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E. J. WAYLAND, C.B.E.

Uganda Journal, 31, 1 (1967), 1—8

E. J. WAYLAND C.B.E.—A TRIBUTE

By K. A. DAVIES, C.M.G., O.B.E.

Edward James Wayland the first Director of the Geological Survey of Uganda died on 11 July 1966, and with his passing a chapter in the history of science in Uganda and of the Uganda Journal was closed.

'Jim' Wayland was educated entirely in London, firstly at the Central Foundational School and subsequently at the City of London College and at the Royal School of Mines. He set out in the first instance to study architecture but turned over after five years to geology at which he soon excelled. In 1909 he went to Egypt where he had his first experience of Africa. Having obtained his associateship of The Royal College of Science which was the College equivalent of the normal B.Sc. he obtained his first post with a mining company in Portugese East Africa. Accompanying him on this expedition were Arthur Holmes who was to become one of the world's most renowned geologists and Wade who subsequently served for some years on the survey in Tanganyika. It was Wayland's friendship with Holmes which led to the many stimulating writings by the latter on Uganda and other African geology. Wayland served in France during the First World War in the interval of holding a post with the Ceylon Government Service, as assistant mineralogist.

The demand for materials of mineral origin became more pressing as the war progressed and Britain felt that a search in some of the territories of the Empire might yield results. This led to the appointment to Uganda in 1918 of a 'Geological Expert'—none other than Wayland. Owing to various delays he did not take up his appointment in Entebbe until January, 1919. In the meantime, despite the end of the war the Colonial Office decided that the survey should go on. At once he asked for an assistant and got him. This marked the beginning of Wayland's continual fight for the status of the Geological Survey, one which he never ceased to wage while he was in Uganda.

At first he was attached to the Land Office but soon obtained a small house in Wilson Road as an independent unit. From there the Geological Department moved to a house in Mugwanya Road. In 1925 the final move was made to the Old Bacteriological Laboratory of the Medical Department near the pier where the office remains to this day.

Uganda was virtually the same size as Great Britain and to deal with its geology Wayland had a staff even until his retirement in 1939 of no more than five scientific officers besides himself. It was typical of him that given the job of learning the geology of Uganda his first field effort was a walk round the Protectorate. To the end he never believed in staying in the office but at every opportunity went off into the field. He was helped by a tough constitution for he was rarely laid low by malaria and entirely avoided all the other local diseases. His worst moment was when in his car he contested a road crossing at Jinja with a train.

When in Ceylon Wayland became interested in prehistory and this became his specialisation throughout his life. The marked flat surfaces both at the lower levels and the tops of the hills particularly in Buganda; the widespread occurrence of laterite below the surface of the water of Lake Victoria and the discovery of flakes and stone axes in various part of the country, were the foundation of a series of papers by him on the later geological history of Uganda. Although some of his ideas have now been superseded by others in the light of greater knowledge of the facts, his case was always cogently argued as for example his plea for the authenticity of the Kafuan.

He returned several times to Uganda to pursue his prehistory studies after he retired in 1939. In the first place with Van Riet Lowe who described the cultures, and later on his own. During these periods he accumulated a great deal of new information which alas has never been published.

Although personally wedded scientifically to prehistory Wayland never forgot that the Geological Survey existed as a service to the society that paid for it. Little was known about minerals in Uganda when he arrived, but he soon aroused people's interest in that side of the country's wealth. As a result a number of discoveries of tin and copper were made in the early and mid twenties. During his tenure of office Uganda was plagued by periodic Economy Committees and in the early thirties when the world slump was at its worst he was told by the Governor, Sir William Gowers, that Uganda could hardly afford the luxury of a Geological Survey at that juncture. Combe and the writer were promptly sent off into the field, the first named to Ankole and the latter to Budama, to search for minerals, preferably gold. Fortunately discoveries came promptly in both areas and no more heard was of the cutting down of the Geological Survey. While in Ceylon Wayland had learned something of drilled water supplies and introduced staff from that country into Uganda to run drilling machines, firstly in the area around Kampala and subsequently in the Eastern Province. He thus laid the foundation of a programme of drilling for pure water that is hardly matched anywhere in the African continent. Much of the time of the survey had to be devoted to matters of practical value but Wayland brought about the collaboration of Combe and Holmes over the volcanics of Bufumbira. The description of which is a classic and was fundamental to modern thinking on the origin of igneous and metamorphic rocks.

The value of his work was confirmed by the award of the Bigsby Medal of the Geological Society and the Victoria Medal by the Royal Geographical Society in 1935. The latter award was for his work on the Quaternary geology of Uganda and the rift and its relation to man. Nor was his scientific interest entirely confined to geology. It was Wayland with a few friends who were responsible in the early thirties for the formation of the Uganda Society of which Wayland himself was its second President, and subsequently an Honorary Vice-President.

During the last war he served, in his own words as 'the oldest Second-lieutenant in the British Army' at Dover and on Gibraltar and was also sent on a 'one man secret mission to a neutral country'. After the war he took on the job as Director of the Geological Survey of Bechuanaland where he again set in motion the twin studies of prehistory and water supplies.

Wayland's forceful personality gave geology a status in Uganda through many vicissitudes and even Governors felt the lash of his tongue if the standing of the department was in peril. Yet he had a keen sense of humour and a fund

of stories which could enliven many a dull occssion. His account of his sudden cure of a bad attack of lumbago on meeting a buffalo round a clump of bushes at Kaiso was one of the last stories published in the now defunct magazine *Corona*. Wayland never lost interest in his subject and even in October 1963 contributed a letter to *Nature* on the lava tunnels of Bufumbira. Uganda was very fortunate to have had Wayland in its service and his influence will remain for many years both in the academic and organisational spheres.

E.J. WAYLAND AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UGANDA SOCIETY

By LORD TWINING, G.C.M.G., M.B.E.

I first met Jimmy Wayland in 1923 when I was serving with the detachment of the 4th K.A.R. then stationed at Entebbe. His young son, John, (who alas was killed in action in the Second World War) used to watch our early morning parades and as a treat I sometimes allowed him to participate. This led to my being invited to the Wayland house and many an enjoyable evening I spent there. Wayland was always a fascinating person to listen to, for if he found someone who was interested he would talk not only about his own subjects, geology and prehistory, but would digress onto all sorts of topics particularly those connected with Uganda, a country he loved and served so well. Entebbe at that time was starved of any intellectual interests outside the ordinary routine of the work of government departments and to help fill this gap he founded the Uganda Literary and Scientific Society in 1923. Although its activities were almost entirely confined to lectures he managed to attract considerable support. Owing to his frequent and prolonged absences on safari and the growth in the importance of his departmental work he found it difficult to devote time to the Society, the activities of which fell into abeyance in 1928.

In 1933 having been transferred to the Administration I was posted to Kampala and I soon got in touch with Wayland and suggested to him that the old Society should be revived though on somewhat different lines. He readily agreed so long as I would undertake to do the work of organising it. The headquarters of the society was to be transferred to Kampala and it was decided to publish a quarterly journal somewhat on the lines of the *Notes and Records* which had been successfully established in the Sudan. Wayland gave the resurrected society his unstinted support and he obtained the agreement of all the members of the old Society. Thus the new Society was born on July 1933, assured of the support of the former members and with a windfall in the form of the balance of funds of the old Society. Admittedly the balance only amounted to Shs. 95.08 but that was a handsome sum in those days and provided enough to cover the launching expenses.

From the start Wayland spared no efforts to make the new society a success. He gave the first lecture on 19 September 1933 chosing as his subject 'Gold'. This was a glittering title and was also topical because the Kakamega Gold Rush was at its height. Moreover, Wayland made it sparkle in his own inimitable way. He also took great interest in the publication of the *Uganda Journal*. It was important that the first number should be a success if it were to attract members to the society and it had to be not too scientific and not too popular.

He gave much sensible advice and persuaded the government to make a modest financial grant and to allow it to be published at the Government Press. He also contributed an important article on Biggo to the second number. The result exceeded our best expectations and the new society, soon to change its name to the Uganda Society, started its life on a firm basis. Since then, of course, the Uganda Society has gone from strength to strength which must have given him great satisfaction. We owe a lot to Jimmy Wayland for having given his enthusiastic and active support to this venture which we can say has made a substantial contribution to the cultural life of Uganda and our knowledge of the country.

E. J. WAYLAND AND THE UGANDA JOURNAL.

By J. Sykes

I am grateful to the editor for giving me the opportunity of paying tribute to E. J. Wayland, with whom I had the privilege of co-operating for a time during the infant days of the Uganda Society and the *Uganda Journal*.

I think it was in 1927 that I was first introduced to him in the Entebbe Club and was immediately roped in as a member of the Uganda Literary and Scientific Society, of which he was a co-founder and always the leading spirit. Soon after this, however, in spite of his efforts, the Society, as recorded in the editorial of *Uganda J.*, **5**, 1934, fell into a state of suspended animation. A list of 42 lectures that had been given, six of them by Wayland himself, appears at *Uganda J.* **4**, pp.94-96. An account of the revival of the Society in 1933, in conjunction with the birth of the *Uganda Journal*, has been given by Sir John Gray at *Uganda J.*, **25**, 1961, pp.125-126. Here again Wayland was the prime mover and he had two most able and enthusiastic co-operators in E. F. Twining and Mark Wilson. The first President of the revived Society was Sir Albert Cook, and Wayland succeeded him as President for the year 1934-45.

