many men dying from cold and exposure in the difficult mountain country.

Col. Colvile, the next Commissioner, soon reversed the situation by his campaign into Bunyoro, and he sent Owen and Villiers into Toro to restore Kasagama. Kasagama returned to Kabarole, his royal residence, just as Owen got there, the diary records. Owen then drew up a new treaty for him to sign, on March 3rd, 1894,⁷ and in return for protection, which Kasagama needed in a literal sense, imposed some harsh burdens on him, acquiring for the Protectorate Government all the salt produced from the salt lake at Katwe, together with a tax of forty frasilas of ivory per annum, equivalent to £800.⁸ Historians often speculate now concerning how much African rulers understood these one-sided treaties which they signed: the diary affords a clue here, for Kasagama says "I had not learnt writing and knew very little about frasila." The terms were later mitigated so that Kasagama retained two thirds of the salt produced, and the ivory tax was reduced from forty frasilas to ten.

J. P. Wilson arrived as the first officer in charge of Toro under the new treaty, and Kasagama apparently got on reasonably well with him. He asked Wilson to give him some Sudanese troops to assist in an attack on Bunyoro. This Wilson refused, but the attack was made in 1895, and while Kasagama was away he heard that one of his rival chiefs, Rwabudongo, had launched an attack on Toro. "We were not worried, however, for we had left Nubians (Sudanese) behind." It is interesting that he placed confidence in the much reduced garrisons that remained. Rwabudongo surrendered and gave forty rifles to Wilson, while Captain Ashburnham arrived, according to the diary

with reinforcements of eighty Sudanese from Kampala.

It is at this point that Kasagama records his first conflict with the British, and in the character of Captain Ashburnham he found an unrelenting personal antagonist, who eventually was recalled by Entebbe for acting precipitately. At the same time, it would appear that Kasagama was not averse to acquiring arms and any other prizes on the quiet. After Ashburnham's arrival, Kasagama was accused by Rwabudongo of stealing seventy rifles and seventy "clothes", (probably bandoliers?) and Ashburnham was ordered to investigate. He also accused Kasagama of not paying his tribute of forty frasilas of ivory to the government though on a previous occasion he himself had suggested that the amount was too much and would have to be reduced. He arrested Kasagama without hearing his version. "Then, he ordered me to produce the seventy rifles and seventy bandoliers. These were produced.⁹ Later, he came himself and got hold of Yoswa, the Katikiro, and Mikairi, the Treasurer, and gave them very many lashes so that they would report where the ivory tusks were. Many of my cattle and goats together with twenty ivory tusks were captured by the captain. I remained chained for two solid days. After setting me free, he returned some of my cattle, goats and all the bandoliers. When people realised that I was not on good terms with the European, they began going to his fort and giving false information about me. The European used to give these people Nubians with whom to capture women from my *Kikaali* (palace) and all over the country." Ashburnham tried to re-arrest Kasagama on 14 November 1895, but he fled to the Ruwenzoris. This gave the Sudanese, who had already plundered the town, the opportunity to plunder his *kikaali*. The following year Kasagama appealed to Entebbe against Ashburnham and won the case: he received eight rolls of cloth as compensation. The ivory tax was reduced, and Kasagama was in future to be allowed to retain two thirds of the salt produced at Katwe, the other third going to the government.

Such is the record of this unfortunate affair in the diary, and other sources bear out the fact that Kasagama was treated harshly. Bishop Tucker of the C.M.S. relates that Kasagama was charged with capturing slaves, illicitly running gunpowder, and bribing the government interpreter. Kasagama was not merely chained as the diary claims, but—a far greater insult to the Omukama—he was put to work in the chain-gang like a common criminal, according to two C.M.S. native teachers whose evidence came to Berkeley, the Commissioner.¹⁰ When he came to Entebbe for the Commissioner's enquiry into the charges, he was quickly exonerated, in the presence and with the help of Bishop Tucker and the C.M.S. Archdeacon¹¹. In April 1896 Berkeley sent Captain Sitwell to replace Ashburnham, with instructions not to resort to drastic measures, and to soft-pedal British control.¹² Sitwell was a competent officer but he too was soon antagonistic towards Kasagama. He considered Kasagama to be too much under the influence of the C.M.S. missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Fisher. This led Kasagama to show a distinct bias against Catholics in his appointment of chiefs and officers. No particular reference against Sitwell appears in the diary, though the dates of his arrival and Ashburnham's departure are recorded accurately. Kasagama refers to a typewriter which he received from "my friend Fisher", and clearly they were on good terms. Elsewhere, however, there is much evidence to show that the Catholics constantly complained to Sitwell about Kasagama's religious bias, Père Achte being foremost in these complaints.¹³ Sitwell thought there was some truth in the Catholic complaints, and remonstrated with Kasagama so

strongly that the latter threatened to abdicate. The king's elder brother had arrived in Toro that year, having been taken as a child by Kabarega, and Sitwell mooted the idea of putting him on the throne if Kasagama did not exercise more religious toleration.¹⁴ He considered that the influence of Fisher was partly to blame, and was relieved when the Fishers left Toro in February 1897. He reported an immediate improvement in relations with Kasagama, and thereafter was on good terms with him.¹⁵

The relationship between the Omukama and the officer in charge of the district was clearly a difficult one, but the next officer, Bagge, was easily the most successful in striking a happy relationship. Kasagama's diary is full of friendly references to him, with instances of the various types of encouragement Bagge gave to him. Indeed, it would probably be fair to say that the good relations he built up between Toro and the Protectorate Government paved the way for the Toro Agreement of 1900. Bagge evidently believed in "indirect rule", and was very careful to leave all matters regarding such things as the appointment of chiefs in Kasagama's hands: the diary frequently tells of his insistence that this was Kasagama's responsibility. One interesting entry deals with the replacement of the Katikiro, Yoswa Rusoke, who was "unintelligent" and failed to debate official matters. On 11 April, 1899 Bagge asked Kasagama to appoint a new Katikiro. "After he had asked me for the person I preferred I told him that Nasanairi Mugurusi was the most suitable. He agreed with me and said I should bring him the following Monday with all the saza chiefs for registration." Bagge refused to receive secret information about Kasagama or indeed about any matter, and had informers punished, the diary claims. He also gave encouragement to kingly dignity as well as security by suggesting to the Governor that a guard of honour of askaries should be provided for the Omukama, and he told Kasagama, "In order to keep your property safe from robbers, I am giving you Batoro askaries who will be given government rifles and paid for by the government. They have to guard the paths and should any robber appear they must arrest him. You are Omukama of this land, and therefore Protestants, Catholics and Moslems are the same to you. If a Protestant commits a crime, it is your duty to punish him." This last admonition of course shows that the question of Kasagama's religious bias was still far from solved, and the diary itself records the complaints which the Catholic missionary, Père Roche, made to Katikiro Nasanairi. He said Catholics were never appointed to high posts, and some had been driven from their lands and plantations. Bagge, in his correspondence with Entebbe, shows that this was still a matter for concern, and Kasagama was in fact summoned to Entebbe in the middle of 1899. On his return, Catholic chiefs in Toro now told Bagge that they were satisfied that Kasagama was tolerant, and Bagge described his efforts as praiseworthy.¹⁶ Ternan, the Commissioner, indeed thought that the French priests were offensive in their protestations, claiming to "represent" the Catholics, which they could not do; he deplored "the absence of gentlemanly feelings" over the issue.¹⁷ Bagge replied to this letter deploring Père Achte's "spy system," and upholding Kasagama.¹⁸

The diary records more routine matters of administration which Bagge urged Kasagama to take over, such as the supervision of the market. Toro interests were safeguarded in the shooting of ivory; Europeans were to pay one rupee for a licence to hunt, but Batoro got it free. Later, all shooting of elephants was temporarily stopped when it appeared that the Baganda were

making too many incursions, and any of them found hunting were to be arrested. Government protection regarding the purchase of land in Toro is also recorded; Europeans and Baganda were by a new rule to be prohibited from purchasing land; it was for Batoro only. The arrangement regarding the Katwe salt lake was confirmed; Kasagama kept two thirds of the salt, the other third went to the government. One of the last entries for 1899 is about the Baganda agents whom Lugard had brought with him to help in the administration of Toro, as was done in many other parts of Uganda. By the end of this year, only eight of them were left.

Kasagama was evidently anxious to keep a relationship with the British entirely separate from Buganda's relationship, and nowhere is this clearer than in the steps leading up to the Toro Agreement of 1900. In February that year Kasagama records that it was proposed to introduce a hut and arms tax into Toro, and he heard it had already been introduced into Buganda: three rupees for a house and three for a rifle. Bagge asked Kasagama to report on the number of houses in the kingdom. He was also asked to find plots for European traders to buy, but not in cultivated areas. This made Kasagama anxious about such purchases, and, in May, Maddox of the C.M.S., who helped Kasagama with the preliminaries for the Agreement, read Kasagama a letter from the Commissioner stating that no land should be sold to a non-Mutoro. But Kasagama says he would not sign anything which was similar to the Buganda Agreement, already signed in that year. "On June 12th 1900 we received information from the Kabaka and his chiefs that they had agreed to pay the six-rupee tax on houses and rifles. However, we suspended any communication about this as we were not ready to base our agreement on the Buganda Agreement."

A week later, however, Sir Harry Johnston, Special Commissioner, arrived in Toro and succeeded in removing doubts about the new agreement. The diary includes what purports to be a verbatim account of his address to the Toro chiefs, illustrating many sides of Johnston's character including that of naturalist turned administrator. "When I came to Uganda," he said, "I was told that there were no wise men in Toro, and that all were extremely silly and they feared Europeans. On the contrary, I have found good roads, and the people are as wise as those of Buganda. I am, therefore, intending to advise you how to make an agreement with the Queen, and also how to check locust raids. The Queen does not allow us to come into your country to colonise it and rob you of it. As she is such a wise person, she wishes all her colonies to be educated, and for this you pay her taxes in return. Note that Africa was not created for Europeans but for Africans. I shall remain here until the European who takes over from Bwana Bagge is settled in. Should you later wish to inform me of anything, you can write to me at Entebbe. If at all you want to please me, send me the skins of every type of animal and bird, for I intend to send them to England where they may be of some use. Remember the Europeans came into this country because there was a lot of hatred amongst yourselves."

In fact, Johnston was bent on making an agreement basically similar to the one with Buganda, and the diary records without comment, "On 26 June 1900 we were given Queen Victoria's Agreement with us". It is a pity that a more detailed description of these events is not given. There appear to have been no complaints at the time, though they soon came to the surface afterwards. Prior notice had been given that uncultivated land and forests would be re-

garded as Crown lands in a similar way to the Buganda Agreement, and indeed this was normal in British colonial territories; but Bagge reported that this announcement in May caused great consternation, the Batoro asking where were the treaties mentioned in these notices as giving these lands and forests over to the government.¹⁹ However, such clauses were duly incorporated in the Toro Agreement, and Johnston wrote in a very assured mood to the Marquess of Salisbury that he had made agreements with Toro and Ankole "of a less formal nature than that concluded with [B]Uganda, but providing for the settlement of land and taxes on much the same lines. As regards land, it is laid down as a principle that all the land which was waste and uncultivated at the date of the conclusion of the Agreement was and is the property of the British Government. Likewise all forests which are not placed under cultivation. All land which was in the occupation of native owners at the date of the conclusion of the Agreement is guaranteed to those owners or occupiers subject to the usual conditions."²⁰

At first all was quiet, and Baile, the next officer in charge of Toro, reported that the hut tax, which could be paid in ivory according to the diary, was coming in splendidly. But by the beginning of next year many Batoro were emigrating to the Belgian Congo just across the border in order to avoid the tax.²¹ Further, there was agitation about the lands granted in the Agreement to chiefs, and especially about the land held by chiefs who were not specifically named in the Agreement. The diary mentions some aspects of this. In March 1901 Tarrant is reported as declaring he would soon settle the chiefs' "mailo" lands, "for some land in possession of chiefs who were not considered in the agreement was under the government." Kasagama told Tarrant that "the Commissioner had asked them, not to make the boundaries of miles until an expert had arrived, and that even then chiefs who had not yet been granted land would be given some later." The expert was no doubt intended to be the long-awaited government surveyor or surveyors, and Toro in fact had to wait many years before tenurial boundaries were properly surveyed and titles affirmed between 1923 and 1928. There is only one other reference in the diary to the land question, for December 1902, when "Bwana Norman Wilson told us how the 'mailos' given to a chief were not to be personal but were for every succeeding chief. We did not feel that this problem had been well solved, for we wished to have personal [i.e. permanent] 'mailos'." The government's view from the start was that the land went with office. There were ambiguities in the Agreement, however, and this problem together with many others regarding land was not solved until after the crisis of 1926, which necessitated a special enquiry.²²

It remains to notice a few other items in the diary. In May 1905 Kasagama claims to have investigated the murder of Galt, the Sub-Commissioner of Ankole, and discovered the murderers. He gives a full account of this. The text of the 1906 Agreement is given, but little comment. There is a description of the crown-wearing ceremony after the signing of the Agreement. Little else is reported until the death of Kasagama in 1928, when presumably the ex-Katikiro, Nasanairi Mugurusi, continues the notes and describes the method of making the royal tomb, and also the coronation of his successor.²³

Lastly, as an individual, Kasagama reveals part of himself in the diary. His friendship with the C.M.S. missionaries, for instance; his obvious pride in recording the date of his baptism; his zeal for schools and education. His "modern" ideas also appear; he records the date (March 1902) when small-

pox vaccinations were introduced in Toro; he records his triumph in breaking the ban on eating mutton by making the *babiito* (princes) eat it.²⁴

There are some surprising omissions from the diary. There is nothing about his relations with the Lukiko, or assembly of chiefs, which rose in prominence especially after the 1906 Agreement; and there is nothing about his fairly frequent rows with Entebbe, which involved reprimands in 1913, 1922, 1923 and 1926. In many ways then the diary is a personal memoir, perhaps with many of the unpleasant things left out, in the way that memory tends to abolish them. At the same time it is in many places a remarkable corroboration of historical detail, especially in the early years, and a type of historical source which is all too rare in East Africa.