In February, 1935, Twining became due for leave and I succeeded him as Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, by now renamed "The Uganda Society", and as Editor of the Journal. The work had grown so much that it had become impossible for one man to perform efficiently the duties of all three offices and I accepted election on the understanding that the routine secretarial and financial work should be done by a part-time business manager (*Uganda J.*, **3**, 1935, pp.89-91).

It was during the following months that I was brought by my duties into close contact with Wayland and I am eternally grateful to him for the encouragement and support which he gave me. It was a critical time in the history of the society, when the initial momentum was spent and there was danger of retrogression. The part-time business manager was not a success. It never seemed to be the society's part of his time. Correspondence and accounts got into arrears and I found that in addition to my editorial duties I had to do a good deal of the routine work of my other two offices as well. There was thus no time for the work of propaganda in which Twining had excelled and which I knew was essential if the society was to be kept in the public eye and on progressive lines. This state of affairs continued until the Annual General Meeting of

1935, when Dr. A. T. Schofield took over the duties of Secretary and more satisfactory arrangements were made for the business management. But for Wayland's ungrudging help I could not have carried on during those months, and he continued to give me most useful advice also on the editorial side after his term as President had expired.

Suitable copy las not too easy to come by, and although Wayland had made four contributions to Volume 1 and one to Volume 2 in the last of which he set the ball rolling on the subject of Biggo, he supplied me with three more for Volumes 3 and 4. I do not think his generosity in letting the Society gain kudos by publishing material of great scientific importance has been sufficiently appreciated. Many of his works would have found ready acceptance in journals of much greater repute and wider circulation. His contribution to Volume 3 was his Presidential Address on "Past Climates and some future possibilities in Uganda", and the circumstances of its delivery served to illustrate an important trait in his character. Whatever happened he was unflappable. On this occasion, the lantern failed to function properly and the lecture was ruined so far as illustration was concerned. Yet he carried on without being put out of his stride and without apparent irritation.

He could, however, be impatient of nonsense. It is related that, soon after his arrival as Governor, Sir Bernard Bourdillon asked him whether it would be a good thing to bring out a "dowser" from England to look for water. Wayland replied that it would be better to hire a witch-doctor on a temporary local agreement! Sir Bernard was not amused.

The Waylands were a charming host and hostess in their Entebbe home, and on one well remembered occasion my wife and I, accompanied by a lady visitor from England, had also the pleasure of being entertained by them when in camp at Kasirye, on the lake near Ngogwe. Wayland took us up to the Dwenyonyi ridge above the camp and showed us the ancient Mweso Boards cut in the rocks, which he described later in *Uganda* J., 4, 1936, p.85, and discoursed with enthusiasm on the various possibilities as to their origin and on the board game in general.

In recent years it was a great pleasure to meet him again at annual dinners of the Corona Club.

WAYLAND AND THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF UGANDA

By B. C. King

E. J. Wayland arrived in Uganda as Government Geologist on January 12th 1919. Nearly twenty years later, in July 1938, he departed on leave prior to retirement from his position as Director of the Geological Survey. Characteristically, his retirement was no more than a prelude to activities that were to extend over more than another twenty years. He returned to Uganda in 1939 to continue research in Prehistory, but this was discontinued for war service with the Royal Engineers. He was then engaged as a geologist with the Water Supply Department of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, a position which became a stepping stone to setting up a Geological Survey, of which in due course he became the first director. With his second retirement in 1953 he could at last resume his work in Uganda and devote the remainder of his time to his overwhelming interest in Prehistory.

Wayland was remarkable for his clear intuitive instinct in appreciating a wide range of geological problems and, moreover, in having a perception of the importance of those many aspects of pure and applied geology which lay outside his particular fields of interest or even competence. Aided by a facile pen and a charm of manner which often concealed his strong resolution and sense of purpose he persuaded a relatively young colonial administration in the value of a Geological Survey. This he achieved without in any way compromising his scientific convictions and integrity, for he always maintained that the real function of the Survey was to undertake basic geological mapping which would furnish the essential foundation for its advisory functions. Laboratory work was important, but ancillary, and mineral prospecting was not a primary function of the Geological Survey, but for the public to conduct with the aid of all necessary expert advice and assistance that they Survey could offer. It was by a combination of political acumen, a real flair for rapid geological appraisal of new territory and an indefatigable energy, both physical and mental, that he was enabled to develop a Geological Survey in Uganda, which in terms of staff, resources and output was second to none in the colonial territories, and which contrived with little impairment of activitity to weather the economic storm of the thirties. Indeed, by a strategic transfer of effort to more immediate needs, shortly to be rewarded by discoveries of gold in the west and east of the country, he established for the Survey a reputation for practical as well as scientific attainment.

In his first annual report in 1920 Wayland was able to give a useful preliminary account of the geology of Uganda. It is characteristic of him that within a month of his arrival in the country he set out on a four months reconnaissance during which he covered more than 1200 miles on foot, taking in Masaka, Mbarara, Kabale, Fort Portal, Mityana, Hoima, Butiaba and Nimule. Later he made journeys to the Eastern Province, including a visit to Karamoja, at that time an unadministered district difficult of access. In his earliest account

he divided the principal formations of Uganda into an older Archaean Complex, which was overlain unconformably by the younger Argillite Series. The former included a great variety of metamorphic rocks, gneisses, schists, quartzites, marbles, etc. which show highly complicated structures. This complex predominates in the northern and eastern parts of the country, but also occurs in many parts of Buganda and the Western Province. Within the Argillite Series he placed the great thicknesses of predominantly argillaceous rocks that are found in western, southwestern and parts of central Uganda; he recognised, however, that sandstones, quartzites and conglomerates are often also found in in the series and are, in places, conspicuous. The Argillites are typically unmetamorphosed or only slightly metamorphosed, although they are often considerably folded. Among igneous rocks he recognised, as well as older granites associated with the Archaean Complex, a group of later granites which intrude the Argillites; associated with the latter are quartz-tourmaline reefs and pegmatite bodies, which were later to assume importance on account of their mineralisation. An important discovery were the 'arenas' of the southwest, which he clearly appreciated as domes of granitic rocks, flanked concordantly by outward dipping members of the Argillite Series.

In that first year, too, Wayland gained considerable insight into the structures of the country, particularly the faulting associated with the Western Rift and Ruwenzori. He also made preliminary observations on the great Mufumbiro volcanoes and the numerous explosion craters of western Uganda and on Mount Elgon and related volcanics which covered large areas to the north. It should be recorded, moreover, that he made an important start in an appraisal of the geomorphology of the country and of the widespread but scattered sediments of Tertiary to Recent age, topics which in due course were to become his principal interests and on which his scientific fame primarily rests.

In the development of geological knowledge and ideas on the older formations in the years that followed it is less easy to single out the contributions that are to be ascribed to Wayland, for it was A.D. Combe who was responsible for the major part of the detailed investigations in these fields. Nevertheless, it is apparent that on broader aspects of correlation and classification much was due to Wayland, notably the recognition of the composite character of the Argillite Series, leading to its subdivision into a number of systems or series of widely differing ages: the Karagwe-Ankolean System, the Bunyoro Series and the Mityana, Butologo and Bukoba Series. Wayland in his earliest accounts more than once suggested that the Argillite Series might prove to be Karroo. In this suggestion there is little doubt that he was much inspired by hope, for the finding of Karroo would spell the possibility of the discovery of coal, with all it consequences to the economy of the country. Although in due course the Argillite Series almost in its entirety was shown to consist of Pre-Cambrian formations. Karroo deposits were in fact found in a few localities, including Entebbe itself; indeed, Karroo occurs below the laterite cliff on which the Geological Survey buildings are sited. The excitement and drama of the first discovery of Karroo is wonderfully conveyed by Wayland:

> "In a so-called borrow pit in Church Road (also so-called—there is no church there) in Entebbe, it was observed one evening in 1920 that when the sun was very low the lateritic ironstone appeared to exhibit faint signs of structure in that it appeared, when viewed from a particular position, partly to simulate dipping beds. Close examination did not substantiate this interpretation, and with the fading light the illusion, if illusion it was, dis-

appeared. The observation was unsatisfactory, and on the following evening it was repeated with a similar result. Careful examination in daylight (on the following morning) shewed the lateritic ironstone to contain highly lateritised fragments of shale, and on the strength of this it was decided to sink a small shaft in order to prove the nature of the underlying rocks. At about 15 feet from the surface of the lateritic plateau (already cut into by the "gravel" borrow pit) the little shaft entered beautifully banded, grit-free blue and white shales resembling pipe-clay. These passed down into blue-grey shales. Material such as this should have preserved the impressions of leaves, had there been any to preserve, but none was found and it was decided to open another hole in a position calculated to be near the shore line of the lake or pool in which the beds had been deposited; for there, it was hoped, plant remains might be found. And found they were. ."

Wayland was always acutely aware that a Geological Survey would, rightly or wrongly, largely be judged within the territory on short-term economic results and in his first annual report he has an impressive list of mineral discoveries, garnished with particulars of those that might well be sought. If, too, he investigated the Kafu gravels under the guise of prospecting for gold or presented the study of the Bufumbira volcanics as of value in a search for sources of potash, this was no more than good political sense, for he was ever at pains to emphasise that systematic geological mapping was also an essential basis for the location and development of more mundane commodities, such as clay and sand, limestone and road metal and for such services as water supply and agriculture. The fact is, however, that simultaneously he established the scientific reputation of the Geological Survey; he encouraged the development of ideas among members of his staff and fostered co-operation with scientific workers in other countries. The fruitful collaboration between A. D. Combe and Arthur Holmes is a particularly notable case in point. When Wayland came to Uganda the notion of a Geological Survey was a novelty and something of a luxury; when he left it was an established and permanent institution. And for his qualities as a scientist, practical geologist, administrator and tactician, he was cast in the mould of the great explorers of an earlier era; in this lay his greatest strength.

Uganda Journal, **31**, 1 (1967) 9—12

WAYLAND AS AN ARCHAEOLOGIST

By M. Posnansky

E. J. Wayland can rightly be called the pioneer of East African archaeology. His recognition of the importance of East Africa both in terms of the wealth and antiquity of the stone age remains and the significance of the vestiges of the iron age, predate the works of both Huntingford and Leakey in Kenya. By 1934 he had described the main features of Uganda's past, its stone age sequence, the relation of that sequence to the stratigraphical succession, the Bigo earthworks and the Luzira terracottas. All this was achieved by a scholar whose profession was that of a geologist and whose archaeological curiosity had to be sandwiched into a demanding career as a director of an expanding technical department. To appreciate Wayland's achievement it has to be set against both his contributions in other spheres of scholarship and the dearth of activity in the archaeological sphere in tropical Africa before the late 1940's. Without a professional museum, an antiquities service nor missions from outside Uganda, Wayland, before 1934, placed Uganda at the forefront of archaeological research in Africa at a time when, except for Rhodesia with its Zimbabwe ruins, South Africa for which Burkitt had written the first concise account of the archaeology[1] and Mozambique from where Wayland had himself made a significant contribution in 1915, virtually nothing was known about the prehistory of the continent.

A detailed account of Wayland's career to 1939 in Uganda was provided by van Riet Lowe in 1952[2]. After this Wayland's contributions to Ugandan archaeology were slight, though it was in this period that he devoted himself almost continuously to research on the archaeology and the Pleistocene succession of the Nsongezi region of the Kagera valley. A large series of excavations at Nsongezi, in the Oruchinga Valley, and at Nyabusora, 8 miles from Nyakanyasi in Tanzania, were conducted from 1954-6 and it was on the results of this research that Wayland was working when he died.

Wayland was responsible for describing three stone age cultures from Uganda, the Kafuan, the Sangoan and the Magosian, which for over a quarter of a century were the terms applied to what were assumed to be similar cultures stretching right across Africa. Of these terms only the Sangoan is still valid[3]. The Kafuan, from the type area of the Kafu flats southeast of Hoima, was used to describe what was thought to be the earliest stone industry in the world, consisting of pebbles simply chipped to give rough cutting edges. The Kafuan belonged to an era when 'eoliths' (tools of the dawn) were sought and found, a period before early stone age living-floors had been adequately recognised and described at such sites as Olduvai and Isimila and before systematic scientific research had been conducted and accepted as valid on stone tool flaking. Wayland always accepted the fact that he was not an archaeologist and the chief description of the Kafuan was eventually provided by van Riet Lowe[4], of the Magosian by Burkitt[5] and of the Sangoan by Reginald Smith[6]. In all cases the descriptions and the geology were not as well integrated as might have been the case had Wayland described the industries himself.

Of these three stone age industries only the Sangoan has survived his death as a valid term, and even this may go with the incessant demand by the archaeologist for 'cultural' terms derived from single horizon sites. The Sangoan as

described by Smith and Wayland is time-transgressive and refers to collections from hill top exposures and it is doubtful whether a comprehensive contemporaneous assemblage exists in the collections made at the type locality. The Kafuan which had for many years been under attack as time-transgressive and possibly of natural origin, finally ceased to have validity in 1959, following the publication by W. W. Bishop[7] of pebble fracture studies on the gravels in the type localities of the Kagera and Kafu valleys. Bishop found that "the profusion of fractured pebbles in gravels of all ages, suggests that even under tropical conditions, natural forces do fracture appreciable percentages of pebbles" but "there is no evidence from the Kafu that fracturing occurs selectively in deposits of any particular age". Stratigraphical evidence combined with fracture studies indicated that a fourfold division of the Kafuan was unobservable on geological grounds and on the evidence available Bishop concluded that there was no "reason for including Uganda as one of the regions in which man first emerged as a Tool-maker"[8]. The Magosian industry, described from deposits found within a filled-up cistern, Wayland[9] regarded as a transitional culture between the Stillbay and Wilton cultures first described from southern Africa. As "the Magosian folk were water-hole dwellers".. "they did not live in any wet period" but "between the 2nd pluvial (later to be called the last) and the 1st post-pluvial wet phase". The Magosian was thought of as a transitional industry as it included both "Middle" (Stillbay) stone age elements, such as points, and "Late" (Wilton) stone age elements such as microliths, small scrapers and burins. A re-excavation of the site in 1963[10] revealed that the cistern had filled in with deposits having an angle of rest of 45°. Wayland had dug the cistern in two foot horizontal spits with the result that towards the lip of the cistern in each layer the industry was older than the material found towards the rock face. As all the artefacts were then compounded together and only the better artefacts selected, which meant for the most part the artefacts in fine-grained cherts and chalcedonies rather than in quartz in which implements are harder to recognize, the Magosian as described was a composite industry with tools of different periods all mixed up. An example of Wayland's selectivity is seen in the fact that from the Wayland collection in Cambridge around 30% of all the artefacts were microliths whereas the 1963 excavations revealed that microliths were in all layers less than 2% of the total assemblage. More than three quarters of the total assemblage in 1963 was found to consist of waste material, comprising splinters, chunks and undiagnostic flakes together with pieces of unworked raw material whereas only 16% of the Wayland collection could be so categorized. This suggests that over 70% of all Wayland's finds, mainly quartz tools, were discarded at the site.

Wayland's chief archaeological excavations were at Nsongezi, both on the M-N horizons and at the Nsongezi rockshelter. From the archaeological point of view, Wayland, the seeker of a climatological sequence ruined the work of Wayland the archaeologist. Pit after pit was sunk, trench after trench excavated and a huge assemblage collected and the better pieces, such as the diagnostic handaxes and cleavers, selected for return to Entebbe. To the end of the massive operations a large amount of material was buried in two pits for study at a future time.[11] The establishment of a pluvial sequence became an obsession. The valuable fossil site at Nyabusora[12] was cut through, but no attempt was made to trace its lateral extent. Except to a slight extent at the Nsongezi Paddock site where several horizons were observed, no attempt was made to expose surfaces to determine the exact association of the stone tools with the

quartzite scree, no total counts of artefacts were made and selection was invariably made on the site. Pits went down often over 70 feet and the collection of artefacts was made by workmen in course of excavation with little attempt to plot occurrence or absolute density. It is easy in retrospect to criticize Wayland's excavations. They were basically the type which sufficed for archaeological excavation in the 1920's but by the 1950's a new archaeological era had begun. The great trenches of the early 1930's had described a sequence. The volumes of O'Brien[13] and Lowe had adequately described what the stone age industries of the Nsongezi consisted of, and what was needed in 1953 was a detailed analysis of those industries such as is now being attempted by Cole.[14]

But Wayland by 1953 was not motivated by the need for cultural analysis, but the need for justification of theories propounded twenty years earlier. He also had subsidiary motives of which a dominant one was the justifiable desire to refurbish the collections of the Uganda Geological Survey with stone age material which had been partly dislodged and in part lost due to the exigencies of the war and building alterations. He disagreed, as the correspondence in *Man* for 1940 bears witness[15], with O'Brien's findings at Nsongezi; and there is evidence from correspondence between Wayland and Lowe that he wanted to delay Lowe's publication in order to return to Nsongezi to provide a last word on a site which he had discovered but with which Lowe and O'Brien's works were associated. Nevertheless Wayland's achievement at Nsongezi remained that of a pioneer, of a scientist who instantly realised its significance and who generously gave his time and his information to archaeologists who were attracted by the profusion of artefacts to a site that he never tried to make exclusively his own.