NOTES

1. Recent reports on the state of the archives in Fort Portal also lead us to suppose that the original diary has become misplaced. (Eds.)
2. Fisher, R. B. *On the borders of pigmy land*, 3rd edition, no date, pp. 60-61. See also her *Twilight tales of the black Baganda*, 1911, introduction, pp. v-vi in which she also claimed to have persuaded Andreyah Duhaga, Mukama of Bunyoro, to write a history of his kingdom, but it appears that nothing came of this.
3. Oral tradition more commonly asserts that Kaboyo was his father's favourite son and heir, and he only wished to carve out a kingdom of his own because his father was so long-lived. He did not quarrel with, so much as trick his father into allowing him to go to Toro in the first instance before his rebellion. This fact, rather than later "forgiveness", explains his father's softness in putting down the rebellion. It is said that the leader of the expeditionary force which he sent after Kaboyo was ordered to capture Kaboyo alive, and not to kill him, and that as he had a chest complaint they should not chase him too far if he ran away. For this comment, as for several others, I am indebted to Dr. W. Banage.
4. Entebbe, Secretariat Archives, MSS Outward A 3/1 Portal to Owen 6 May 1893
5. Entebbe, S. A., MSS Outward A 3/1 Macdonald to ? 14 June 1893.
6. Zanzibar Residency Archives, B 27, Macdonald to Consul-General Zanzibar, 21 October
7. Parliamentary Papers, Africa, No. 7 (1895) C. 7708
8. *Loc. cit.*, Owen to Colvile, Fort de Winton 8 March 1894.
9. This seems to imply that they were in Kasagama's possession. Alternatively, Dr. Banage suggests that the production of these items could have been to "bail" Kasagama out of prison.
10. Entebbe, S. A., MSS A 5/1 Berkeley to Ashburnham, 2 December 1895.
11. Tucker, A. R. *Eighteen years in Uganda and East Africa*, 1908, Vol. 2, p. 40 and Fisher, R. B. *op. cit.* pp. 190-191.
12. Entebbe, S. A., MSS A 5/1 Berkeley to Sitwell 25 April 1896.
13. *Loc. cit.* 25 August 1896.
14. Entebbe, S. A., MSS A 4/5 Sitwell to Berkeley 10 and 15 August 1896.
15. Report on Toro District for 1897-1898, 4 June 1898 F.O.C.P. 7400/82/-.
16. Entebbe, S. A., MSS A/20 Bagge to Ternan 20 August 1899.
17. Entebbe, S. A., MSS A 5/7 Ternan to Bagge 8 September 1899.
18. Entebbe, S. A., MSS A 4/12 Bagge to Ternan 22 September 1899.
19. Entebbe, S. A., MSS A 4/29 Bagge's Monthly Report on Toro, 31 May 1900.
20. Johnston to the Marquess of Salisbury 25 August 1900, F.O.C.P. 7689/28 (No. 191 Uganda).
21. Entebbe, S. A. MSS A 14/1 Baile to Johnston 16 January 1901 and Johnston to Baile 19 January 1901.
22. *Enquiry into the grievances of the Mukama and people of Toro*, Entebbe, Government Printer, 1926.
23. The author regrets that his own notes do not contain a transcription of this, which would have been interesting to compare with the coronation of 1966.
24. Fisher, R. B. *op. cit.* pp. 74-75 also describes this incident. A sheep was once supposed to have killed a *mubiito* child and this had led to the ban on eating mutton, but Kasagama invited some Christian chiefs to a meal of mutton and the taboo then died out.

DRUMS IN PADHOLA

By A. SHARMAN AND L. ANDERSON

This note on drums and associated instruments in Padhola rises incidentally from a study of other aspects of social organisation of the Japhadola made by one of the authors (A.S.) who resided in the area during much of 1965 and 1966 and from occasional visits to Bukedi by the author (L.A.) as part of an extensive musicological survey of Uganda made from 1964 to 1966. There have been few studies combining a sociological and a musicological approach to the musical customs of any group in Uganda. Although this note is largely descriptive, it is hoped that it will be of some value as a basis for studying the role of music in ritual ceremonies elsewhere as well as the importance of some musical instruments which may be restricted in use only to specific ceremonies and restricted in ownership to certain clans. It should likewise be valuable in determining whether material culture of the Padhola is more closely related to the larger family of Nilotic peoples and to what extent neighbouring Bantu-speaking peoples have had an influence on the material culture of the Padhola.

A further object of this note is to add to the small amount of knowledge on the drums of the Jopadhola contained in Dr. Wachsmann's study, and to add a social dimension to his work¹. The basic distinction into "Single-skin drums" and "Uganda drums" follows Wachsmann. The latter form uses two skins of which only one is beaten so that it is regarded as misleading to call the drum a double-skin drum. Double-skin drums are otherwise restricted in Uganda to Mount Elgon.

Single-skin drums

There are two types of single-skin drums in Padhola. Skins used on both drums come from the water lizard and both drums are hand beaten.

The typical drum used by the Jopadhola on musical occasions is the *fumbo*, a tall, cylindrical, single-skinned drum.² The *fumbo* and its counterparts occur only in eastern Uganda: among the Banyole who also call it *fumbo*, the Bagwere who call it *mudiri*, the Teso who call it *emidiri* and the Jopadhola. In Padhola it is most frequently played in an ensemble with the *tongoli* harp and *kamogolo* a curved piece of wood beaten with two sticks *teke*. There are no particular ritual observances connected with the playing of this ensemble and it is used on a wide variety of occasions, at burials and at other funeral ceremonies, at the dances held at night by young people and at any other time when people wish to celebrate and have the money to employ the players. At the ceremony held after the birth of twins and certain other children the *fumbo* is played alone, and at the special *okelo* funeral, which will be described below, it is played together with the *okelo* drums. It may also be played with the *aciel* drums, although these are more generally played alone. Certain clans are famous for their skill in playing *fumbo*, but ownership is not confined to any particular clan and anyone who

wants to learn how to play may do so. Relatives of famous players may be possessed by the spirit of the dead player and in this way forced to acquire the skill, as is the case with many other skills in Padhola, such as divination and even the practice of witch-craft. The relative thus possessed is not always a lineal relative.

Another single-skinned drum used by the Jopadhola is the *thimbo*, which is closely related to other single-skinned drums found among the inhabitants of the shores of Lake Kyoga, namely the Baruli, Banyala, northern Basoga and Bakenyi. It may also be classified as a variation of the single-skin drum found in the Inter-lacustrine Bantu Kingdoms as well as Busoga. *Thimbo* may be played with the *aciel* drums, but is always played with the xylophone, *endara*. Two examples of *thimbo* used with xylophones are of slightly different shapes, one showing a clear differentiation in the join between the cup and stem and expanding gradually from the mid-stem to the base, the other with the cup tapering slightly to meet the stem and ending with a tapered foot. The xylophone is accompanied by both this single-skinned drum and a Uganda drum. When playing the drummers stand near the end of the xylophone, at the end of the lowest pitched keys, with drums resting horizontally just below their sound-skins on the edges of the parallel banana trunk supports of the xylophone keys. The player of the single-skin drum straddles his drum and the Uganda drum is anchored between the feet of its player. The drummers bend from the waist down to play the drums which are only twelve to fourteen inches from ground level. Both drums are played with the hands and the players rise up and down in time with the music in a slow tempo, and movement of the player's body preceding the initiation of a rhythmic pattern and an upward movement following the completion of the pattern. This playing style and accompanying dance-like movement has been found only among the Jopadhola. In other similar xylophone ensembles found along the shores of Lake Kyoga, the single-skin drum is held between the player's legs so that the head of the drum is at hand's length from the player in a standing position. The player of the Uganda drum may keep a bent position to play the drum which stands on the ground in an upright position or he may play the drum in a squatting position. In addition, only the single-skin drum is played with the hands, the Uganda drum is played with sticks.

The xylophone and associated drums are most probably not indigenous to Padhola and have been found associated with only four clans, namely Wambwe, Kijwala, Orua-Demba and Orua-Iap, and in one case owned by an individual. In the last case the xylophone was brought to Padhola by a young boy who recently returned from farming in Busoga, and is only played for the young people's dances at night and is not associated with the spirits in any way. The clans which have the xylophone are all said to have obtained it from the Basoga, but it has become for them an important ritual instrument with a spirit of its own³. It is generally used for funeral ceremonies, but only the later funeral ceremonies which are times of rejoicing with the spirits and not of mourning, and it may also be used occasionally for dances. In this it differs from the *aciel* drums, although it resembles them in that it is used only for the funeral ceremonies of important people.

The ensemble itself consists of a xylophone of 14 keys (consistent on both the instruments seen on which the Padhola played and not found as the required numbers for any other xylophones in Uganda according to Wachsmann). Two drums are used of which one is of the single-skinned variety, the *thimbo*, and the

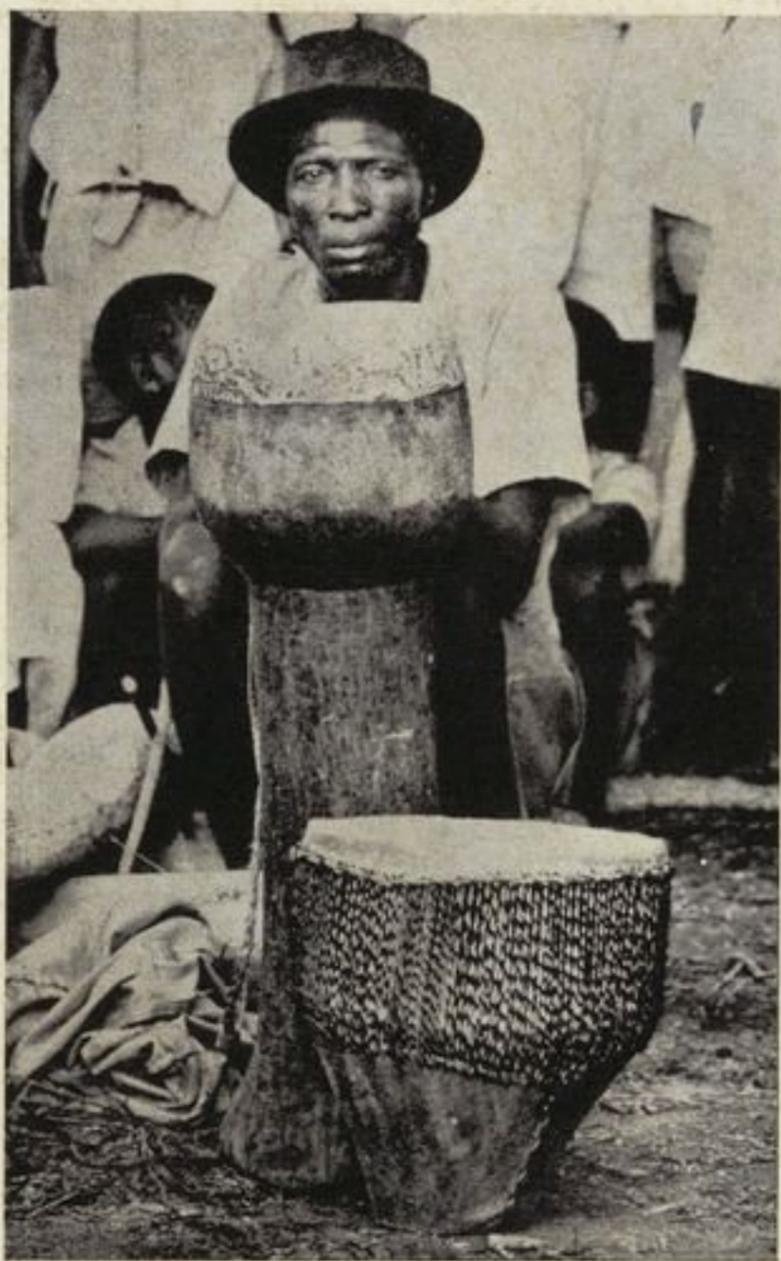


Fig. 1 *Thimbo*, a single-skinned drum with clear definition between cup and stem.



Fig. 2 *Thimbo* with purely cylindrical stem, with *endara* xylophone.



Fig. 3 Sacrifice being made to the large *Aciel* drum of the *aciel* ensemble of the Nyapolo/Gule clan.



Fig. 4 The *Okelo* drum pair and the single-skinned *Fumbo* at the okelo funeral ceremony.

other is a Uganda drum. This same combination occurs among the xylophone playing peoples on the shores of Lake Kyoga, the Baruli, Banyala, Bakenyi and northeastern Basoga.

The name of the xylophone may provide additional clues to its origin. While the Basoga use the term *embaire*, the Padhola term *endara* finds its counterpart only among the Konjo and Alur while closely related terms are found among the inhabitants around lake Kyoga who use the term *entara* and the Ganda and Gwere who use *entaala* as one of the words for the xylophone.

Uganda drums - *Aciel*

Many of the ceremonies involving the playing of *aciél* drums are now becoming rare events.

Aciel is the name given to a single large Uganda drum which is the most important drum in the ensemble of which it is a part and after which the whole ensemble is named. There may be two of these drums in a single ensemble and they are always played together with three or four smaller drums. These Uganda drums follow the profile of the shape found among the Bantu-speaking peoples of Uganda. The upper part of the instrument is cylindrical while the bottom is conical in shape. The cylindrical portion of the drum is usually more than half the height of the drum, but the large *aciél* drum of the Nyapolo-Gule clan differs somewhat in shape, the cylindrical portion of the drum being almost two-thirds of the entire drum and the lower part tapers sharply to the base which corresponds in size to the base of any of the smaller drums. The other Uganda drums in the ensemble are similar in shape to the Soga drums, and the non-sonorous skin is cut in a circle so that when attached to the drum it forms a straight edge between the lacing and the skin.

The lacing is W in form and a horizontal thong which reinforces the attachment of the lacing to the skin forms a ridge at the juncture of lacing and sonorous skin. There may be alternating bands of coloured lacing as on the Soga drums⁴ or resemble Gwere drums with a successive series of graduated lengths of lacing where it enters the non-sonorous skin.⁵ All of the drums in this ensemble are beaten with sticks. Each of the Uganda drums in the ensemble has its own personal name. In the ensemble of the Nyapolo/Gule clan, for example, the *aciél* drum is called Achoka and the four small drums played with it are called Banja, Ogule, Nyamahe and Olum. Other instruments such as the single-skin, drum *thimbo*, side-blown trumpets (made from the horn of the swamp buck) and a small flute made from the horn of the reed buck) may be included in the ensemble. Three *aciél* ensembles were seen in 1966, and the following table gives an inventory of the drums and other instruments with some associated regalia.⁶

Some examples of *aciél* ensembles

Clan	Location	Drums	Trumpets	Other regalia
Nyapolo/Gule	Nyafumba, in	5 Uganda drums	2	2 spears
	Kirewa Gombolola	1 <i>thimbo</i>		Goat skin Buffalo tail Headdress
Kijwala	Wakasiki, in	4 Uganda drums	1	1 spear
	Mulanda gombolola	5 Uganda drums	9	1 spear
Biranga Owiny	Barinyanga, in Paye gombolola	5 Uganda drums	9	1 spear

Only some clans own these drums and the second table shows their distribution in Padhola.

Distribution of *aciel* ensembles in Phadhola

Location			Area of Padhola ⁷	Clan
Nyafumba,	Kirewa	gombolola	Lul	Nyapolo/Gule
Katandi,	"	"	"	"
Kirewa,	"	"	"	Nyapolo/Rangi
Nawire,	Paya	gombolola	"	Birangi/Owiny
"	"	"	"	Amor/Kagulu
Mikwana,	Nagongera	gombolola	"	Kijwala
Kitajula,	"	"	"	Amor/Kagulu
Nyamwaya,	"	"	"	Morua/Guma
Kech,	Mulanda	gombolola	Mawele	Kijwala
Wakasiki,	"	"	"	"
Migana,	"	"	"	Loli
Sirongo,	"	"	"	Orua/Iapa
Poyemi,	Iyolwa	gombolola	"	Jep/Odwi
Morkiswa,	Kisoko	gombolola	Yawoko	Amor/Kagulu
Kisoko,	"	"	"	Biranga/Nyakango.

Five of the clans which are listed as having *aciel* were among the Luo clans which first settled in Padhola⁸. A close association is described between these clans in the following story of how they came to have *aciel*⁹. The Bagwere and Jopadhola had been fighting and after hostilities had ended with the Jopadhola victorious, they were all returning to their homes. The Jopadhola had with them a Mugwere child whom they had captured after he stole a hawk from them. The Bagwere, desperate to keep their child, offered them *aciel*, the knowledge of rain making¹⁰ and small banana plants to take back, all unknown in Padhola, if they would leave the child. On this expedition four men led the fighting, a man from Loli, Owiny (from Biranga), Banja (from Nyapolo) and Oriono (from Amor, of which Kijwala is a sub-clan), and it was to these men that the drums were given and in these clans that they remained. No other clans have the real drums, others only made copies.