Alesser undertaking at Nsongezi involved the excavation of the rockshelter[16] a mile upstream from the main excavations. Here Wayland described a sequence runnin g from the late stone age through to the iron age and if he was perhaps guilty, looking back, of ignoring the implications of the iron age succession, he was in good company with cave excavators in southern Africa who, in the interwar years, regarded the upper levels containing pottery as so much recent Bantu occupation debris to be gone through as rapidly as possible in order to reach what they always considered the older, and for them, more interesting stone age occupations. Nevertheless, Wayland's reconstruction of the shelter with its riverside wall which has been faithfully followed in a Uganda Museum diaorama[17] reveals Wayland as an archaeologist interested in the broader ecological framework rather than in a mere catalogue of stone tools.

Though Wayland considered the iron age as largely outside his main field of interest it is probably his contributions to iron age archaeology that have best survived the subsequent progress of archaeological research. His descriptions of Ntusi, his finding and descrptions of the Luzira terracottas, the Ankole incriptions, his notes on Bigo and other earthworks, his comment on bored stones, stone-cut mweso boards and on mining shafts at Kiwala near Masaka and in Toro, all provide a corpus of sound description on which future investigation has been based. Though his speculations as to the origin of Bigo have little validity, nevertheless he realized the importance of traditional history as a source of information on archaeological sites and his conclusion that "Biggo is ....almost certainly younger than Zimbabwe....and both are Bantu"[18] has been borne out by later archaeological research. The similarity between the two is that both represent the tangible results of the development of states, both are public works that only the development of such states made possible.

As with all his writings Wayland brought a touch of humour into his speculations to underline perhaps that the speculation is founded on imagination. Jestingly writing about the fantastic speculations then current concerning the origins of Zimbabwe, he wrote about Bigo and Zimbabwe, "how striking a background they provide for a best-seller, or a Yankee film: 'Mugenyi of the Biggos—a Tale of Love and Peril in the Golden Bowels of Equatoria'.[19] The plans of Biggo, Ntusi and other sites surveyed by himself and A. D. Combe in the course of foot safaris and with the minimum of portable equipment are still in use and have proved of value to all archaeologists who followed after him in cars.

Wayland brought to archaeology a consciousness of Africa that many later archaeologists have perhaps neglected. In 1929 he visited sites in Rhodesia and South Africa and his reading was extensive so that he was never stuck for pertinent comparative examples for his own discoveries. Quite often as in the case of Bigo he produced the right answers but with the wrong reasons. In twenty years he amassed a huge corpus of information which has provided the basis for much later work. He pointed the way to subsequent discoveries and in my last correspondence with him, shortly before his death, on the subject of stone age artefacts from hill-top hollows recently described by Patz[20] he provided information on many other sites from his unpublished notes. His methods may be subject to criticism, but he did produce material in abundance on which later work was founded. As an archaeologist he was self-taught and as systematic as his contemporaries in other parts of Africa. It is to his credit that he was never reluctant to share his discoveries and enthusiasm. His pioneering work will be remembered long after the terms and cultural names that he suggested have been forgotten.

NOTES

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Uganda Journal, 31, 1 (1967) 13—31

E. J. WAYLAND AND THE GEOMORPHOLOGY OF UGANDA

By P. H. Temple

An evaluation of Wayland's geomorphological work in Uganda presents considerable problems. His published writings which can be considered to fall broadly within this field, span a period of 44 years and comprise well over a hundred items. Unpublished field notes and correspondence available within the Geological Survey records in Entebbe provide further detailed comment and information. His writings cover a wide range of topics in greater or lesser detail and it is therefore fortunate that there are two papers which cover the chronology of his work before 1939 and indicate the more important enquiries.[1, 2] Little significant field work was in fact completed after that time though re-interpretations of earlier findings were made subsequently and some new field work initiated.

Because of the voluminous nature of the written material, any evaluation must be selective in terms both of the topics examined and also of the views expressed. Such a selection may seem arbitrary and lead to false emphasis but is inevitable in view of the fact that Wayland never himself published the long promised synthesis of his findings. Only a widely circulated draft introduction was ever produced in which it was stated that "this final account is no mere addition to a patchwork; it is a complete re-writing",[3] the implication being that these final views involved some modification of previously published work. What this final account might have contained will not now be known; some would claim that it was unlikely to fulfil its promise to be the most illuminating discussion of his results, that by the time he was actually engaged upon it to the full, he was already too far away from the original field work, too tendentiously pre-occupied with certain 'idées fixes' and for other reasons unlikely to add significantly to his earlier work. If such a view is valid, there would appear to be strong justification for selectively examining the earlier writings, for though on some points Wayland's opinions were constantly modified over the years, on others they changed remarkably little.

An objective evaluation must consider not only the facts discovered and the conclusions drawn but also the repercussions of the work and the context within which it was completed. Many of the problems with which Wayland grappled remain unsolved; in these fields no complete evaluation is possible. Here current opinion provides some, albeit imperfect, standard of assessment. The solution to yet other problems has come with the discovery of new facts unknown to Wayland and it would be misleading and unfair to criticise him in these areas. That considerable credit must be accorded him for the accumulation of much geomorphological evidence is indisputable, but more fundamental to an evaluation is the use to which he put the facts at his disposal, so many of which he collected himself. The subsequent discussion attempts to assess the validity of the deductions both at the time they were made and at

present. In many cases, it will be shown that current opinion no longer follows Wayland's view, but no little part of the subsequent interest and enquiry which disproved some of his contentions was generated by the vitality of his own work.

It has been argued by contrast that some repercussions of his work were unsatisfactory. Certainly his early, continued and forceful championing of a pluvial-interpluvial climatic sequence for East Africa affected subsequent objectivity in African Pleistocene studies in a strongly detrimental way. Those workers without detailed knowledge of East Africa believed that the sequence was well founded, while the interpretation of the data collected within East Africa was often distorted to fit a pre-conceived framework. The whole problem is examined in more detail below.

Considerable allowance must be made for the difficulties in the way of accurate morphological enquiry and deduction during the period when much of Wayland's best work was done.[4] There were few staff, little money, constant pressure for results, poor roads, few good detailed maps, and no aerial photographic cover. Virtually nothing was known in advance and a start had to be made from scratch. Against these disadvantages Wayland balanced a close acquaintance with the terrain and it is evident both from his correspondence and notes that he was ever searching for opportunities to get away from his office and into the field. Furthermore his prolonged period of work in Uganda gave him an unrivalled grasp of detail. "Not content with the narrower responsibilities of the Geological Survey",[5] he initiated the field study and examination of many of the most important problems of Uganda's geomorphological evolution. Some of these problems formed debating grounds of wide general interest and Wayland's contribution was of major importance; of these the mechanism of rift valley formation, the nature of the erosion surfaces of the African plateaus and low latitude climatic fluctuations during the Pleistocene were foremost. They are accorded priority in the following discussion. His geomorphological work of more local interest concerned many topics only the more important of which can be examined. Extensive use is purposely made of original quotation so that the reader can sample the style of the original presentation as well as its content.

The Mechanism and Age of Rift Formation

"Rift valleys are phenomena of impelling interest. They have a grandeur of their own; they call for explanation, and the problems provided by the study of their history demand for their solution protracted excursions into every field of African post-peneplain geology".[6] Yet within a very few months of his arrival in Uganda, Wayland had crystallised and published a summary of his views on the causal mechanism of the Western rift and reported that he was on the point of going off in search of more evidence.[7] He thus rapidly became a major protagonist in the controversy over the nature of African rift valleys, advancing as his view that the main displacements resulted from compression and following this up shortly afterwards with more regional evidence supporting this conclusion.[8] It was a position from which he did not significantly change and he was still stressing the likelihood of compression as an explanation of the Western rift valley in 1958.[9]

The case against the previously accepted tensional mechanism in the Western rift, as stated by Wayland, rested upon a number of observations. The nature of the faults was a crucial problem: "on the assumption that they are

normal, one has to postulate the existence . . . of a fault so enormous that no geologist would accept it without very good evidence".[10] The virtual absence of lavas, and the small scale and lateness of volcanic activity associated with the Western rift, suggested that its nature was different from that of the Eastern-rift. Wayland argued that the deep fractures which obviously existed must have been closed by compression thus bottling down basaltic material. Furthermore the lack of detailed control of the rift faults by existing surface rocks and structures also, according to him, argued against tension. Later work showed that there was in fact a considerable correspondence between the two in Bunyoro and Toro.[11] The existence of the elevated horst of Ruwenzori right in the rift, the apparent increase of mylonisation towards the rift,[12] the presence of scarpward dips and apparent domes in the rift sediments,[13], [14] the linear bulges of the plateau swamp divides[15] and the curving upthrust faults discovered by Willis [16] all added supporting data. The geophysical work of Bullard on gravity anomalies apparently lent further confirmation to the compressional hypothesis.[17]

Wayland himself seemed initially clear that compression was " a working hypothesis which must stand or fall by the results of future enquiry".[18] He claimed to have formulated the hypothesis,[19] but the mechanism of compression and overthrusting had been previously invoked for the Rhine rift valley[20], and by Uhlig[21] to account for many of the features of the Eastern rift. However it would be fair to claim that Wayland revived the hypothesis by applying it to the Western rift valley. He postulated gradual compressive movement to which he attributed the development of "the Uganda-Congo dome and the Victoria Nyanza depression" and envisaged subsequent movements as follows: "After a period of rest, the movements re-asserted themselves to a smaller degree but with greater rapidity, resulting in fractures which gave rise to the uplift of Ruwenzori . . . then after a second and comparatively short rest came the great compressive movement of which that resulting in the formation of the great block mountain . . . was the immediate forerunner—giving rise to a great system of reverse faulting which . . . produced the structural feature of the Albertine rift valley".[22] Thus Wayland apparently regarded the main rift-forming faults as shearing planes or overthrusts under the margin of the plateau which defined wedges of the crust (Fig. 1a and b). The uplift of Ruwenzori as well as the depression of the Albert trough followed from the action of compression on the wedge-shaped blocks, whose thinner edges pointed respectively downward and upward This view was widely accepted and figured in standard texts on physical geology.[23](Fig. 1b).