That others might have copied them is suggested by the story told by a member of Morwa-Guma clan who intended to show that the Morwa-Guma clan is a senior clan and one of the first to have *aciel*. The story describes how they cut down a mvule tree (olwa) and a person from each of Amor/Kogulu, Nyapolo, Biranga and Morwa/Guma took enough wood with which to make *aciel*, leaving Bendo with only enough for *okelo* drums. Even in those clans said to have originally introduced *aciel*, the number of ensembles proliferated. The probable reason for the proliferation of the drums is that they are regarded as a sign of wealth and high status, and their ritual importance, resulting from the fact that they have their own spirit and by playing them the ancestor spirits are called, can give the one who keeps them, in the name of the clan ancestor, considerable influence in the community. The way in which they were associated with conflicts of leadership within clans is shown in the following events. In his paper Southall (op.cit., p.14) mentions the transfer of the position of chief priest of Bura from Akure to Majanga. Both men were from Nyapolo/Gule clan, Majanga staying with Akure as his herdboy. Leadership of the cult of Bura passed to him following a series of supernatural events indicating that Bura favoured him over Akure, with whom Bura was angry for leaving Majanga to do things such as milking Bura's cow, instead of carrying out these duties himself. Akure was also keeper of *aciel* and the drum stayed in his family. Majanga had his own

aciel made to emphasise that his power and wealth now exceeded that of Akure. However, ownership of *aciel* is not clearly related to the ritual power of Bura, on which the ranking of clans in Padhola is also based. Before the ascendancy of Nyapolo/Gule clan developed¹¹, priests of Bura came from Koi clan¹², which does not have *aciel*.

Possibly *aciel* and *Bura* worship were brought separately to Padhola¹³ and only subsequently became in some ways associated, even as *aciel* became associated with other important Padhola beliefs. Thus the keeper of the drums is usually a man of *Bura*; the sounding skin used in making *aciel* should be the skin of a cow which belongs to *Bura*; and the sounding skin for the smaller drums should be the skin of a cow belonging to the spirit of the compound¹⁴. Of the regalia associated with the drums, the large spear is called the spear of *Bura* and may have its own personal name; the smaller spear is for the spirit of the compound and is associated only with the smaller drums; and the goat skin which may be worn by the keeper of the drums is said to be worn for *Bura*. The keeper of the drums may also wear the tail of a buffalo on his upper arm and a hippopotamus tooth on his forehead, both regalia worn on important ritual occasions by senior men, and when the drums are taken out to be used he ties the vine *luxombe* round *aciel* and on the spears and drapes it on himself. This vine is also used on many other ritual occasions.

Before the drums can be used, special rituals have to be performed in honour of the drums, in the place where they are kept. They are kept in a small round house of their own or in a room of the keeper's house. *Aciel* is propped at an angle on the floor, as it is for playing, and the smaller drums are hung from the walls, sometimes permanently coupled in pairs.

There are four occasions on which the drums can be used:-

1. For the burial of an important man or woman of the clan¹⁵.
2. For *Lumbe*, a later funeral ceremony which is a time of rejoicing the ancestors. This is done only for important members of the clan.
3. For cursing.
4. For making rain.

The objects of sacrifice and the spirits to whom sacrifices are made before using drums vary slightly for each occasion, and the procedure for actually removing the drums from the home in which they are kept has become modified in a variety of ways. The people from Biranga/Owiny described the following procedure as that which was formerly used. The drums were always moved at night and were moved from the home in which they were kept by important men from the clan and the child of a woman of the clan, *okewo*¹⁶. These people took with them a chicken which would be sacrificed to the drums and roasted before removing them after the keeper had invoked the spirit of the drums and explained the occasion for which they were to be used. On arriving at the home where the drums were to be used they were put at the gate and *okewo* gently drummed to inform people that they had arrived and to call people from the places in which they were hiding for fear of the power of the drums. Then a chicken was again sacrificed and roasted, the drums were moved into the compound and the drumming and dancing would begin.

The keeper of the drum from Nyapolo/Ogule described the following procedure for bringing out the drums for a burial. This same procedure was closely followed on an occasion when the playing was witnessed. The drums are taken out of the house with a white cockerel. The keeper of the drums promises *aciel* that he will sacrifice the cockerel and explains why they are being taken out.

Then the drums are taken out, the chicken is killed and the blood is spilled on *aciel*, after which the chicken is roasted, some of the meat being thrown to the spirits and the rest being eaten by the keeper and the players. Then the drums are carried to the place where they are to be played and the procedure is repeated. Money must also be provided for the players.

For *lumbe* the drums must be brought out with a goat which is sacrificed to *aciel*, and for cursing and rain-making a cockerel is used which may be supplemented by millet beer. What is actually sacrificed or offered seems to depend to a large extent on the discretion of the keeper of the drums.

The drums are only actually played on the first two of the occasions mentioned above, for cursing or for making rain they may form part of the ritual without being played. In some clans there are songs which can be sung only to the accompaniment of *aciel*, but in others there are no special songs and the clan songs sung can also be played on other instruments. In the ensembles which include a large number of trumpets the leader of the trumpets chooses the song and the higher-pitched trumpet begins the performance followed by the lower-pitched, the singer or drummers, and then the female chorus. In ensembles which include only one or two trumpets the leading singer chooses the song and one of the smaller drums is beaten to initiate the performance. In the set of trumpets belonging to Biranga/Owiny clan the nine trumpets were classified as *mathindho* (small) and *madongo* (large) four of them being small and five large. The total range of the trumpets was three successive pitches, approximately $f'—g'—a'$. The higher pitched *mathindho* gave pitches g^1 and a^1 while the lower pitched *madongo* produced f' and g' . Each player has his own motif based on a rhythmic pattern utilizing his two available pitches. All *mathindho* play variants of the same motif and interlock their patterns with the *madongo* trumpets which also play their respective motifs. The order of the playing in the ensemble may be 1 *mathindho* trumpets, 2 *madongo* trumpets, 3 solo singer, 4 drummers, 5 chorus or 1 *mathindho* players, 2 *madongo* trumpets, 3 drummers, 4 solo singer, 5 chorus. The female chorus imitates the vocal line of the trumpets which also act as a chorus to the female soloist. In this ensemble, the trumpet players circle the drums in an anti-clockwise direction while performing a slow-shuffling dance to the music. This dance performance of the trumpet players is typical in other societies where sets of side-blown trumpets are found, such as in Busoga, Bunyoro, Toro and Alur. Members of the chorus and men may also join the circle of dancers. Any infant present when the drums are being played must be placed near the *aciel* drum and be touched by the drummer's stick. This is to ensure protection against harm from the spirit of *aciel* and the ancestor spirits which are said to be present whenever the drums are played. This procedure also followed when the *okelo* drums are played and when the xylophone is played.

Aciel can also be used by a person from any clan to curse someone who has robbed him. If, however, the person who is being cursed is not in fact the guilty one then the person who is doing the cursing will be the one who is harmed by the curse. The drums do not have to be brought out of the house when the cursing is done. When *Aciel* is used by its keeper to make rain without the assistance of a rain maker, the keeper invokes the spirits to bring rain, and as well as sacrificing to the drum, sacrifices a goat to the spirit of the compound, the spirit of the bush and to *Bura*. The drums are taken out of the house but not played.

Uganda drums - Okelo

The *okelo* drums are a very small pair of Uganda drums, coupled together and played by a single person in an ensemble with a *fumbo*, (the typical cylindrical

single-skinned Padhola drum.) The *okelo* drums are said to have always been in Padhola and not brought specially, as were the *aciel* drums. They are found in all clans, owned by individual players and kept for the clan, so that, as with the *fumbo*, anyone can learn to play them, although some players are recognised as being particularly skilful. *Okelo* drums are not seen as having any power in themselves so that there are no rituals which have to be performed before they can be taken out of the house.

Although ownership of *okelo* drums does not confer power or high status on an individual or clan, their use indicates the higher status of a particular individual and his family. They are used, with *fumbo*, only for one particular funeral ceremony, the final ceremony which is performed for important men, often ten or even twenty years after their death. *Okelo* is done after some misfortune has befallen the relatives of the dead man, a misfortune which is attributed to the anger of the neglected but important relative who can only be placated by the performance of this ceremony. The playing of the *okelo* drums calls the ancestor spirits to celebrate together, and it is because of the importance of the occasion and the potential danger associated with having numerous spirits in the vicinity that particular observances are associated with bringing and playing the *okelo* drums. When the *okelo* player is coming to the house, two small chickens may be killed and roasted on the path and a creeper called *ayilyila* may also be burnt. On arrival at the house the drums are put in the eaves of the house. During the course of the ceremony the *okelo* drums and *fumbo* are played in the bush and serve to call the ancestor spirits into the bush to dance and celebrate and cease harming their living relatives. It is *okewo* who, carrying the *okelo* drums, leads the people running from the compound to take the spirits into the bush; it is he who kills and roasts two chickens and throws them into the bush with special words for the ancestors; and it is he who finally leads everyone running from the spot when the dancing is finished, leaving the spirits who have gathered in the bush.

A typical performance of the *okelo* ensemble begins with the *okelo* pair of drums, then the *fumbo* and the side-blown trumpet, the *okelo* drums being tuned approximately to d'' and f'' and the pitches of the trumpets being approximately d' and e' in the octave below. A soloist initiates the song and the chorus responds, while different pitched flutes (*sosi*) punctuate the performance with long held notes, together with the ology or high-pitched cry of the women (*kigalagasa*). The dancers are men, women and children, moving in an anti-clockwise circle, and crescent-shaped bells (*milege*) tied to their legs add another dimension to the musical texture both rhythmically and melodically.

Uganda Drums used to Cure Illness

There are certain diseases caused by possession by the spirits of dead people, (not necessarily the sufferer's own ancestors,) which affect only women and girls. The main treatment for these diseases is the beating of drums which send the patients into a trance, although in addition to these therapeutic sessions, the patients may be given herbal medicines. There are two different types of these diseases and for each type different drums are used and different rhythms beaten. The disease may be treated at a person's home, the drummers being called for the sessions and paid by the woman's family, or at the home of a local practitioner, which is the more usual arrangement.

Firstly there is *Tida* which is said to be caused by Teso spirits. The word *tida* is of Teso origin and a form of the disease is also found among the Iteso. The drum used for treatment by the Iteso is very large, being 3 feet 4 inches in length and 3

feet in diameter, and is played with a tiny drum only 9 inches in length and 3 inches in diameter¹⁷. In Padhola a pair of small drums similar to the *okelo* drums are used. A session starts with the continuous rapid shaking of gourd rattles and the woman who conducts the treatment intoning a low pitched phrase, rising to a higher level and then repeating the first phrase. The chorus of patients joins with the soloist on the high-pitched phrase, the two drums joining subsequently with a slower tempo. While the rhythmic pattern played on the drums varies, the incessant shaking of the rattles is unvaried, dominates the performance, and may be the prime cause of the patient going into a trance.

Secondly there is *Kalumba* and associated illnesses. *Kalumba* is said to be caused by Bantu spirits. The drumming for treating these illnesses is done on a single medium-sized Uganda drum or sometimes a straight sided drum and is accompanied by gourd rattles, soloist (the practitioner) and a chorus of patients, who lapse into incoherent yelps as the session progresses. In contrast to the music played for the cure of *tida*, in which the tempos of the gourds and drums differ, the tempos of the gourds and drums are the same.

This article is largely descriptive, its aim being simply to provide information on Padhola not recorded elsewhere. There are, however, two ways in which this information might be used more fully. Such studies may be valuable for analysing in more detail the position of the different types of players in the community; the different forms of prestige, influence, power or wealth different drums bring to their owners or players, and therefore for showing the importance of these people in the organisation of the community. Secondly, such studies may be valuable in examining the question of cultural borrowing between the various tribes of Bukedi and eastern Uganda.

NOTES

1. Wachsmann, K. P. The sound instruments, Part II; *Tribal crafts of Uganda*, M. Trowell and K. P. Wachsmann, London, O.U.P., 1953, Chapter 3, Membraphones, pp.365-380.
2. *loc. cit.* p.366 and illustration p.376. Plate 84, F.
3. The people of Wamambwe live in the central area of Padhola, but have come to Padhola relatively recently. (See B. A. Ogot, *History of the southern Luo*, Vol. 1, Nairobi, E.A.P.H., 1967, pp.90 and 106.) Kijwala is a section of one of the original Luo clans to settle in Padhola and is also one of the clans which owns *aciel* drums. They are said to have obtained the xylophone through contact with people from Busoga, and this seems likely in view of the fact that two of the five players practising in 1966 were from two small clans which came from Busoga and they only report playing the xylophone for people from the area in which the xylophone is kept and for people from Wambwe clan who live just across the swamp from them. The keeper of the xylophone for Orua-Semba clan had the following story to tell. A Musoga came to stay with his grandfather, bringing his xylophone with him, and remained to be married at their home and teach many of them how to play the instrument. When he died no-one used it until the spirit of the xylophone possessed the present keeper's father and he began to play again. After his death the present keeper took over and played until about 1918 when there was a famine and most of the players died, leaving the wood to the ants. Since then it has not been played, but because there have been many deaths in the clan, attributed to the anger of the neglected xylophone, in May 1967 they cut the first peice of wood in a special place near the clan shrine and are now going to start playing again.
4. Wachsmann, *op. cit.*, p.370.
5. Wachsmann, *op. cit.*, p.380, Plate 88 E.
6. This list of *aciel* ensembles is almost certainly incomplete. It was not possible to visit the leaders of all the clans, and as even in some of the cases listed the drums are hardly used, it is likely that in others the drums have fallen into disrepair and been forgotten. Dr. B. A. Ogot probably has a more complete list of the ensembles.

7. The Jopadhola describe their country as being divided into three regions, namely *Lul* (forest), *Mawele* and *Yowoko* (in the direction of the outside). See Ogot, *op. cit.*, p.87 and Southall, A. W., Padhola: comparative social structure, E.A.I.S.R., Kampala, Conference Paper, January, 1957, (Cyclostyled), p.1.
8. Ogot, *op. cit.*, pp.78 and 87.
9. The question of the historical validity of this story is irrelevant here. It is important only for showing the association that is seen to exist between the clans which have *aciel*. The story was told by the most senior member and president of Loli clan.
10. Knowledge of rain-making is not confined to those clans which have *aciel*, and is not always connected with *aciel*. There are special shrines for making rain and the knowledge is generally said to have been brought by the Japadhola with them when migrated from the north.
11. Southall, *op. cit.*, p.14 and Ogot, *op. cit.*, pp.120 and 124.
12. Southall, *op. cit.*, p.14.
13. Ogot, *op. cit.*, pp.92 and 107 for suggestions of the origin of the *Bura* art.
14. When a man is possessed by this spirit he must build a shrine in his home and set aside a cow from his herd for *Bura*. He is then *Jabura* (a man of *Bura*). Calves subsequently born to the cow belong to *Bura*. Formerly also in every home a cow was set aside for *Were madio-dipo*, the spirit of the compound.
15. *Aciel* can under certain conditions also be played for people outside the clan, for affines, for the children of women of the clan for the friends of important members of the clan, but before this can be done the keeper of the drums and the senior members of the clan must consult together.
16. *Okewo* is seen as being outside regular groupings of kin and outside their particular alignments and quarrels; he is the one who can settle all trouble and end all sickness; and because of his special position he is called to assist with rituals in many potentially dangerous situations.
17. Lawrance, J. C. D. *The Iteso*, London, O.U.P., 1957, p.153.

SOCIETY NOTES

The Annual Report of the Uganda Society for 1966 was presented at the Annual General Meeting on 26 April, 1967. The number of full members of the Society fell slightly from 657 to 646 in 1966, though the number of Associate Members increased by 21. These figures are still well below the peak membership of 833 in 1956. Nearly a 100 new members had been enrolled during the course of the year, yet this large number was still smaller than the number of resignations and defaulters. The Library was expanded during the year by an addition of 80 volumes and a programme of rebinding worn books has been commenced. Two numbers of the *Journal* were produced and sales of the second edition of Dr. Greenwood's *Fishes of Uganda* have progressed well. A full programme of lectures and excursions was maintained and most meetings were well attended. The programme for 1966 is set out overleaf.

Programme of the Uganda Society, 1966

- 19 January "Kingship, archaeology and historical myth"—Presidential Address by Dr. M. Posnansky.
- 25 January "Wildlife research in the Uganda national parks"—Dr. R. M. Laws.
- 30 January Natural History field excursion to the Kalagala Falls.
- 9 February "Late Pleistocene extinction, its causes and consequences"—Dr. Paul S. Martin.
- 15 February "Uganda, centre of Primate field studies"—Dr. Thelma Rowell.
- 19 February Natural History half-day excursion to the Kifu Forest.
- 23 February "Heart disease in Uganda"—Dr. A. G. Shaper,
- 16 March "The imagery of death in African poetry"—Mr. G. Moore
- 20 March Natural History field excursion to the Mpanga Forest.
- 29 March Informal meeting on Snakes led by Mrs. Janet Stoneman, Mr. J. G. Matthews, Mr. K. W. Brown.
- 19 April "The role of forestry in the economic development of Uganda"—Mr. M. L. S. B. Rukuba.
- 20 April Thirty-second Annual General Meeting followed by the films "The Bahima of Ankole" and "The Flame Tree".
- 23 April Nakawa Forest Station was open to members.
- 30 June "The earthquake which struck Toro and the adjacent areas of the Congo in the early hours of Sunday 20th March 1966"—Professor I. S. Loupekin. (In association with the Uganda Geographical Association)
- 20 July "The relationship between the Municipal Engineer, his Local Authority and the Public, with special reference to Kampala"—Mr. A. F. Luba.
- 27 July "The theatre in East Africa"—Mr. P. Carpenter.
- 3 August "In search of Emin"—Dr. Edward Schnitzer.
- 17 August "Literature and nationalism"—Professor A. J. Warner.
- 23 August "The Giant Silk Moths or Emperor Moths of Uganda"—Mr. K. W. Brown & Mr. A. W. R. McCrae.
- 7 September "Music, history and legend in Africa"—Professor K. P. Wachsmann.
- 24 September Natural History half-day excursion to the Zika Forest.
- 27 September "Uganda's climate"—Mr. M. O. Webb.
- 19 October "The empire of Bunyoro-Kitara: myth or reality?"—Dr. M. S. M. Kiwanuka.
- 25 October "Papyrus and other sedges throughout the ages"—Professor R. Wheeler Haines.
- 30 October Mr. A. C. Walker gave a talk on bush babies, pottos and lemurs, followed by films and a visit to a noctarium.
- 16 November "Uganda's population: distributional changes over two-thirds of a century"—Dr. D. N. McMaster.
- 19 November Natural History field excursion on "The natural history of the Banana."
- 29 November "The Atlas of East African Mammals project"—Mr. J. Kingdon.
- 30 November "Some symbolic features of Gisu circumcision rites"—Professor V. Turner.
- 17 December Natural History half-day excursion to Kabanyolo Farm.

The Society in conjunction with the British Council arranged a third series of lectures for the post School Certificate pupils of schools and training colleges in and near Kampala. The programme was as follows:—

- 28 February "What is society?"—Dr. R. S. Desai.
- 14 March "Society and the economy"—Dr. R. Green.
- 21 March "Urbanisation and society"—Dr. J. Gugler.
- 28 March "Society and religion"—Dr. A. Lugira.

BUGOTO: A FISHING COMMUNITY ON MACDONALD BAY, BUSOGA

By B. INEICHEN

The area of South Busoga to the immediate north of MacDonald Bay has been in the process of resettlement over a number of years. Spontaneous settlement has spread to the south of the area of the South Busoga Resettlement Scheme, and has penetrated in places to within a few miles of the coast. Associated with this movement of population into the area, there has been pressure to open up fish landing sites along the coast. This has been inhibited by the need to regulate settlement in order to control sleeping sickness infection. The fish landing of Kityerera, at the northwest corner of MacDonald Bay, was opened up in 1956, as an integral part of the resettlement scheme. From about that time too, illegal landing of fish took place at Bugoto, a headland with a small beach some miles to the east. Despite sporadic police raids, and the confiscation of fishermen's property, the volume of activity grew to such a scale that the Busoga Local Government was forced to take action. In early 1965 as a result of a meeting between Busoga Local Government officials and fishermen and fish sellers, it was agreed to open the road from the resettlement area to Bugoto, and allow housebuilding at the landing site. Accordingly the government provided a bulldozer to help clear the road, the merchants provided the labour, and the fishermen cleared the bush from about a hundred yards around the two small landing beaches, and housebuilding began. By August 1966 about forty houses had been completed, and several others were under construction. Sites were also being cleared along the road out of the village, despite the protests of Sleeping Sickness Control officials.

The population of Bugoto in August 1966 numbered 165 in all; 107 men, 42 women and 16 children. (Table 1) Only those who had accommodation in Bugoto were included in this census. Fishermen who paid periodic visits from island camps often stayed a night or two, but they were excluded if they had more permanent homes elsewhere. Altogether twenty-two different ethnic groups were represented from four nations, including over 50 Kenyans, 13 Tanzanians and 1 Sudanese.

At the time of this census, no authorisation had been forthcoming to open land in the immediate vicinity of Bugoto for farming. Therefore the livelihood of people in Bugoto depended entirely on fishing or on providing goods or services for fishermen. Table 2 gives the occupations of non-fishermen broken down by tribe.

The *mutala* chief of Bugoto also owns the land of 27 other *mitala*. So far no land at Bugoto is available for farming: small plots have been sold off for housebuilding only. Land along the road leading out of the village is also earmarked for prospective purchasers, and though site clearance has begun, houses outside the village will not be occupied until surrounding bush has been cleared, be-

cause of the danger of sleeping sickness. The *mutala* chief lives about fifteen miles from Bugoto. Recently he has appointed a Bugoto resident to act as his *musigire* (agent). This man is the unofficial village headman, interviews prospective settlers, and he is entitled to a share of the *nkoko* fee. A consideration of each tribal group is a convenient introduction to a study of settlement in Bugoto.

Luo: The largest single tribal group in Bugoto is the Luo, the great majority of whom are fishermen. Overfishing in the Kavirondo Bay area has driven many Luo from their home waters. In 1965 half the canoes registered at Jinja were owned by Luo. The Luo in Bugoto are predominantly adolescents and young adults. (See Tables 3a and 3b). Their average stay in Bugoto has been about six months, about half that of the Basoga. Few of the Luo fishermen are married. Most are young men who are working as fishermen for a year or two in order to earn enough money to pay a brideprice and start their own farm when they return. Wives in Bugoto, where no farming is possible, do not have the same economic value that they have in an agricultural village. Young men will therefore defer marriage until they leave fishing; if they return to it later they will normally leave their wife in their home village. It becomes a mark of success for a man to keep a wife in a fishing village like Bugoto; generally he will not do it unless he has a second wife elsewhere on his farm. A few Luo fishermen have however settled sufficiently well into Bugoto to bring their wives and children from Kenya to join them. One mentioned the absence of sponging relatives as being a factor which made life cheaper in Bugoto. Ties remain strong with relatives in Kenya nevertheless. There are as yet no intermarriages between Kenyans and Ugandans in Bugoto. Language is again a barrier: the Basoga at Bugoto have little Swahili and almost no English; though many of the Luo learn Lusoga if they stay an appreciable length of time. Even if the young Luo contemplate remaining permanently at Bugoto, they would be most likely to return home in search of a wife.

The Luo at Bugoto generally organise their own fishing. Most new arrivals have friends or relatives already in the village and do not have to ask non-Luo for employment. A recent development has been the arrival of non-fishing Luo. They now run two 'hotels' and have some interest in capital goods leasing their nets to non-Luo. One Luo who had come originally to Bugoto as a fish merchant now works as a tailor. A married Luo woman has started selling beer on market days.

Basoga: The Basoga form almost a quarter of the population of Bugoto. They are spread by age more evenly than the other groups. Although the majority of the men are fishermen, one third are in other occupations. Of these, an appreciable number are in the 'property-owning' class indicated by the first four categories of Table 2. Some of these are men who have had family connections with the area, and whose association with Bugoto goes back before the authorisation of settlement, and in a few cases even to ancestral connections before the sleeping-sickness evacuations. Others came to Bugoto originally as itinerant fish merchants: several of these are included in the 'property-owning' categories of Table 2, and control much of the capital goods total in Bugoto. Most of these men also maintain a farm away from Bugoto, and keep a wife in each home.

Two thirds of the Basoga men are fishermen, and also part-time cultivators. Most are merely supplementing their income from their *Kibanjas*; but a few are financially more ambitious, and save hard to buy nets and other capital goods. A few of the younger ones resemble the Luo in that their chief interest lies amassing enough cash to provide a bridewealth.

Samia: The Samia in Bugoto consider themselves closely related to the Basoga. Some Samia had lived for many years, or even all their lives in some cases, in Busoga. Like the Basoga they mix farming and fishing. The Samia in Bugoto come mostly from the lakeside area, confirming Moody's findings that farmers from far inland seldom venture into lake fishing. All were from the Ugandan side of Samia. The Samia sample were mostly young unmarried fishermen, though one boat-owning family has been completely absorbed into the Basoga property-owning group.

Baganda: Most of the Baganda in Bugoto come from the *saza* of Kyaggwe, just across the Nile from Jinja. Most of the men are fishermen; the two boat owners left in August 1966, taking their boat by road to Lake Kyoga, where they anticipated profits would be higher. One of their expenses in Bugoto, for example was renting a house for forty shillings a month, as they had no relatives in the area. Several of the Baganda women are beer-sellers, living apart from their husbands. There is only one Baganda family in Bugoto.

Tanzanians: The Tanzanians in Bugoto numbered thirteen: seven Haya, five Ziba and one Nyamwezi. Together they form a group of some significance, for several reasons. The appearance of Tanzanians in the area seems a very recent phenomenon. The census of 1959, however, lists substantial numbers of Jinja inhabitants as coming from tribes and areas over the whole of East Africa. The Tanzanians in Bugoto are all adults, and only one is not in employment. In general, they possess a higher degree of education than either the Ugandans or Kenyans, and a correspondingly high degree of financial enterprise. Some of the men are fishermen, but Tanzanians own two of the principal shops, and one of the men and several of the women make beer. Some of the women are prostitutes. When Bugoto was first opened, many more lived there and by one estimate, thirty-five left in June 1966. They came originally from the port of Bukoba, though most had lived for a time in Kampala or Jinja. Basoga men sometimes claim that they do not wish to use their own women as prostitutes; so this may contribute to the reason for the Tanzanians' presence.

The Tanzanians' comparative inexperience of Busoga sometimes leads to their being exploited in a manner resembling the treatment of the Kenyan settlers over the *nkoko* fee. One shopkeeper had bought a plot on the edge of the village and almost finished building. However, he had been forbidden to move in until the land for some fifty yards around had been cleared, because of the threat of tsetse. Why should he clear land, he claimed, for someone else's benefit?

Others: Apart from small groups of Nyala (ten) and Kenyi (six) the remaining inhabitants are isolated individuals who come from a very wide area of East Africa. Among them are to be found the poorest members of the community.

Fish Merchants: None of the inhabitants of Bugoto live by fish-selling but each morning about fifteen to twenty merchants arrive from neighbouring villages on foot or by bicycle to buy fish directly as it is landed from the boats. At the weekends there are many more, and pedlars, native healers and entertainers arrive also. At these larger markets dried as well as fresh fish is on sale, and dealers come from a much wider area. Each merchant is self-employed, and like the majority of the fishermen, combines this work with farming.

Bugoto lives by fishing. Those of its inhabitants who do not fish live by providing services to fishermen. The gradual opening up of its agricultural hinterland ensures a ready market for fish landed there, and the provision of an

adequate road means that distribution is not difficult. The techniques of drying used at present permit the preservation of fish for at least several days; the potential market could certainly absorb greater quantities of fish than are currently being supplied.

The population of Bugoto has gathered from all around the northern half of the Lake Victoria area. Much of the wealth of Bugoto is held by the earliest settlers: some came because they had family connections with the area, but most because they found they could earn a good living there. This sometimes involved a change of occupation subsequent to their arrival; many came originally as fish-sellers, and stayed on to earn their living in other ways. The greater part of the Bugoto population is made up of fishermen. Most of these claim no permanent links with the area, either working as fishermen till they have enough money to start their own farm, or supplementing their income from their farm with cash earned by fishing; in this way, retaining many links with their home and visiting it frequently. This results in less disruption in their community of origin than might come about if their separation from it were more absolute. A third category of immigrants into Bugoto consists of those who are moving into the service occupations like hotel-keeping, shop-keeping, tailoring, boat-building and beer-selling. Although a number of these people are Basoga, increasingly they are coming from further afield, especially Tanzania and more recently, Luo. These people are in general more ambitious and money-oriented than the older inhabitants, and they present something of a threat to the predominantly Basoga group of 'capitalists' who have formed the informal ruling clique of the village; but the generally individualistic nature of work in Bugoto, both on shore and on the lake, and the lack of any issue around which tribal feeling could crystallise, has meant an absence of any overt tribal hostility. If fishing on the lake returns towards its 1965 level, there is no reason to doubt that Bugoto will share in the increase of this activity.

Table 1

<i>Tribe</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Children</i>
Luo	41	26	9	6
Basoga	38	25	9	4
Samia	23	14	6	3
Baganda	17	9	6	2
Nyala	10	6	3	1
Ziba	7	4	3	0
Kenya	6	6	0	0
Haya	5	2	3	0
Other	18	15	3	0
	<hr/> 165 <hr/>	<hr/> 107 <hr/>	<hr/> 42 <hr/>	<hr/> 16 <hr/>

Table 2

Occupations of non-Fishermen in Bugoto

	Basoga	Luo	Samia	Baganda	Nyala	Ziba	Haya	Other	
House-owner	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Net-owner	3	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	4
Boat-owner	.	.	1	2	.	.	.	.	3
Hotel-owner	3	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
Shopkeeper, Tailor	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	1	3
Bar asistant	1	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	2
Boat builder	.	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	1
Porter	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	2	3
Beer seller	4	1	.	3	.	3	2	.	13
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	14	7	1	7	1	5	3	5	43
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 3a

Males—Tribes and Ages

Tribe	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	50-	
Basoga	1	6	5	7	6	1	26
Luo	4	10	12	0	2	2	30
Samia	3	4	6	2	2	0	17
Baganda	2	1	3	3	2	0	11
Other	1	10	16	5	1	1	34
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	11	31	42	17	13	4	118
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 3b

Females—Tribes and Ages

Tribe	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	50-	
Basoga	2	1	6	2	1	0	12
Luo	2	6	3	0	0	0	11
Samia	0	1	2	3	0	0	6
Baganda	0	0	3	3	0	0	6
Other	0	6	5	0	0	1	12
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	4	14	19	8	1	1	47
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Lois Anderson is a research student of the University of California, Los Angeles, where she is studying under Dr. Wachsmann. She has spent two years in Uganda studying its music.

Jim Chaplin had been a research student of the African Studies Programme of Makerere and had completed his thesis on the Rock Art of the Lake Victoria Basin very shortly before his tragic death in a road accident in Kampala. For the previous year he had been the Curator of Monuments for Uganda, and had assisted in the editing of the *Uganda Journal*.

G. Emwanu is a recent graduate of Makerere and is now engaged as a district officer of the Ministry of Regional Administration.