Wayland's view of the rift was subsequently modified in minor respects only. From describing rifts as fracture valleys running along the crests of linear upwarps,[24] he turned to more general doming as the related tectonic feature.[25] From envisaging the rift-forming faults as simple reverse faults or shear planes (Fig. 1a and b), he came to envisage them as curving thrust-planes or ramp faults (Fig. 1c).[26] In this view he followed the reasoning of Willis,[27] though claimed priority for the idea himself on the basis of an upublished letter of his to Arthur Holmes.[28] Both views of the major faults, as Figure 1 clearly shows, envisaged deep, fundamental reversed faults, with superficial tension faults at the surface. Thus "the theory was ingeniously arranged so that all the evidence should be hidden by normal gravity faulting of the advancing and overhanging valley sides".[29]

The results of modern enquiry have added much data to that on which

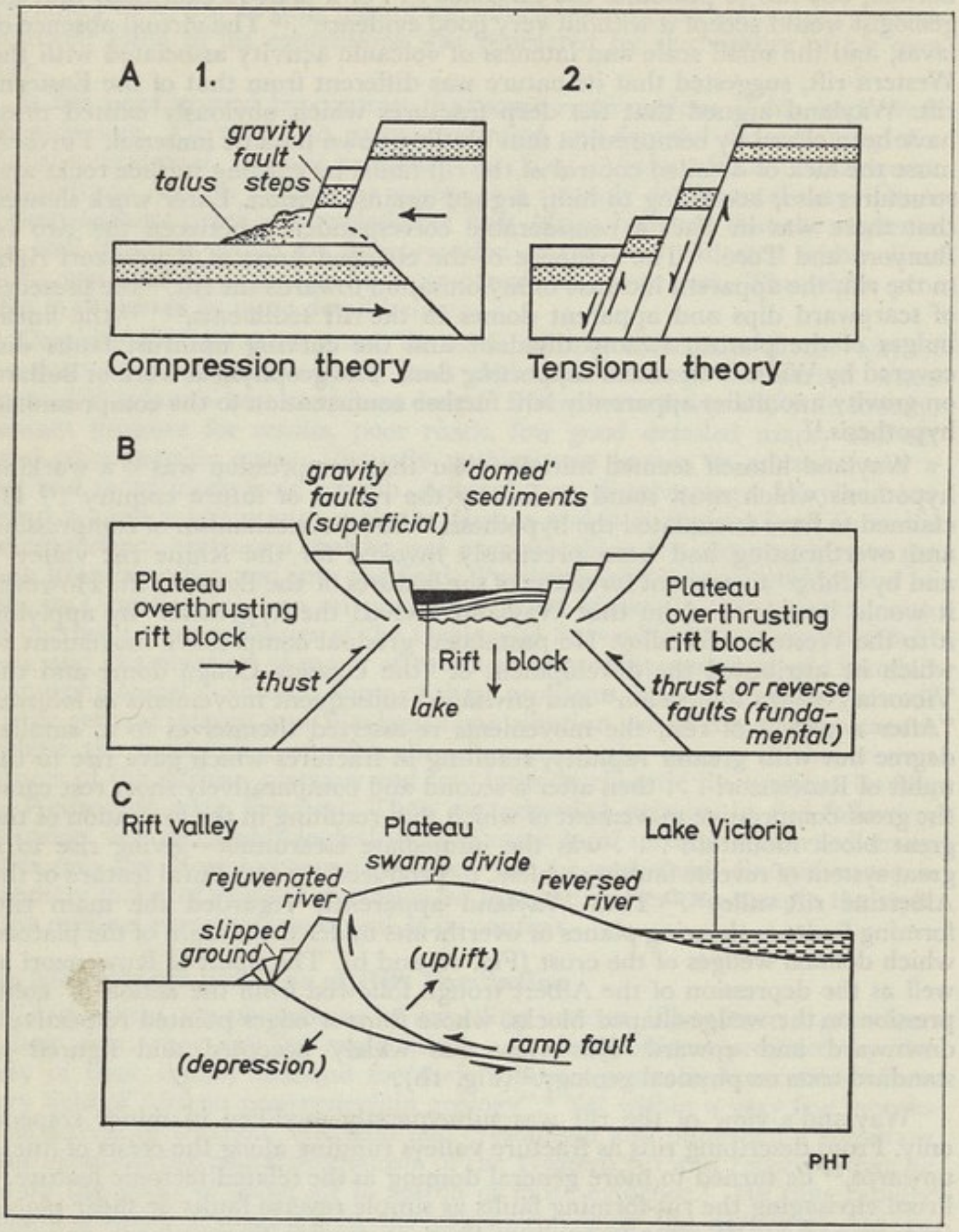

Figure 1

Wayland's conception of the nature of the rift faults in the Western rift.

A. The compression theory, 1921 (1), with the alternative tensional interpretation being shown alongside (2).

B. The interpretation of Wayland, 1925, as figured in Holmes (1944).

C. The interpretation of Wayland, 1929.

Wayland originally based his views. That his views were reasonable interpretations of the evidence then available is supported by their acceptance by a number of leading experts. In the new edition of Holmes' book however where Wayland's concept is still figured, it is described as "the now discredited compression hypothesis of the origin of rift valleys"[30] The background to this changed opinion can be afforded only the briefest summary. Davies was able to show that the absence of curvature in the rift plan and the lack of uplift on the Uganda side in Bunyoro argued against compression;[31] while both drillings and new geophysical work in combination indicated the existence of over 8,000 feet of unconsolidated sediments in the Butiaba section of the rift floor.[32] The drillings also showed that all the main faults examined were normal gravity or tension faults with inclinations of 60-70° towards the rift trough even at depth.[33] What had appeared as possible structural domes in the rift sediments were no more than minor sand banks.

This new field data conformed with modern re-appraisals of the rift structures. As de Sitter remarks: "compressive stress has been proposed for the African fault zone . . ., but these views have never gained much support, and their arguments have proved insufficient"[34] Tension is now generally regarded as the mechanism at work in forming most rift valleys and the most satisfactory summary of the modern viewpoint is perhaps that of Heiskanen and Vening Meinesz[35] which is shown in Figure 2. Their views are available in a succinct form in Mohr.[36] Alternative explanations of rift valleys in terms of vertical tectonics are currently under discussion[37] but not widely favoured.

Thus Wayland's concept of the mechanism responsible for the formation of the Western rift was wrong. His guess about its age, a somewhat related point, now seems very close; for the identification of the lowest members of the Kisegi beds as Miocene[38] is supported by recent work by Hooijer[39] and Bishop.[40] On this basis Wayland placed the initiation of the trough as Oligocene.[41] His interpretation of the subsequent evolution of the rift is more of a stratigraphical problem than a geomorphological one, though the morphological aspects are summarised in the later discussion of features of more local interest.

Erosion Surfaces—Their Nature, Origin and Age

"Uganda is part of the Great African peneplain, the development of which in this country, in spite of the existence of a few residual hills, had reached a very high stage of perfection before elevation to form the present plateau subjected it to the gouging action of consequent streams whereby it was dissected into a number of flat-topped hills. These hills separated by wide papyrus-choked swamps are highly typical of the scenery of Uganda proper".[42] Evidence is here adduced of only one complete cycle of erosion. Subsequently Wayland stated that "at one time we recognised but a single peneplain in Uganda, later it became evident that there were three, still later it was apparent that Peneplain II could be any one of three erosional surfaces (other than Peneplains I and III) locally expressed at the expense of the other two"[43] "Four or five" represented his last guess at the number involved.[44] By selective quotation it is therefore possible to find support for any number of erosional surfaces from one to five, most later writers quoting Wayland select his 1933 version.[45, 46] There Wayland identified three major stages, PI, PII and PIII. PI was, according to this version, the only true peneplain (see over). It had been developed over a long period of time, was related to a formerly stable

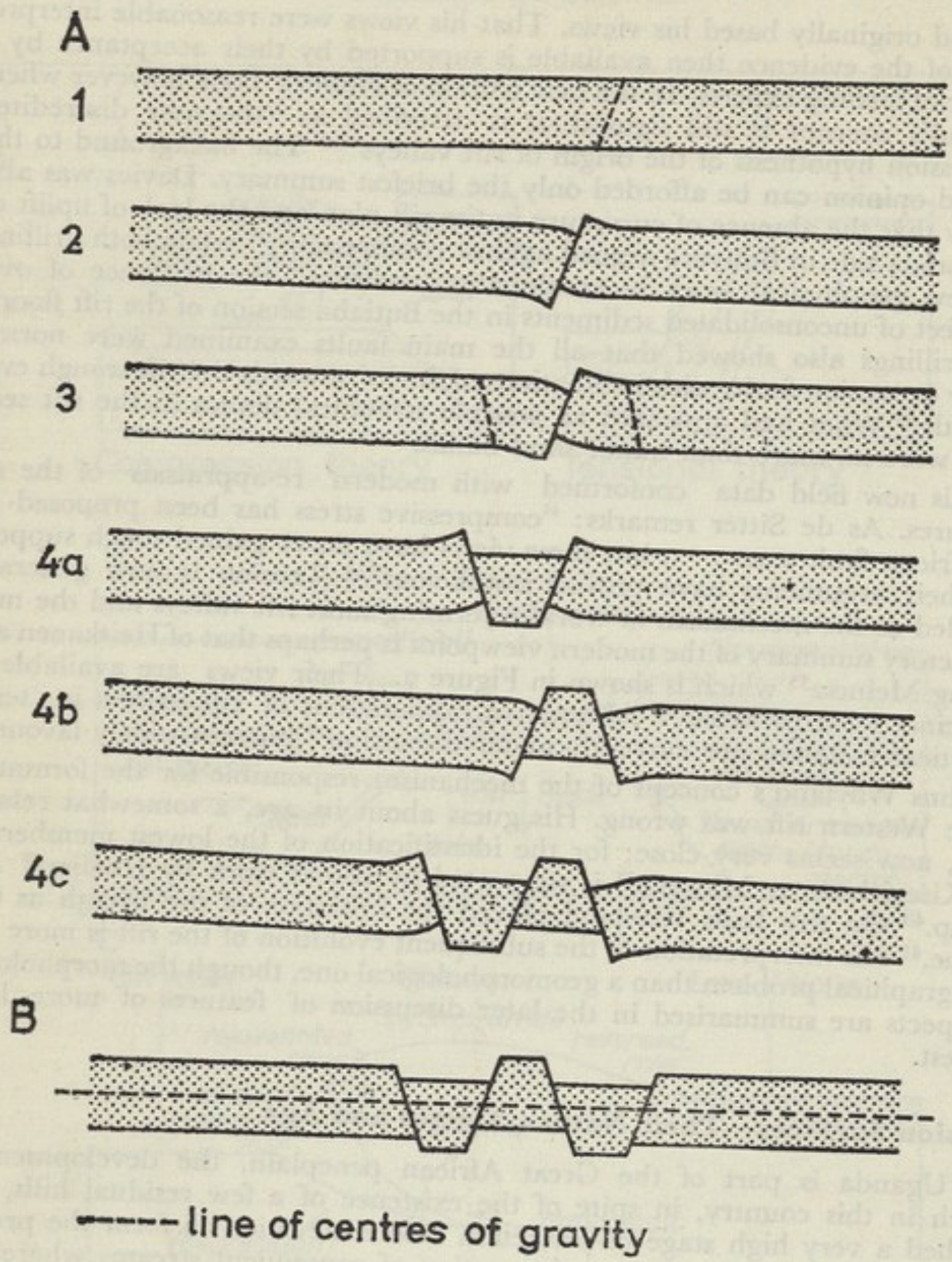

Figure 2

Mechanism of formation of the Rift System (after Heiskanen and Vening Meinesz, 1958):

A. 1-4 show stages in the formation of graben and horts under crustal tension. The vertical scale is greatly exaggerated. Stage 1 shows the development of a fault plane fracture in the crust, this being tilted because density increases with depth in the lithosphere. Stage 2 shows that separation takes place under further tension and one side of the faulted crust bends upwards, the other side downwards, in order to restore isostatic equilibrium. Stage 3 shows the effects of further tension for new fault planes develop at the points of maximum curvature and therefore maximum tensile strain (dotted). Stage 4a illustrates the formation of a graben with uplifed rims. Stage 4b shows how a horst can develop as an alternative but less common response. Stage 4c shows a combination of horst and graben.

B. Models of paraffin wax floating in water, the sections being of equal thickness but tapering along tilted fracture planes.

base-level and was only locally lateritised. It was confined in area to the southwest of the country in Ankole and Kigezi. PII was lower, more perfectly developed and more extensively lateritised; the same was true of PIII. PII was most characteristically evident in the flat-topped hills of Buganda while PIII lay at lower levels and achieved a wide extent in central and northern Uganda. These two lower surfaces were "characteristically blanketed by lateritic ironstone which varies from place to place, from a foot or two to about 40 feet in thickness. It is to be interpreted as a weathering product resulting from the effects of alternating wet and dry seasons upon a country of almost no relief".[47] Wayland's PIII surface was faulted by the rift and downwarped to the south to be flooded by Lake Victoria.

Much of Wayland's writing on erosion surfaces was in the nature of a synopsis of the results of others. Combe was his source for western Uganda,[48] Simmons on the drainage pattern,[49] Willis on the processes at work.[50] Hence his views in this field were more liable to change than in many others and there is a corresponding difficulty in evaluating his own contribution. These difficulties become clear if the concept of 'etching' and 'etch-plain development' are examined. Though the idea of deep weathering, associated with a well-developed erosion surface, enabling more rapid incision to proceed with renewed uplift was Wayland's picture of the later evolution of surfaces in Uganda, the actual designation of this process must be credited to Willis.[51] Wayland did much to publicise this view however, and in so doing, drew attention to the inadequacies of the existing morphological terminology. If the term 'peneplain' is used in the strict sense to signify an almost complete planation of an area, it is clear that only one such feature can have any extent in any one area at any one time. Perhaps it was this terminological exactitude that lay behind Wayland's initial stress on only one peneplain being present in Uganda; if so his scrupples subsequently weakened. But he did realise that there was no generally accepted term to describe a surface of low relief developed primarily as a valley-floor level representing an incomplete 'cycle' of erosion. The term 'strath' or 'berm' is used in America, 'incipient peneplain' in Britain.[52] Wayland preferred the term 'etch-plain', a graphic term for a wide valley floor developed by 'etching'.

The conditions under which the process of etching was thought to take place were as follows: "the original peneplain (possibly a true peneplain of Cretaceous or Jurassic age) had attained a surface lacking any marked relief with the resultant development over it of a deeply weathered rock cover of 'saprolite' or regolith extending down many tens of feet; uplift of the land supervened with the consequent removal of this thick zone of rotted rock. It was at this stage that laterite was exposed and indurated from within the weathering profile; stability of the land followed with the development of another deep, saprolitic cover which following another uplift was removed from part of the area; in this way a varying number of topographic levels below the summit peneplain were believed to have been formed."[53] Thornbury comments that the process outlined by Wayland might conceivably contribute to local differential lowering of a peneplain surface just as solution and differential mass-wasting may, but found it difficult to visualise the process operating widely enough to produce etch-plains of regional extent.[54] However the considerable depths of weathering evident in Uganda, the nature of the soils, the ubiquity of laterites, the age of the surfaces and the superimposed drainage pattern all favour Wayland's viewpoint. Etching strongly suggests linear incision along drainage lines through a soft cover and superimposed

onto hard rocks. Though the term seems both graphic and exact only Pallister, of subsequent writers, has employed it.[55]

It is doubtful whether Wayland envisaged that this process had been experienced throughout Uganda. In Karamoja, for example, he described different forms of erosion surface—gently sloping rock platforms without deep weathering and with only a thin veneer of scree upon them. These pediments fringed inselbergs like those he had sketched long before for Arthur Holmes in Mozambique.[56] Both features indicated to him long-continued arid or semi-arid conditions which presumably, on account of the deep weathered cover there, were not experienced in the central and southern part of the country.[57]

Wayland never attempted even the most schematic map of the distribution of the erosion surfaces he described but he did attempt to date them. While these dates now appear misleading, they reflected the beginnings of the study of the detailed relationship of the fossil sites of eastern Uganda to the surfaces of the rest of the country;[58] a study which was later to provide the detailed answers[59], ironically enough from sites on Napak discovered by Wayland himself.

Recent re-appraisals of the erosion surfaces of Uganda have gone far beyond the earlier writings[60] and have laid stress on the importance of warping in understanding the regional history and the distribution of erosion surface remnants to a greater degree than did Wayland, even in his later writings.[61]

In retrospect Wayland's major contribution to this field appears to have been the stress he himself put, at a formative stage in the study of Uganda's geology upon attempting to interpret surface evolution. This verdict is supported by Willis.[62] As Wayland himself said: "from the geological point of view it would be difficult to overstress the importance of peneplains".[63] Though concerned in this quotation significantly enough with tin, the direction given was clear enough.