Oliver Furley is lecturer in Commonwealth History in the University of Edinburgh, and had held posts at Makerere on two earlier occasions. He has contributed to this Journal previously on Kasagama.

Nad Gundara lectures in the department of Anatomy at the Medical School, Makerere.

Bernard Ineichen has recently graduated in Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh from which he had participated in an undergraduate project for Veterinary students in the ecological problems of South Busoga.

Marty McFarlane is a research student in geography and has nearly completed her thesis on the Erosion surfaces of Buganda. As Miss Patz she has contributed a note for the *Journal* previously.

W. H. Morton is a geologist attached to the Uganda Geological Survey, Entebbe, and discovered the rock carving illustrated here during a geological survey of Karamoja.

Anne Sharman had been a fellow of the Makerere Institute of Social Research engaged upon a sociological and nutritional survey in Bukedi.

S. Zivanovic is a Yugoslav, and lectures in the department of Anatomy at the Medical School, Makerere.

NOTES

THE MONIKO PETROGLYPHS

By J. H. CHAPLIN¹ and M. McFARLANE²

During the course of field work into the nature of the Buganda Surface, one of us (M. M.), discovered a set of petroglyphs cut into the laterite on the hill-top known as Moniko, near Lugazi.³ Similar grooves and hollows were found later on three other hills in south Kyagwe. After an initial joint visit to Moniko, a small party was organised to survey the whole set during July, 1966.⁴

Not by any stretch of the imagination could these rock markings be called artistic; apart from about ten *emyeso* (i.e. mancala-type boards), the marks for the most part consist of grooves and holes, the former varying between one and five feet in length. A minority are more complex, and a photograph (fig. 1) of one of these will allay doubts as to their artificiality. The importance of this site is two-fold. Not only is this style of rock-art so far unknown elsewhere in Uganda, but it has significant implications with regard to the interaction of man with his environment in the past.

Within Uganda only three other engraving sites are known at present. At Hanfuka⁵ there are the weathered outlines of a dozen hoes of pre-European type. On Lolui Island a single boulder has a group of barred circles,⁶ while at Loteteliet a boulder with concentric circles was found.⁷ The Moniko examples resemble none of these, nor can parallels be found for them in the rock-paintings of the Lake Victoria region.

The petroglyphs are clearly and sharply incised, to a degree which suggests, in view of the hardness of the laterite today, that they may have been cut when the surface was softer. The *emyeso* on the other hand do not have a comparable clarity or depth and may have been not so much cut, as pounded out when the laterite was harder. The fact that they are all of the modern form, i.e. four rows of eight holes each, whereas on other neighbouring hills there are boards with two rows of six holes, or four rows of seven holes, supports the idea that these Moniko examples may be comparatively recent. The game itself in one form or another, is widespread throughout Africa and while a Middle East origin is usually sought for it, we have no evidence to indicate by which of several possible routes it reached Uganda.

The grooves (fig 2) in no way resemble those resulting from the grinding of food plants and are closer to those which, elsewhere in Africa, have been suggested as places where stone-axes were polished; but they are both narrower and longer than those and do not have the characteristic striations of that form⁸ Apart from the possibility of tobacco-grinding it is difficult to suggest a purpose for them. In any case, their use for grinding seems highly unlikely in view of the suggestion that they were cut when the laterite was in a softer state. Fresh rock outcrops occur commonly in the area and these would undoubtedly provide a better grinding base than the laterite. The lack of evidence of grinding on these fresh rock outcrops, suggests that grinding was not practised in the area.

The remaining figures are more purposeful, even if the purpose was only that of the idle herdsman whiling away the time. The fact that this set of markings appears to have no parallels on other hills in the locality, equally available to the idle, indicates a rather more serious purpose peculiar to this particular hill-top, but what this was we have no means of telling. The fact that the markings are without meaning or significance to the present inhabitants of the area, suggests a considerable lapse of time since their manufacture.

At the present time, the laterite surface is exceedingly hard and even a good knife blade will barely scratch it. Yet the edges of the markings, especially the grooves, are clear and angular. As has long been known, laterite hardens on exposure, and it seems very likely that the markings were cut before such hardening took place. It is equally probable that hardening proceeded rapidly after they were cut, thus preventing deterioration of the edges. Thus, it would appear that the petroglyphs were made very soon after the laterite was exposed.

Laterite forms within the soil profile and exposure is usually the result of the erosion of the soil above it. Soil erosion as a result of the destruction of the protective vegetation is a distressingly common feature in Africa; and in this locality there is clear evidence that this is happening today. The banana gardens on this hill show that the soil is in places thick enough to support a forest vegetation. Large old trees are found on such lands and it is plain that the area has been cleared to be cultivated. Erosion is active on such bared soil and the large dead trees found lying on the exposed and hardened laterite show the result of this. The soil is removed, the laterite hardens and as a result of this exposure trees can no longer be supported. Only a thin grass cover can exist. This poses the interesting question of how extensive the original cover was.

It appears, then, that the currently seen destruction of the vegetation cover provides an adequate mechanism for the exposure and hardening of the laterite, and it is likely that the makers of the petroglyphs were responsible for the destruction of the forest at this site. The prehistorian immediately asks the questions, "When was this done, and by whom?" Destruction of the forest may have been for purposes of cultivation; it may have been the result of the use of fire which got out of control; it may have resulted from the preparation of charcoal for iron-smelting. There are abundant signs of the presence of early men on these hill-tops at a time when fire was at their disposal; and slag is to be found not far away.

The sharpness of these marks, does indeed suggest that they were the work of metal users and early agriculturalists, but whether it was grains they grew or bananas, we have no means of telling apart from the absence of grindstones which would have indicated the latter. The problems connected with the coming of agriculture in general and the banana in particular, have been aired in this journal before¹⁰, and there is no need to go into them again. In the past, as today, soil exhaustion must have caused the cultivators to move periodically to new grounds, leaving the soil to be eroded and providing a bared surface which their successors possibly marked before it hardened, leaving their petroglyphs to pose questions for us today.

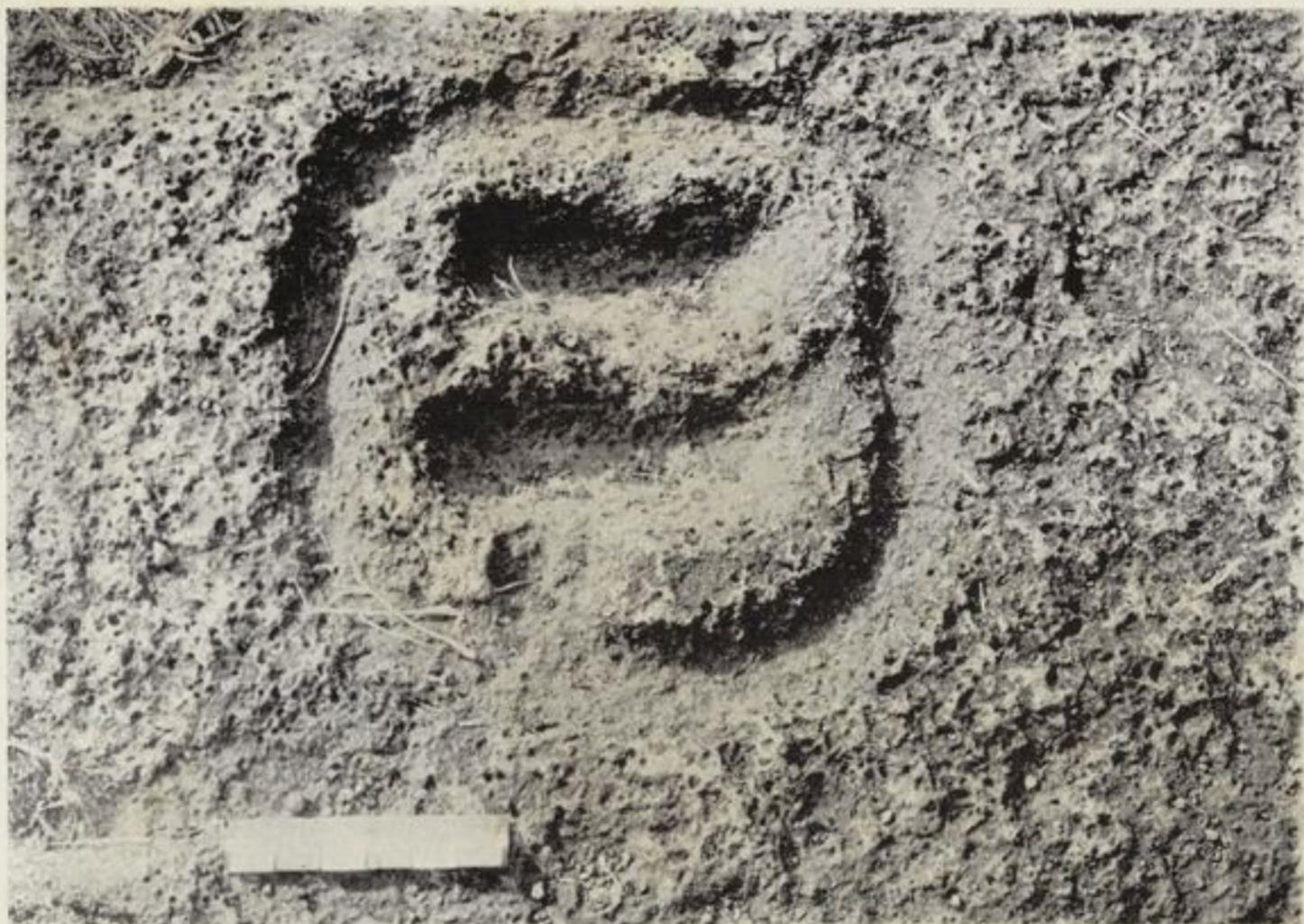


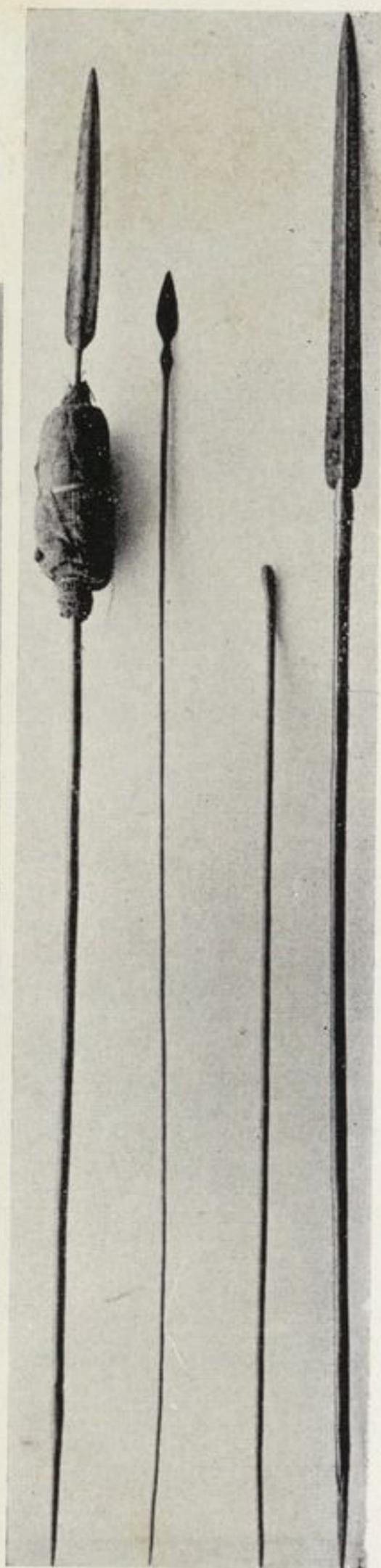
Figure 1



Figure 2



Loteteleit Rock Engraving



A B C D
Regalia of Mubende

NOTES

1. The first author publishes with the permission of the Minister of Culture and Community Development.
2. Nee Patz.
3. Moniko is located at Lat. 00° 23' North, 32° 54' East. Grid reference VR 885/427 on Map Sheet 71/2 in the 1:50,000 series. Other grooves and holes have been found on Namagolola hill (near Kavule) at 499/012 on the Kabanga Port sheet 71/IV (these are near grinding hollows on solid rock, so were not used for grinding as fresh rock was available and used); on a hill southwest of Nsita 496/013; and north of Busala 499/021 (where it is associated with a natural pond).
4. The plans made during this visit are kept in the office of the Inspector of Monuments, Ministry of Culture, P.O. Box 3136, Kampala.
5. Lanning, E. C. Rock-markings in Uganda, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 11, no.44, December 1956, pp.102-3.
6. Jackson, G., Gartlan, J. S. and Posnansky, M. Rock-gongs and associated rock-paintings on Lolui Island, Lake Victoria, *Man* 1965, article 31, pp.38-40.
7. Morton, W. H. Rock engravings from Loteteleit, Karamoja, *Uganda J.*, 31, 1967, p. (This number).
8. Chaplin, J. H., A note on rock grooves in Northern Rhodesia, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 16, no. 64, December 1961, p. 149.
9. Patz, M. Hill-top hollows—a further investigation. *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, pp.225-228.
10. McMaster, D. N. Speculations on the coming of the banana to Uganda, *Uganda J.*, 27, 1963, pp. 163-175.

ROCK ENGRAVINGS FROM LOTETELEIT, KARAMOJA

By W. H. MORTON

During the course of geological mapping in central Karamoja two rock engravings were discovered on the hill Loteteleit, which is situated at U.T.M. grid reference 575223 (fig. 1). Loteteleit is a small, rocky dome-shaped hill about fifty feet high which rises abruptly from the flat grassy Matheniko Plain; it is a plug of fine grained greenish-grey tinguaitite about 200 yards in diameter which intrudes the surrounding gneisses.

The first engraving (fig. 2) was found on a loose block about half way up the northwest side of the hill. The design is a spiral groove about a foot in diameter; the surface of the engraving being greatly weathered. This specimen is now in the Uganda Museum. Near the summit of the hill a second engraving similar to the first was found in the solid rock. This one is far less distinct, probably due to weathering.

Around the base of the hill and also at two other rocky knolls a few miles away (grid references 528223 & 542245) stone hut circles occur, ranging in diameter from about five to fifteen feet. Stone is not generally used for constructing huts by the Karamojong today and it is possible that they may be contemporaneous with the rock engravings.

The engravings may be of the same age as those at the well known Magosi site about seven miles to the east.

THE SURVIVING REGALIA OF THE NAKAIMA, MUBENDE

By E. C. LANNING

The following notes comprise a list of the regalia, *ebikwato*, of Nyanjara which are known still to exist. This regalia was obtained in 1953 by the writer from the keeper of Nyanjara's burial place at Kabanyoro, Mumyuka, Buwekula. In the same year, on the authority of Rukirabasajja Omukama wa Bunyoro-Kitara, Sir Tito Winyi III, they were given on loan to the Uganda Museum.

1. *A short iron bladed spear with iron tapering butt*, said to have been presented to the Nakaima by Omukama Kabarega in 1899. Immediately below the shoulders of the blade is attached a large package bound in barkcloth, the whole being wrapped around the wooden shaft. Two cowrie shells adorn the package. A small separate parcel of barkcloth also hangs loosely from the shaft of the spear. (Fig. A.)
2. *A ceremonial iron spear*. The base of the blade is decorated with a copper stud. (Fig. B.)
3. *An iron rod* 117 cms. long. (Fig. C.)
4. *A heavy bladed spear*. The shoulders of the iron blade rest in a copper collar which covers the wooden shaft. Below the collar the haft is encircled by bands of copper. The iron butt tapers to a point and is about 16 cms. long. (Fig. D.)
5. *An iron wand*. Attached to one end is a tuft of variously coloured glass beads of many shapes and sizes as well as seeds made into beads. Threaded to the beads is a brass button of the Uganda Rifles. (The Uganda Rifles were founded in 1895.)
6. *A bow*. Both ends of the bow-stave are bound with strands of copper wire. The tips are carved into a point to hold the string, but the bow is unstrung.
7. *Seven arrows*, without feathers, 67 cms. long. The iron blades are leaf shaped, 7.5 cms. long.
8. *A drum (ntimbo)*. This type of drum, carried slung over the left shoulder and beaten with both hands, has been and still is used by the musicians of the rulers of Bunyoro and Toro, and of the Kamaswaga of Koki. Tradition in Nyoro dates these drums to the Bacwezi reign. (See Trowell M. and Wachsmann K., *The tribal crafts of Uganda*, pp. 366-367.)
9. *A wooden shield*, Oval with pointed ends. The obverse is interwoven with cane. The edges are bound with hide. The main features are the four pointed bosses set vertically down the centre of the shield. At the back, the handle runs the full length of the shield and is bound with hide.
10. *A pliable necklet* of mauve and blood-red beads set in diamond pattern.
11. *Two horn wrist bangles*. Both are split and have perforations to allow fastening.
12. *A cup* made from the end of a cow's horn; the tip shorn off.
13. *A spoon or ladel* made from horn, fitted to a curved wooden handle.
14. *A wooden whistle* decorated with blue and white beads. (12.5 cms.)

15. *Head-dresses:*
- (a) A head band, possibly ceremonial, studded with red, white and blue beads in the traditional inter-lacustrine Bantu design.
 - (b) A remnant of a head-dress consisting of beads sewn on to barkcloth in a pattern of two squares. The centre and smaller square is composed of small blue beads. The surrounding outer square is made up of white discs, each disc having a bead attached. The colours of these beads form four triangles; North, mauve; South, blue; West and East, red. Two rows of closely sewn beads, one milky white, the other dark blue, decorate the back portion of the head-dress.
 - (c) A head-dress of cowrie shells.
 - (d) A head-dress of pliable furry skin kept inside a basket work box.
16. *Symbolic or ceremonial miniatures:*
- (a) two wooden barkcloth hammers
 - (b) two mweso boards—one of clay, one of wood, the holes having been burnt into the surface.
 - (c) a wooden cotton-reel stool.
 - (d) a wooden paddle.
17. *Other items*, including a wild pig's tooth; ropes of cowrie shells, seed beads, blue and green glass beads; a kaross of cow hides inter-worked with leopard skins; various skins of civet cat, four colobus monkey skins, white goat and antelope hides; and five tails (whisks).

THE BAGANDA MARTYRS, 1885-1887: A CORRECTION

By B. M. KALEMERA

Mr. Thomas, ku page 85, line 7—*Uganda Journal* 15, No. 1—1951, atugamba nti “Yoanna Maria (Jamari) Muzeyi yattirwa mu ‘Kisaalu kya Nakivubo’; era n’Omuti oguyitibwa ‘Martyr’s Tree’ gulabika bulungi ku luyi lw’emasere-ngeta g’Ekisawe ky’Omupira” (....on 27 January, 1887, when Jean-Marie (Jamari) Muzeyi was done to death in the Nakivubo Swamp, where the ‘Martyr’s Tree’ is still pointed out close to the southern boundary of the Baganda War Memorial Recreation Ground....).

Mu nnaku ezakulembera, Yoanna Maria (Jamari) Muzeyi nga tanattibwa, yagenda enfunda nnyingi mu Lubiri lwa Kabaka Mwanga, ne mu Kusakate kya Katikiro Mukasa, naye ku lunaku olwo, January 27, bwe yagenda mu Kusakate kya Katikiro teyafulumamu.

Omw. Kisuule, eyali mukwano gwa *Muzeyi* bwe yalaba nga munne oyo takomyewo, kwe kubuuliriza ku balenzi ab’omu Kusakate kya Katikiro amanye ebyamufuddeko; ne bamugamba nti “Yattiddwa, ne bamusuula mu kateebe, mu kagga ako, kumpi n’ekisakate”. Ate n’Omw. Semewo Nsubuga Senkatuuka ex-Ssaza Chief Kiyimba, naye atutegeeza nti “Abaddu bange baali bagenze

okukima amazzi mu nnaku ezo, ku mugga oguli mu kisakate kya Katikiro, ne bawulira ekivundu ekiwunya. Baali bakyewunaganya, abakazi abaliranyewo, abaali balima, ne babagamba nti 'Emmanga eyo gye muwulira ekivundu, battiddeyo omuntu—mwe ebitembe bye baasazeko endagala okumusibamu timubirabye'? Ne balyoka bajja bambuulira. Awo ffe ne tutegeera nga omuntu oyo eyattibwa ye munnaffe Muzeyi gwe twali twebuuzza ng'atubuzeko effire".

Bwe kityo, ekituufu kiri nti Muzeyi yattirwa mu kagga 'Jjugula' akali okumpi ne Kabakanjagala, mu kiwonvu okwolekera Mengo Social Centre: (cf. Rev. Msgr. Ssemogerere "Abajulizi Ekitiibwa kya Uganda", c.2, p.22; ne "Abajulizi Baffe Ffenna", p.47). Mu kisaalu kya Nakivubo, eyo waattirwayo Balikuddembe Yozefu (Nov. 15, 1885), ne Bazzekuketta Atanasi (May 27, 1886).

THE BAGANDA MARTYRS, 1885-1887: A CORRECTION

By B. M. KALEMERA

Mr. Thomas, on page 85, line 7—*Uganda Journal*, 15, No.1 1951, says that "Yoanna Maria (Jamari) Muzeyi was murdered in the Nakivubo swamp, where the 'Martyrs' Tree' is still pointed out, close to the southern boundary of the War Memorial Recreation Ground." For sometime before his death, Yoanna Maria (Jamari) Muzeyi used to visit Kabaka Mwanga's place, as well as, Katikiro Mukasa's enclosure. But on the day of 27 January when he entered Katikiro Mukasa's enclosure, he never came out again. Mr. Kisuule, who was a friend of Muzeyi, made some enquiries from boys who were living in Katikiro Mukasa's enclosure concerning the whereabouts of his friend Muzeyi. Then the boys told him that his friend had been killed and that he had been thrown into the marsh in the river which was very near the Katikiro's enclosure.

Again Mr. Semewo Nsubuga Senkatuuka, ex-Ssaza chief Kiyimba, also tells us: "One day my servants had gone for water on that river which was inside the Katikiro's enclosure when they found a stench which caused them to wonder what had happened. They were still speculating about the event when some women nearby, who were digging told them: Down there, that is where a person was killed. Have you not seen the wild banana from which leaves were cut for wrapping his body? Then they came and informed me. Then we came to realize that that person who had been killed, was our friend Muzeyi whose place of death we had not known." Therefore the truth is that Muzeyi, was murdered and thrown into the small river called 'Jjugula' which is in the valley opposite Mengo Social Centre, near Kabakanjagala, (References: "Abajulizi Ekitiibwa kya Uganda," Chapter 2, page 22. "Abajulizi Baffe Ffenna," page 47. By Rev. Msgr. Ssemogerere).

The two who were put to death at Nakivubo were:—Balikuddembe Yozefu (Nov. 15, 1885) and Bazzekuketta Atanansi (May 27, 1887).

CASSAVA IN NORTH UGANDA

By R. M. BERE

The following note on cassava cultivation in Acholi may interest readers as a postscript to the note on cassava in the West Nile which appeared in the Uganda Journal, 30, no. 2 of 1966, pp. 215-216.

My recollection is that there was very little cassava in Acholi when I first served there in 1930 but that it was grown fairly extensively by the small settlements of 'Nubis' then living as quite distinct communities near Gulu and Kitgum. By the early 1940s it was much more widespread but, being badly disease-ridden, was relatively ineffective as a food reserve. There was then a fairly serious food shortage (in 1940/41 I think) and this stimulated cassava planting. Mosaic-resistant cassava was being developed by the Agricultural Department at this period, and I have a very clear memory of distributing this in various parts of the district, probably in 1941 and 1942. It was sent up from Kawanda, and I suspect that it was the work there which provided the major fillip to the spread of cassava in northern Uganda.

I was in Acholi throughout the 'locust famine' of 1931. The 1941 shortage was much less serious suggesting that the cassava was already of some use in spite of its poor quality.

This food shortage had an amusing side. The Acholi simply would not dig with anything except their traditional Nilotic hoes, and invariably referred disparagingly to the ordinary *jembe* as *kweri mabuc*, the prisoner's hoe. It was better to starve than to use such an implement! Most of the local blacksmiths had already gone out of business and the local shops soon ran out of supplies of the traditional hoe. To our horror we then discovered that these were being manufactured in Czechoslovakia. We dealt with this situation by reminding the Acholi blacksmiths of a forgotten craft and scouring Uganda for such scrap metal as old car chassis and even a steamer-engine from Lake Albert. Fifty blacksmiths hammered away at this in Gulu, and turned it into hoes.

The following extract from the Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioner for Northern Province of 1951 may also be of interest.

After recording comparative failure of the early rains and a poor grain harvest in all districts; the report reads :— "Cassava is now almost universally planted as a reserve crop and its cultivation is compulsory in many districts, improved mosaic-resistant varieties having been introduced in several areas with beneficial results. Cassava is thus a famine reserve complementary to the grain kept in storage at all divisional headquarters and to which every householder has to contribute his annual quota.

Although ten years ago cassava was relatively uncommon in the West Nile, it occupies today a greater acreage than any other crop. Being drought resistant and locust resistant, it is an excellent famine reserve. But unfortunately the people have become very attached to it as food, and the whole diet of the population is being rapidly transformed. Cassava mixed with millet is now the staple food.

We have seen this year, scattered throughout the West Nile District, a fairly large number of cases of Kwashiorkor as children are being weaned direct from mother's milk to cassava. Cassava is now for the inhabitants of the West Nile what the plantain is to the Baganda. It is an extremely good carbohydrate food, but unless it is properly used in combination with protein it leads to early malnutrition. Sunflower with its high fat and protein content should have an excellent effect in this regard, for it is clearly possible that cassava, having done its duty in preventing famine, may become a serious medical problem."

OS INCAE AND WORMIAN BONES IN EAST AFRICAN SKULLS

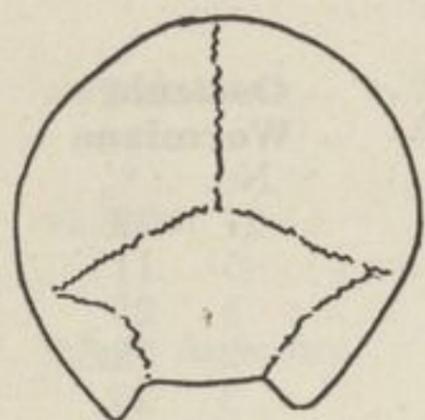
By N. GUNDARA and S. ZIVANOVIC

Variations of the bones of the human skull have always fascinated morphologists and physical anthropologists. *Os incae* and wormian bones (*Ossicula worminia*) are supernumerary elements of the cranial vault interposed between the parietal and occipital bones in the lambdoid suture. Where the bones are multiple but contiguous, they are still considered as composite *Os incae*, but where they are separated they are described as wormian bones. Wormian bones are found in other sutures of the skull but only *Os incae* and wormian bones in the lambdoid suture of East African skulls are examined here. Various categories of these bony structures are presented in Figure 1.

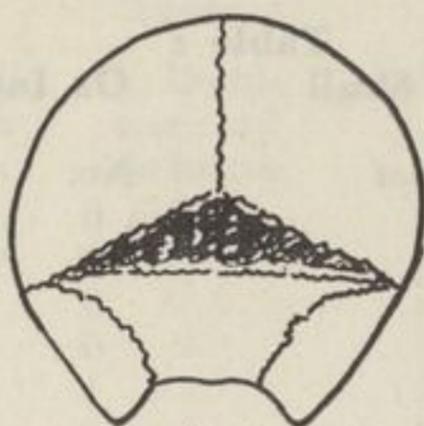
Four hundred skulls from Uganda and neighbouring areas have been examined in the Anthropology Unit of the Department of Anatomy at Makerere University College Medical School. The skulls were mainly from Rwanda, Rundi, Gisu, Ganda, Lango, Acholi and Munyankole people. The patterns of the ossicles were classified according to Martin and Saller's scheme.¹ (Fig.1). Out of the 400 skulls examined 15 had *Os incae* (3.75%) of which 5 were found alone and 10 were found in association with wormian bones. In all 60 cases of wormian bones were found (15%) of which as seen above 10 were in association with *Os incae* and 50 were alone. The commonest form of *Os incae* was of the *totum* type (6 cases), followed by *multipartitum* (3 cases), *centrale* (3 cases), *lateralis dextrum* (2 cases) and *bipartitum* (1 case). No examples of *tripartitum* or *lateralis sinistra* were found. The incidence of *Os incae* appeared higher in males than in females, but only 50 female skulls were examined.

Wormian bones were far more common in this sample than *Os incae* since 60 cases of multiple wormian bones in the lambdoid sutures were found, an incidence of 15%. This is a good deal higher than reported in a comparable study in Yugoslavia.²

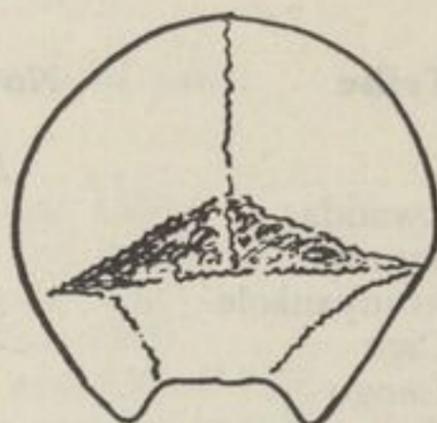
An attempt was made to study the occurrence of these bony anomalies in relation to ethnic groups, but the number of skulls from some groups was too small to justify any conclusions. The findings are presented in the following table:—



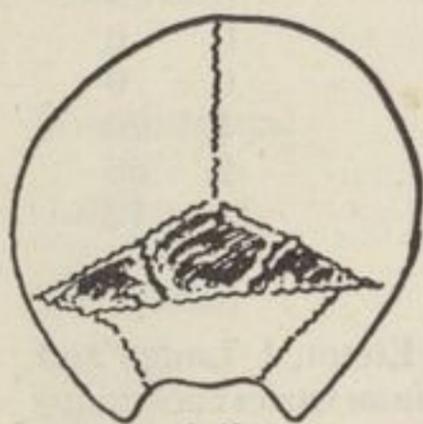
(a)



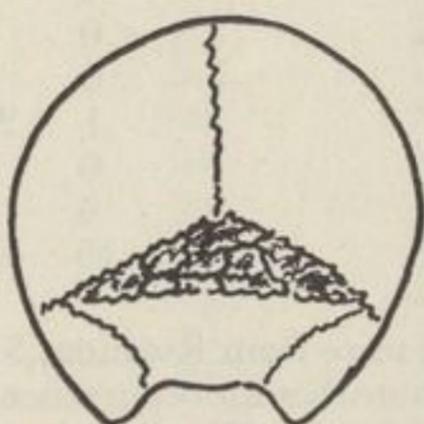
(b)



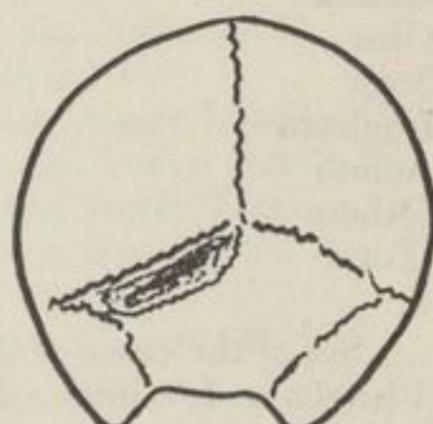
(c)