Pleistocene Climate

"Mr. E. J. Wayland . . . was the first person to consider the problem of East African pluvials and interpluvials in any great detail and he wrote a number of papers on the subject. While it is possible that a part of his evidence, obtained in *Uganda*,[64] was not quite as conclusive as he believed it to be, he did adduce many facts that are worthy of more study than has been given them by his critics".[65] This recent judgement by Leakey provides a useful starting point for discussion. Possible past climatic fluctuations were a subject in which Wayland was deeply involved for "having started the investigation and study of this subject in Uganda . . . and having pursued it ever since, thus making it my own",[66] he felt an obvious proprietary interest in it. His studies in this field were particularly closely linked with his archaeological investigations in the Kagera valley.[67]

Certainly this field of study is the hardest to summarise and assess. The pluvial-interpluvial interpretation of Pleistocene events in Uganda was imposed from the start and was not upset by the results of his own work in later years, which, on the contrary, tended to confirm Wayland in his convictions and to add a considerable amount of field observation. Detailed modifications were however made from time to time. At present definitive statements concerning these ideas are perhaps premature, for controversy over them is still very active. A summary of the literature is however possible. It seems clearly true to say, as does Flint, that "there is little doubt that climatic change occurred in equatorial Africa during the Pleistocene";[68] there remain however numerous

questons concerning the number , intensity, type, causation and synchronism of these changes to be examined. The scheme advanced by Wayland purported to answer many of these questions either directly or indirectly. He admitted that it was an hypothetical one and also that "it is all too easy to be led astray when attempting to interpret evidence of past climatic changes".[69] To assess his work it seems necessary to examine first the definitions used; and then not only the theoretical basis of the scheme but also the sequence of events postulated; the field evidence upon which this sequence was based as well as the repercussions of the scheme on subsequent research.

Wayland defined a pluvial period as "a period of geological significance during which rainfall was in general considerably heavier than in earlier times and more than it is today over an area sufficiently large to be of some account in world events".[70] He latterly regarded pluvials as periods of relative wetness with regard to preceding and present climates.[71] This definition was a cause of a number of subsequent problems. Wayland apparently introduced the term "interpluvial"[72] for a major climatic phase drier than the climate of today, but as Flint has pointed out, such a term, analagous though it is with the term interglacial, implies that the climatic episode is both preceded and followed by pluvial climates, "an implication rarely justified".[73] He also introduced the term "intrapluvial" for a shorter or less intense interpluvial. From this terminology he turned in later years to such relative designations as "more rain (M.R.)" and "less rain (L.R.)",[74] and attempted to disown his earlier system. "The present writer who was largely responsible for the spread of that almost emotional and commonly misleading expression 'pluvial period' has for years past been trying to get rid of it".[75] Such a terminological retraction represented but a minor change of viewpoint and opinion, and was undoubtedly a reflection of the adverse criticism that had been directed against his earlier interpretations.

The theoretical basis of the pluvial-interpluvial hypothesis derived from meteorology and had been expounded by Brooks[76] with whom Wayland had been in touch since 1906. "Accepting Brooks' view with regard to Pleistocene climates in regions far removed from the glaciated areas, I considered the rise in water levels (of Lake Victoria) indicative of a pluvial period".[77] He later revealingly remarked that "one had to realise that there had been a tendency to let oneself be guided too much by theory".[78] Wayland applied the theory to the field data in Uganda as a means of correlation of widely separated deposits, this being also possible by means of artifacts for "it would seem that stone tools may be used relatively if not actually to date Quaternary deposits in this country just as fossils may elsewhere".[79] The deposits, according to Wayland, provided clear evidence of a sequence of pluvial periods and he was convinced that these corresponded with past glacial periods in temperate latitudes. This conviction deserves some attention for the theoretical basis is plausable; it is summarised by Flint as follows:

"During glacial ages the temperature gradient between cold glacier-covered high latitude regions and the low-latitude belts of calms was steeper than it is today especially in the northern hemisphere where extensive land areas favoured the growth of ice sheets. Therefore exchange of air between the two regions was more active than now. Exchange was accompanied by increased turbulence in the atmosphere and increased strength and frequency of the cyclonic storms that characterise the polar-front region where cold and warm air masses come into contact with one another." High pressure over the continental ice masses diverted the eastward moving cyclone track to the

south. Flint then goes on to suggest that in the Old World, repercussions were felt "right down to the equator itself" and explains this apparent anomally by stating that :

"the northern half of Africa is the only large sub-tropical land mass lying north of the equator. Because of this vast expanse of land it is more favourably situated than other sub-tropical regions to receive winter season outbreaks of cold polar air. Even today these outbreaks reach as far as latitude 15°. During glacial ages, when climatic zones further north were displaced as much as 15° towards the equator, cold air outbreaks at times should have reached the equator itself. The result is evident. Moist tropical air masses moving eastward from the Atlantic ocean across the Congo basin would have inter-acted with the cold air, with resulting rainfall. Today in the warm summer season the East African lakes receive rainfall in the form of convective precipitation. The cyclonic precipitation outlined above occurred only in winter but should have been at least as great as the summer precipitation today. Hence in the region of the East African lakes annual precipitation during glacial ages should have been considerably in excess of present amounts."[80]

Thus the relationships postulated were possible and even likely. Nevertheless they had not been proved, nor are they established at the present. Latest evidence suggests a different pattern.[81] Wayland was aware of this difficulty as his comments on a paper by Leakey demonstrated: "while the theory which finds reason for a genetic connexion between these 'pluviations' and glacial eposodes of higher latitudes is sound enough, and although there is evidence to show that in all probability some such connexion existed, the correlation of the *Kenya*[82] pluvials with definite periods of the Pleistocene as set forth (by Leakey) is purely hypothetical".[83] The whole hypothesis, whose application within East Africa was initially Wayland's work, undoubtedly predisposed subsequent workers to search for evidence which would establish a sequence of pluvial episodes. Wayland's clearest and fullest interpretation of events was published in 1934 and is presented in an abbreviated form as Table I (below),[84] and though his later unpublished views diverged from this, as for example when he added a further two pluvials, Ibandan and Musizian to the list,[85] there is little supporting evidence presented for the changes and consideration of the original table is therefore probably more satisfactory.

From the table it is evident that Wayland recognised only two major pluvial periods at the time, but each was divided into two parts by an intra-pluvial oscillation. Perhaps it was not fortuitous that the resulting pattern paralleled the classic fourfold alpine glacial sequence (i.e. four main wet and/or cold phases) and it may not be unfair to suggest that later alterations may reflect as much an increased knowledge of the European glacial sequence as new field data from within Uganda.

A major question arises from a consideration of the postulated sequence of events as shown in the table as from all other versions of it, namely whether the field data supported and really *demanded* the deductions made concerning former climatic conditions. Wayland was aware of the problem as he indicated by maintaining that . . . "what is required is a body of geological fact that can *only* be interpreted as arising from an increase in rainfall, and after long sustainment, a subsequent decrease to that of the present day",[87] and again "the answer involves sorting out tectonic and climatic factors so far as they are represented".[88] He cited elsewhere and on many occasions the evidence relied upon (i) *for a once heavier rainfall*, misfit streams, potholes, misfit waterfall caves on Mount Elgon, high lake levels evidenced by deposits and clifflines,

CLIMATIC SEQUENCE IN UGANDA	KENYA EQUIVALENT (after Leakey)86	GLACIAL PHASE	TYPE SITES AND STRATIGRAPHIC INDICATION	OTHER GEOMORPHOLOGICAL EVENTS
Post-Pluvial: Nakuran	Nakuran wet phase	Post-glacial		Relatively small fluctuations of lake levels and river flows
Post-Pluvial: Makalian	Makalian wet phase			
	Post-pluvial dry phase			
Pluvial II, part two	Gamblian pluvial	Wurm glacial		Permanent reversal of the main rivers. Ripon falls outlet initiated
Intra-pluvial oscillation	Intrapluvial 3	Inter-glacial	M horizon; — emergence soil reddening	Contraction of lakes: exposure of sediments at Nsongezi
Pluvial II, part one	Kanjeran pluvial 2	Riss-glacial		
Interpluvial	Interpluvial 2	Inter-glacial	Kaiso bone beds—emergence	Lakes Albert and Victoria dry up completely
Pluvial I, part two	Kamasian pluvial	Mindel glacial	Kaiso lake; Lake Kagera—270′ Terrace + gravels	Lake Victoria definitely established; flow in main river valleys
Intra-pluvial oscillation	Interpluvial 1	Inter-glacial	Unconformity	Lakes and rivers dwindle
Pluvial I, part one	Kageran pluvial	Gunz glacial	Kisegi beds; river incision	Initiation of Lake Victoria: captures to River Nile
Pre-Pluvial (Pliocene)				E.W. drainage to Congo: old age; arid climate

Table 1. Provisional table of Pleistocene climatic, tectonic riverine, and lacustrine events as envisaged by E. J. Wayland in 1934 with modification.

lacustrine incursions into the Kagera and Musizi valleys, the character of many of the river gravels as for example in the Kafu valley; (ii) *for inter-pluvial conditions*, exposure and incision of previously deposited gravels and sediments as for example the Kaiso bone beds, aeolian deposits of regional extent, the killing off of fish faunas. Various complex evidences of intermediate or changing conditions were cited in addition.[89] · [90] Major doubts have been subsequently thrown upon the validity of this data as indicative of any form of climatic change. Only a brief synopsis of the arguments is necessary as fuller appraisals are available elsewhere (see below).