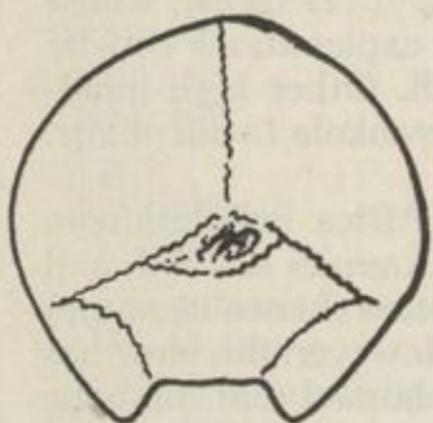
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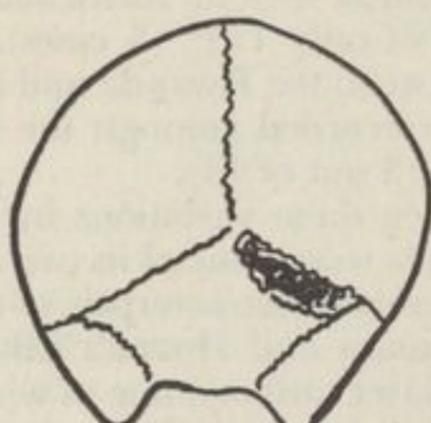
(e)



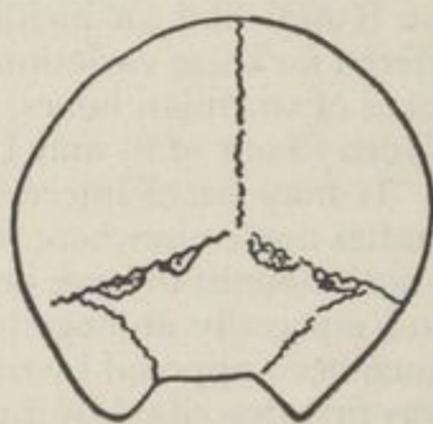
(f)



(g)



(h)



(i)

Types of Os Incae

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>a</i> Normal occipital bone
showing the lambdoid suture | <i>f</i> Os incae laterale
sinistrum |
| <i>b</i> Os incae totum | <i>g</i> Os incae centrale |
| <i>c</i> Os incae bipartum | <i>h</i> Os inace laterale dextrum |
| <i>d</i> Os incae tripartum | <i>i</i> Ossicula wormiana |
| <i>e</i> Os incae multipartum | |

after Martin and Saller

Table 1

Tribe	No: of Skull <i>Examined</i>	Os Incae		Ossicula Wormiana	
		No.	%	No.	%
Rwanda	126	6	4.8	27	22
Rundi	48	0	0	5	11
Munyankole	20	0	0	5	25
Ciga	16	0	0	2	12.5
Lango	13	1	7.7	3	25
Toro	11	0	0	2	18.2
Etesot	10	3	30	2	20
Nyoro	9	0	0	3	33
Ganda	9	0	0	0	0
Gisu	6	0	0	0	0
Soga	5	0	0	0	0
Lugbara	5	1	20	1	20
Acholi	3	0	0	2	66
Others	119	4	3	14	12
Total	400	15	—	60	—

Six of the cases of *Os incae* were from Rwanda, 3 were Etesot, 1 Lango and 1 Lugbara. It is interesting to note that the occurrence of *Os incae* varies enormously between the Rwanda and the Rundi, even though both groups are closely related to each other ethnically and are both immigrants from neighbouring territories. The 6 Rwanda cases were found from a sample of 126 skulls, whilst none of the 48 Rundi skulls had any. In addition wormian bones were much more common among the Rwanda with an incidence of 22% (27 cases), whilst the Rundi had an incidence of only 11% (5 cases). No explanations can be offered for these variations between the Rwanda and Rundi. Other high incidences of wormian bones, were recorded amongst the Munyankole (5 out of 20), Nyoro (3 out of 9) and Lango (3 out of 13).

It may be of interest to see these variations in East Africa in relation to studies made elsewhere. *Os incae* were noticed in two Inca mummies in 1842, and it was thought to have been a racial characteristic of the Incas (hence its name) and especially among the Ajmara and Huanka tribes. However, this view has since been opposed by many later authors, one of whom claimed that the bone was first described by Eustaceus in 1534.³ Table 2 demonstrates that the bone has been observed in many areas of the world with old Peru, Mexico and the Balkans having high incidences. The only other records for Africa come from the Congo and Egypt.

The skulls observed in Uganda are similar to those of Egyptian mummies and American negroes. Also, as with those from the Balkans,⁴ *Os incae* in East Africa were more common on the right side of the skull than the left.

There are, however, considerable variations between old and recent population groups. Old Slavonics of the 6th - 8th centuries had an incidence of 15% compared with 2.5% in recent Yugoslavs. This significant difference may be explained on the basis of the life expectation of the old Slavonics which could not have been more than 30-40 years. *Os incae* have not been reported in foetal skulls or in skulls from senile subjects, as in the latter case the ossicles are taken up into the major bone mass by fusion of the sutures.

Table 2

Population	No. of Skulls	% Incidence of os Incae	Author and year
Peruvian	—	20	Anutschin 1860
	451	21.5	Frank and Russell 1900
	47	23.4	Le Double 1903
White American	—	9.0	Anutschin 1860
	1005	13.0	Frank and Russell 1900
	—	4.7	Martin and Saller 1959
American Negro	—	5.0	Anutschin 1860
	—	2.6	Martin and Saller 1959
European	—	2.0	Anutschin 1860
	—	1.2	Martin and Saller 1959
	1222	3.1	Le Double 1903
New England	65	0.0	Frank and Russell 1900
	—	3.0	Martin and Saller 1959
Eskimo	49	2.0	Frank and Russel 1900
Mexican	57	12.3	Frank and Russel 1900
Hungarian	—	1.23	Martin and Saller 1959
French	—	3.1	Martin and Saller 1959
Portuguese	670	2.23	Tauares 1930
Old Slavonic	168	15.46	Ivanicek 1951
	62	14.51	Negovanovic & Zivanovic 1965
Medieval Avarian	15	0.0	" "
Recent Yugoslav	789	2.53	" "
Bulgarian	3522	3.46	Kadanoff 1964
Mongols	—	2.3-3.7	Martin and Saller 1959
Japanese	—	2.0	" "
Egyptian	—	3.7	" "
Congo	—	2.0	" "
East African	400	3.75	Gundara and Zivanovic 1967

No plausible explanation has been put forward as to the origin of *Os incae*. *Os incae* assumed considerable importance about four hundred years ago in therapeutic medicine. Its powder, *Ossiculum antilepticus* was considered an excellent medicine for the treatment of epilepsy. In the 19th century it was thought that these bones were commonly found among criminals but this theory was discredited. *Os incae* have also been reported in many animals including ungulates, primates, carnivores, rodents and birds.⁵ These anomalies in skull structures run through the mammalian orders, probably due to a minor fault in normal osteogenesis.

A high incidence of wormian bones was also noted among the Incas and this occurrence amongst Ajmara and Huanka Incas explained by the fact that they put tight bands round their childrens' heads to make them dolico-cephalic. Wormian bones are believed to be preformed in membrane, and have been noted in association with other skeletal abnormalities like persistent *Os acetibuli* and metopic suture.⁶ In this study of East African skulls only one skull was found with a persistent metopic suture and none with *Os acetibuli*.

It has been suggested that a certain change, possibly of a metabolic nature in the ossifying process of the mesoderm may account for wormian bones and that such anomalies may be a product of centres detached from the main osteogenic centre.⁷ This appears to be unlikely as during mesenchymal condensation the osteogenic centres are fairly well demarcated by a limiting membrane which will give rise to periosteum of the bone.⁸ Some authors have also reported the association of wormian bones with *Dystosis cliedocranialis*, congenital hydrocephalus, and disorders of the central nervous system like *Spina bifida*, syringomyelia and encaphlomyelocoele, and a case of Klippel-Feil syndrome in association with wormian bones has been found. However, no evidence of such anomalies in association with wormian bones was found in the East African skeletal material except the 10 cases of *Os incae* already mentioned and various epiteric bones.

Acknowledgement

The authors are indebted to Professor R. Wheeler Haines, of the Department of Anatomy of Makerere University College, for his help and advice in the preparation of this paper.

NOTES

1. Martin, R. and Saller, K. *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, 1959, 2nd edition, pp. 1295-1299
2. Negovanovic, B. and Zivanovic, S. Reports of the Sixth Scientific Meeting of Yugoslav Anthropological Society, May, 1965.
3. Le Double, *Traité des variations des os du crane, de l'homme*. Paris, Vigot. 1905.
4. Negovanovic and Zivanovic, *op. cit.*
5. Le Double, *op. cit.*
6. Hess, L. Ossicula wormiana. *Human Biology*, 18, 1946, p. 61.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Haines, R. W. 1967, Personal communication.

N.B. It should be noted that the variations presented here would not be considered statistically significant

LIMI

Mr. Matson, a regular contributor to this journal, is engaged in preparing notes on non-missionary vessels on Lake Victoria, and writes to ask if any readers of the journal have any knowledge of the fate of Stokes' boat, the *Limi*. This vessel is not mentioned in the numerous papers connected with his murder in 1895, nor is it listed as an asset in his wills. There were very few non-indigenous craft on Lake Victoria at that time, and it seems unlikely that the boat, which played a significant part in Uganda affairs, was not used, possibly under another name, after Stokes' property had been disposed of. It would be appreciated if anyone with information concerning the *Limi* would communicate with the editor or direct with Mr. A. T. Matson at 41, Bramber Road, Seaford, Sussex, England.

REVIEWS

THE WAY TO THE MOUNTAINS OF THE MOON

By R. BERE

London, Arthur Barker, 1966, 147p., 6 figs., 24 plates, 36 shs (U. K.)

From an original intention to write an entirely objective account of the Ruwenzori alone, the author has turned to a more personal narrative covering his holiday visits and expeditions to many of the mountains of Uganda and the surrounding peaks of the Congo and Kenya. One must be grateful for this change of emphasis for in this small book is distilled most powerfully a personal delight and an infectious enthusiasm for the mountain landscapes of this part of Africa. It is a record of experiences gathered over a period of thirty years while the author served first in the colonial administration and later as Director and Chief Warden of the Uganda National Parks; and what a refreshing change it is to come upon a book which records, not the superficial gleanings of a few frantic months, but a life-time of intelligent and perceptive acquaintance, freshly set down with humour and no little learning.

The account starts in the north with a reconnaissance of Amiel, proceeds southward to Kungu in Buganda, from whence it passes to the Mufumbiro mountains, describing ascents of Mikeno, Karasimbi and Muhavura. Brief references are made to the mountains of Karamoja and there is an interlude on Mount Kenya. The central theme however is Ruwenzori and these are but stopping points en route. The way is liberally sprinkled with anecdotes, comment on people and customs and a mass of information on the natural history of the areas visited. For those who want further details, there are appendices on Ruwenzori vegetation, check lists of birds and animals and a history of the development of knowledge about the massif which will be already familiar to some readers of this journal (*Uganda Journal*, 10, pp.84-8 and 19, pp.121-136).

To the uninitiated the panegyric on Ruwenzori may seem a little fulsome. The 'peerless meadows of Nyamuleju' appeared to the present reviewer some months ago to be deceptively like limitless bogs—contemplation of them is certainly more likely to produce enthusiasm at a distance than upon close acquaintance. Here at least is an antidote to the constantly repeated grumbles from the hut books above the interminable mud! The key to this approach is clear from the account; an awareness of the interest of the natural scene, even why and when it will rain, may perhaps take the mind away from the sweat and discomfort of the actual climb. The present writer finished the book with regret; it was too short.

There are minor errors in the text: Lake Albert is not 2,000 but 168 feet deep (p.32); details of the geology and pattern of ice behaviour on Ruwenzori are misleading (pp.22 & 33). The author tends to perpetuate the myth that Sir Douglas Busk discovered the Coronation glacier whereas he was only the first to

notice (in print) that it had recently (between 1940 and 1953) become detached from the Elena glacier. Mount Moroto is wrongly titled Mount Debasien (between pp.8-9). Humphrey's main papers appeared in the *Geographical* not the *Alpine Journal* (p.36). All these points are details and do not significantly detract from the continuously absorbing and informative narrative.

Alas fire cigars are no more, but have been replaced by the ubiquitous safety-match. The Ruwenzori chupatti too, has passed—despite the author's fervent advocacy—presumably it lost its staying power through too much bicarbonate of soda! Gone too is David Pasteur's craving for cigarettes—presumably through a second look at the contents of his mountaineers mixture. But the Mountain Club, whose foundation owes much to Mr. Bere, its first President, remains. How appropriate it is that this book which records the circumstances of its birth and better than anything else, perhaps, its *raison d'être*—a shared enjoyment of mountains—should appear in Uganda 21 years after its birth, as a most appropriate coming-of-age token.

Vice-President,
Uganda Mountain Club.

P. H. TEMPLE

GROWING UP IN EAST AFRICA.

By E. B. CASTLE

London, Oxford University Press, 1966, 272 p. 30s net (U.K.) Price

Growing up in East Africa is necessary reading for those who are interested in human growth and development in East Africa, as the book is essentially about human beings. Broadly, the author's object is "to discover in what conditions East African children grow up in home and in school from the day they are born to the end of adolescence." The author states in another section: "...this book is less concerned with educational systems than with the lives of those being educated."

In this description of East African children as children, there is a constant reminder that in educating children we are not only concerned with economic growth and technical progress, important and necessary though these are, but also with excellence—the test of which is the "relevance to the moral, intellectual, and material needs of the African situation."

Professor Castle's long experience in the field of education, together with his stay at Makerere and his extensive travels in East Africa, coupled with his chairmanship of the Uganda Education Commission, enable him to "examine hundreds of isolated facts about education in East Africa as part of a total education" in a very competent and convincing manner. The first two parts, in which he describes the social background of the child and the social world into which the child emerges, are at once exciting and emotionally provocative. In parts, three and four the author passes to an examination of the educational resources and manpower needs, and the youth produced by the educational system. In the present system of education, inherited from colonial times, the author describes the narrow road an African child follows from birth to the time he gets a

white collar job—a stage at which “school certificate people speak to graduates, and graduates speak only to God”?

The last sections of the book deal with a consideration of values in education language and communication; tensions in school; approach to discipline; and responsible community. It is interesting to note that the Minister of Education of Uganda, has recently appointed a commission to inquire into the problems of discipline and the causes of strikes in schools.

One hesitates to make any criticism of such a competently written book especially as the writer is careful to point out repeatedly that whatever weaknesses there are can be dealt with; “they are human, rather than peculiarly African defects.” But still, the impression is created that several quotations, especially of impressionistic studies done at the East African Institute of Social Research, are made to support the author’s sometimes subjective judgements on certain points. Even where detailed research into local conditions has been done it has so far been limited to a few tribes and areas, and one who knows East Africa can appreciate how dangerous it can be to make generalizations from a few isolated cases. These quotations are therefore, as the author guessed rightly, emotionally provocative. However, as stated earlier, there is a refreshing admission from the start. “Likewise I have no hope that I have avoided the pitfall of occasionally misinterpreting African conditions, for it is easy for Europeans to make subjective judgements on African affairs, especially in the realms of custom and religion where our knowledge remains scanty and our assessments of African values uncertain. For any such lapses I apologise to my African friends.”

Obviously Professor Castle is more at home with the situations in Uganda and Kenya than with Tanzania, and although a number of quotations taken from both the Uganda and Kenya Education Commission reports might read similarly if applied to Tanzania, one has the impression that the latter country has developed a unique approach to education, based on the policy of Ujamaa. Perhaps there was room for a little more discussion on problems of education in Tanzania.

Nevertheless, *Growing up in East Africa*, written by a man brought up in the tradition of the western system of education, who has not only lived and travelled in East Africa, but who has in various capacities actively participated in discussions on problems of education in East Africa, is a book full of provocative statements on educational theory, and sound practical solutions to innumerable problems that East Africa faces. It is a book useful not only for discussion in teacher training institutions, but very useful for educational planners and administrators, and the general public.

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KARIMOJONG POLITICS

By N. DYSON-HUDSON

London, Oxford University Press 1966, pp. 280, 6 plates (10 illustrations), 30 maps and text figures. Price 45 Shs. (U.K. price)

This book, the result of thirty-three months continuous research in southern Karamoja between January 1956 and September 1958, is to date the only work by a "professional anthropologist" (p. iv) on the Karimojong. The title, *Karimojong Politics*, may appear inappropriate to such a people in their present stage of development. Dr. Dyson-Hudson, however, takes as his definition of politics—"purposive behaviour of a co-operative or representative kind; in which decisions are made on behalf of, and accepted by, the people concerned; and which involve norms and relations beyond the domestic range." (p. 4) The main object of the book would thus appear to be to examine the notion of political community, and its two correlates, political authority and political policy, in relation to the Karimojong. To do this it becomes necessary to consider how the Karimojong adapt themselves to climate and environment; the role of cattle, both as objects of economic interest and as value; the territorial and social organisation of the tribe; the age-set system of authority, and the relations between the Karimojong and outside groups, including the Administration. This the author proceeds to do, following the same order as in his preliminary survey, "The Present Position of the Karimojong" of 1958.

It is in this attempt to present a *complete* political picture that the author finds himself defeated, not so much by the complexity of his material, as by the mass of it at his disposal. After reading that "the affairs of a single domestic unit . . . are not politically relevant" and that "The minimal units of relevance to political discussion thus become the neighbourhood" (p. 2), one is surprised to discover paragraphs on soil types and the rights of individual wives to gardens (pp. 40-41), cattle names and songs (pp. 96-99) or even domestic factors influencing the time of initiation into an age-set (pp. 205-206). It almost seems as if Dr. Dyson-Hudson has become so intrigued by the information at his disposal that he feels the reader must share this surfeit of riches. In the process the main purpose is lost. It is not enough to assert at the outset that politics is "behaviour of a co-operative or representational kind," the writer must demonstrate to the reader's satisfaction the essentially political nature of such behaviour. The task is no mean one. Given the diversity of Karimojong behaviour and the complexity of social relationships where territorial, kin and age loyalties operate in an inconstant environment, perhaps only a Levi-Strauss could have so structured the material as to keep it within the framework of the main thesis. At times Dr. Dyson-Hudson appears aware of this, as when he writes of the conflicting needs of men and cattle (p. 56). But the possibilities of analysing Karimojong society in terms of binary oppositions (wet—dry, camp—permanent settlement, agriculture—pastoralism, needs of man—needs of beast) are never fully explored.

A few minor points of criticism may be added. The non-specialist reader is likely to be confused in the opening chapter by a failure to distinguish clearly between the administration of Karamoja District and that of the Karimojong. Thus the statement that six counties made up Karamoja District (p. 9) is followed on p. 11 with "By 1958 the Karimojong were administratively divided into only three counties," giving the impression of a decreasing number of administrative units. The statements, though true, are misleading if the reader is unaware that the first refers to the geographical area of Karamoja District, the second to that part of it occupied by the Karimojong. The author translates *ekitela* (*ngitela*) as "ridge(s)" (pp. 117, 126, etc.) instead of "a wild or barren place", which is the more acceptable Karimojong usage. The Ngimuno are not to be found north of the Bokora as shown on the map on p. 143, but live on the opposite side of the Omanimani River. While Dr. Dyson-Hudson's fluency in Akarimojong is still remembered by many with admiration, it is a pardonable overstatement to say that "all our work during this time was done through the native language." (p. viii). The lapse of time between concluding research and publication has meant that many statistics are now ten years out of date, while changes have taken place both in the relationship between the Karimojong and their neighbours and between the elders and the "warriors." These, however, are minor matters. The writer's contribution to our knowledge of the Karimojong is, and will remain, considerable.

One need only add that the diagrams are well reproduced but not always easy to understand, the black and white photographs have a pleasing aura of the late fifties, the index is adequate if the bibliography is not, and the style is standard Oxford anthropologese.

K. A. GOURLAY

THE BRITISH RULE IN KENYA, 1895-1912

By G. H. MUNGEAM

Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966, pp. xii + 329, 55/- (U.K.)

The British Rule in Kenya is a study of a limited period in the early history of Kenya. The author tackles the subject from three spheres of investigation; first the establishment of administrative control, second the development of the machinery of government and third, the entry of the European settlers and its effects on the history of Kenya. Only certain aspects of this treatment can be singled out for review.

One of these is the extent of British violence against the African resisters. This is treated in the first hundred pages where the author's main theme is "the assumption of Government" under Sir Arthur Hardinge who was responsible for the East African Protectorate as well as being the Consular General at Zanzibar. His tenure of office lasted until 1900 and it was dominated by wars of occupation. Dr. Mungeam has unearthed much valuable information on this subject and, as he himself hopes, it will in future be greatly supplemented by oral tradition. The attitude of most colonial administrators at the time of occu-

pation is represented by the following arguments of Commissioner Hardinge in a private letter to Hill.

These people must learn submission by the bullets - it's the only school; after that you may begin more modern and humane methods of education.In Africa, to have peace you must first teach obedience and the only tutor who impresses the lesson properly is the sword. (p.30)

In this spirit, the Arab resisters at the coast were "crushed once and for all". Their defeat enabled the Foreign Office to use the coastal area as a firm base for communications with Uganda. But although the Foreign Office was not always satisfied they almost always acquiesced, provided the men on the spot "followed the general principles of punitive policy laid down by Lansdowne." In actual practice the brigandage and looting of the British soldiers and their African supporters which characterised the so called operations of pacification seem to have surpassed that of the inter-state wars in pre-colonial Africa. For instance, during the extensive operation against the Murakas, between September 2 and October 25, 1902; "200 of them were killed, 300 cattle and 7,000 sheep captured. "On another occasion, 4,000 cattle were captured. Often vital statistics of African casualties were omitted from the Administrators' despatches in order to minimise the extent of violence. (p.84). In recording these activities of the early colonial administrators, Dr. Mungeam has done a service to scholarship. One recalls that up till recently, one of the main pre-occupations of British historians was to extoll the virtues and mildness of British colonial regime and to contrast it with the harshness and violence of the Germans, Belgians and others.

British Rule in Kenya deals also with more pleasant aspects than "the smashing of tribesmen". The author points out that it was during the formative years of the Protectorate that the railway to Uganda was constructed. "Instead of being merely an area to be passed through as quickly as possible on the way to Uganda the Protectorate began to assume an importance of its own." (p.66). By 1899 the railway headquarters had been moved from Mombasa to Nairobi which had been chosen initially as a marshalling site.

Almost two thirds of the book deals with Kenya's main problem, namely the question of land and European settlement. Hardinge was succeeded in 1900 by Sir Charles Eliot. This was also the period of the arrival of the settlers. Eliot's enthusiasm for European settlement was matched only by his brilliant scholarship. As soon as he arrived he sent lengthy despatches to Lord Lansdowne enlarging on the great potentialities of the country and how ideal it was for scientific development. He drew particular attention to "the large area of highland with cool and invigorating climate, fertile soil and wide pasture grounds" which he believed to be suitable for European colonisation. The author points out that Lord Lansdowne agreed to the general idea of introducing settlers in order to secure more revenue. No one denies the importance of revenue, but was this the only motive? There were colonies of "exploitation and colonies of settlement". What was Kenya to be after the introduction of the settler? This question is not adequately discussed.

The author's other concern is to estimate the importance of the man on the spot. It is not very clear, however, whether the man on the spot includes both the administrator and the settler. Nevertheless Dr. Mungeam has shown that the man on the spot generally got his way and in the author's view nothing much could be done by Whitehall. But was this really so? Was it due to the weakness of Whitehall that the men on the spot won nearly all the rounds?

Might it not be that this apparent weakness was a deliberate policy on the part of Whitehall? The author's arguments in defence of Whitehall are plausible but not convincing, especially when seen in relation to the parallel situation in Rhodesia.

The transfer of Uganda's Eastern Province is discussed (pp.89-96), but not as adequately as one would have wished. One gets the impression that the only motive behind the transfer was the desire to streamline the administration, especially that of the railway. The author might perhaps have discussed whether the motive behind the transfer was not the acquisition of more land suitable for European settlement.

With thoroughness and skill, Dr. Mungeam has presented us with a brilliantly written account of the formative years of Kenya as a British colony. The book will be welcomed not only by the historians of Kenya, but all readers of British colonial history.

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EVOLUTION UND REVOLUTION
IN DER LANDSCHAFTSENTWICKLUNG OSTAFRIKAS

By J. H. SCHULTZE

Weisbaden, Steiner Verlag, 1966, 48p.

This fourteenth number of the series *Erdkundliches Wissen*, now titled *Beihefte zur Geographischen Zeitschrift* follows the tradition of comprehensive themes but it is a less finished product than the earlier monographs. After a necessarily short and admittedly simplified presentation of East Africa's natural geographic regions, population densities are discussed with the help of specially drawn small scale maps derived from the atlases of Tanganyika and Uganda and publications such as W. T. W. Morgan's population map of Kenya and the author's own earlier publication on tropical Africa of 1955. The decrease of areas with minimal densities less than four persons per square mile and the increase of areas with maximal population densities (more than twenty persons per square mile) between 1930 and 1960 are shown on a third map. These changes are investigated as the result of variable factors, such as sleeping sickness, the slave trade, settlement schemes and migration, with climate as a constant factor being dealt with through irrigation, boreholes and drainage. The longest chapter deals with heterogeneous factors. Here Alfred Ruhl's *Wirtschaftsgeist* is invoked and the reader begins to look for a treatment of geography as a behavioural science. The author distinguishes between three "thought structures", traditionalism, money economy and the emergence of the African elite. But the connection between these attitudes and the pages about the white settlers' highlands, overgrazing by the Masai, land pressures, settlement schemes, transportation, ports and airways, the introduction of sisal, coffee, cotton and of new agricultural methods gets lost in what, at best, is an enumerative treatment. It culminates in four pages about energy resources and industrialization. The summary, called "results and conclusions" by the author, contains a speculation about the widening gap between developed and underdeveloped countries and

some generalities such as the obvious fact that development proceeds in different places at different paces and with different intensities.

In the preface the author says that he "experienced East Africa as a scholar in 1937, 1963 and 1965", and personal observations are often quoted as the source of information. This helps to account for the authoritative style. But the latter does not compensate for the uneven treatment and rather arbitrary selection of details, nor for the loose structure of a book which the editors probably meant to be of help to German students of East Africa's rapidly changing human geography.

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HILDEGARD JOHNSON

WILD ANIMALS IN AN AFRICAN NATIONAL PARK

By R. BERE

London: Andre Deutsch 1966, 96p., 25 plates, 1 map, 18 sh. U. K.

This charming book is clearly intended for young people, and consists of a series of descriptive anecdotes of the animals to be found in the Queen Elizabeth and Murchison Falls Game Parks. The format is uninspired; one feels that good line drawings would have improved the work a great deal. Some of the plates must have been made from superb improved the work a great deal. Some of the plates must have been made from superb photographs, but many have been—ruthlessly trimmed, presenting the animals in somewhat cramped space.

The author has been a well known figure in Uganda. Between 1954 and 1960 he was Director and Chief Warden of the Uganda National Parks. With an easy style of writing he sketches in many of the well known facts of the Game Parks and a few of the lesser known facts also. He leads up to the problems of game management but does not deal with more recent programmes of culling elephants and hippos. The book makes suitable reading for youngsters and, although slightly out-of-date, would be good light reading for the more innocent of visitors to Uganda.

A. W. R. McCRAE

UGANDA BIBLIOGRAPHY
1966-1967

Compiled by

BRYAN W. LANGLANDS

This is the ninth 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 and 1966. This list contains 275 entries of which a half are for works published in 1967, a hundred for 1966 and most of the remainder for 1965. Items which have not been seen by the compiler are marked with an asterisk.

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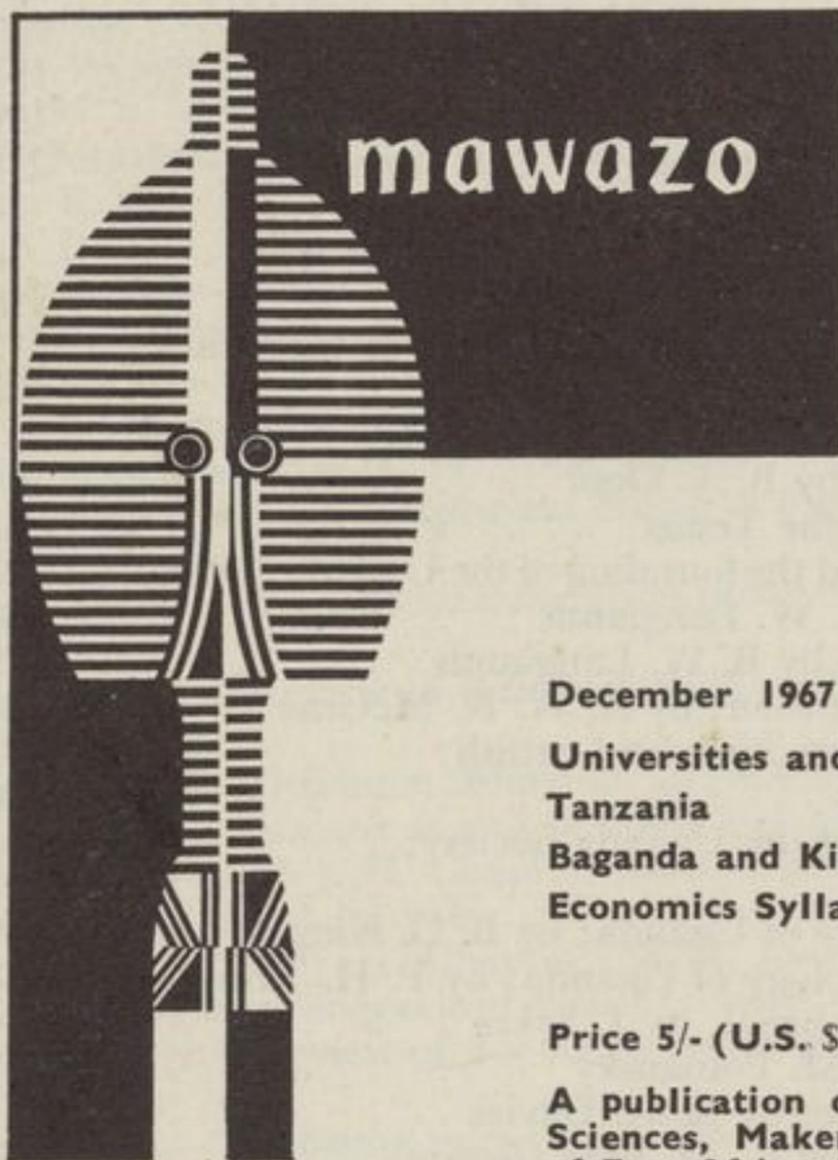
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