Initial re-assessment of the regional data was made by Solomon who concluded that "many of the phenomena ascribed by Wayland to climatic agencies are far more easily and logically explained by earth movements",[91] and "all these considerations go to show that the Pluvial Hypothesis rests on very slender foundations and the writer is inclined to discard it completely as a basis for the classification of the African Quaternary".[92] Later re-evaluation tended to confirm this viewpoint particularly on the basis of the Uganda evidence and in relation to Uganda. This was certainly Cooke's view, after a detailed summary of Wayland's evidence and interpretations.[93] Perhaps an even more searching re-evaluation of the adequacy of the evidence for inferred former climates was that of Flint who demonstrated clearly that the evidence did not support the inferrences put upon it.[94] More recent re-evaluations of the Kagera valley evidence by Cole,[95] botanical data by Morrison[96] and the causes of fluctuation of Lake Victoria by the present writer[97] confirm the inadequacy of data for palaeoclimatic reconstructions in the style of Wayland. Unfortunately the climatic scheme erected on the lines of evidence previously noted has been uncritically accepted as sound in many quarters and has undoubtedly prejudiced much later work. The repercussions of the original hypothesis have been most unfortunate.

Topics of Local Significance

In his voluminous publications Wayland touched on many aspects of the regional geomorphology of Uganda, though only certain of these can be singled out for attention here through lack of space. Those discussed below merit particular note however.

(*a*) *Evolution of Lake Victoria*

"While pride of place . . . was allotted to the lower Kagera",[98] Wayland devoted much time and thought to the evolution of Lake Victoria, working not only on the Uganda shoreline but also intermittently in the Kavirondo gulf. One of his earliest contributions was the recognition of a series of raised beaches at Entebbe, one of the more prominent stages of which forms the foundation of the present Geological Survey offices.[99] His later work continually stressed the importance of understanding the lake and its evolution. "The Quaternary story of Uganda and the evolution of the great lake that forms its southeastern boundary are inseparable".[100]

He soon recognised that Lake Victoria occupied an anomalous topographic position on the plateau, perched above lower levels both to north and south,[101] and though he recognised that the lake basin had been formed by warping, an influence he progressively emphasised, he was certain that "there can have been no large body of water in the Victoria depresision except during the pluvials".[102] The pre-warp from of the lake region "was once a watershed apparently of domoid form (a minor bulge) distributing its streams radially"[103],

an impression he formed because "Lake Victoria is fringed with drowned valleys which seem to radiate from a centre"[104], and on the basis of the distribution of fish fauna.[105, 106] Work by Combe soon persuaded him that this view of the pre-lake topography was erroneous, for Combe drew attention to the flooded extensions of both the Katonga and Kagera rivers under the lake. This effectively demonstrated that "Lake Victoria with its drowned coastline and reversed feeders is younger than the main river channels".[107] Thus the problem of the actual as opposed to the relative age of the lake was brought to the fore. Wayland had worked on the Lower Miocene lake beds of the Kavirondo gulf and had actually discovered the most important sites on Rusinga Island. Thus he was disposed initially to follow Oswald[108] and date the initiation of the lake as Miocene, "as a shallow water-filled depression", going on to imply that subsequently, apart from possible "desiccations" the lake experienced a continuous history.[109] "Part of it at least dates back to the Miocene".[110] Yet he could not believe that the pre-lake valleys were pre-Miocene and was left with a clear dilemma. By 1934 he had decided that Lake Victoria must be younger, and placed its initiation in middle Pleistocene times, a view which squares with most of the Uganda evidence and the one most generally held at present.

Fluctuations and oscillations of the level of Lake Victoria and their causes were of fundamental interest to him. His own early work at Entebbe, later in Buvuma (where he claimed to have found five ancient levels the highest of which stood 300 feet about the lake),[111] in the Sango hills,[112] and in the Kavirondo gulf,[113] all indicated that the lake had once been higher. This he naturally attributed to 'pluvation'—heavier effective rainfall and inflow from the catchment.[114] These high levels were envisaged as being separated by "temporary but relatively long-sustained low levels of Lake Victoria",[115] sufficient, so it was argued, to kill off most of the lacustrine fishes at least during some periods.[116] All subsequent biological writers seem to have accepted these views as well founded and argue from that basis. Though there is little cause to take exception to the comment that "the distribution of the fauna of the lakes . . . is only to be understood . . . by reference to the geological history of the lakes themselves",[117] it is clear that the geological history needs to be firmly founded. In view of the doubts concerning the palaeoclimatic reconstructions already outlined, the whole distribution pattern of fishes clearly needs re-examination.

From a virtually complete reliance upon fluctuations of climatic parameters to explain fluctuating lake levels, Wayland came more and more to stress the possible effects of tectonics and erosion of the lake outlet in combination. In 1948 he wrote "the maximum height of Lake Victoria has depended upon the altitude of its outlet rather than rainfall".[118] "With low lake levels and their oscillations the matter has usually been different, but one must turn to the river valleys for climatic evidence, for clearly high precipitation might easily synchronize with a tectonically controlled low-level Lake Victoria, and if the present outlet at the Ripon falls were raised say by 50 feet the lake would presumably rise to this level without increase in rainfall".[119] By 1952 he believed that the connection of lacustrine conditions between Lake Victoria and the Kagera valley was caused by earth movements, followed by complex climatic oscillations and that the last phase, leading to a retreat of the lake from the Kagera, was the result of erosion of the Jinja outlet perhaps by "the wedging out of joint blocks from the Jinja dolerite sill".[120] These later views took into account more possible factors and were more realistic than the earlier reconstructions; a full evaluation of this data is presented elsewhere.[121]

(b) *Form of the Lake Albert Rift Scarp*

Wayland was the first to draw attention to the morphology of the main fault scarps of the Western rift and to is significance. The obvious contrast between the upper, mature, well-eroded section of the fault scarp bounding the plateau edge and the youthful, truncated facets of the lower section of the fault scarp bounding the rift floor sediments clearly indicated at least two major phases of movement along the fault plane. "On the Uganda side of the Lake Albert depression . . . there is a line which has been called the hanging base below which the escarpment is more or less sheer and above which the scenery hangs. At the southwestern end it is over 2000 feet above the lake, and at the northern end it is about 400 feet above it. A similar line occurs on the western side of Ruwenzori and along the northern section of the eastern side".[122] "It is from old east-west (approximately) valleys above this line on the Albert scarp that the short rejuvenated streams enter the rift by way of falls".[123] Though the evolution of this composite escarpment has no doubt been more complex than Wayland envisaged, he at least discerned the main contrasts and drew attention to the Muzizi and Nkussi sandstones and the light they might throw on the rift evolution.

(c) *Arenas*

"The term 'arena' was introduced (by E. J. W.) to describe a certain type of topography controlled by structure. An arena may be described as an immense punch-bowl like area, the sides of which are formed by ancient sediments and the bottom essentially by crystalline rocks, among which a post-sediment intrusive (granite) occupies a prominent or paramount place. The structure of an arena is that of, or closely allied to a dome; and the arena country is that in which arenas characteristically occur".[124] This arena country is of course the area of southwestern Ankole, northern Kigezi, Karagwe and Rwanda. The fact that these domoid structures had been unroofed by erosion and that the river systems had been superimposed across them was emphasised; "Rivers such as the Ruizi run right across the arenas, cutting their way through mountainous country that separates these relatively low-lying areas. This can only mean that the courses of the rivers were determined before the development of the arenas, the walls of which rise one or two thousand feet above the floors, and that elevation has slowly proceeded as the rivers have cut their way downwards".[125] (Figure 3). The scale of these features, the fine examples provided of superimposition, antecedence and relief inversion clearly merit the attention devoted to them.

(d) *Explosion Craters and Maars*

Locally distinctive features of the geomorphology of western Uganda are the four areas of explosion craters and crater lakes or maars. The first volume of this journal carried "a vivid and instructive account of Katwe and its many problems"[126] by Wayland. Katwe is the best known crater of a large field on the southern slopes of Ruwenzori, lying partly in the rift floor and partly overlapping its margin. Considering these explosion crater fields as a whole, Wayland drew a distinction between caldera-type explosion vents, characterised by an absence of cones, edges bent up by pressure, crater floors below the general level, enclosing saline lakes within youthful sediments; and those craters whose walls were built up above the general level, surrounded by ashes, generally above the general level, containing fresh-water lakes and generally blown through the old rocks of the plateau. Examples of the first type were

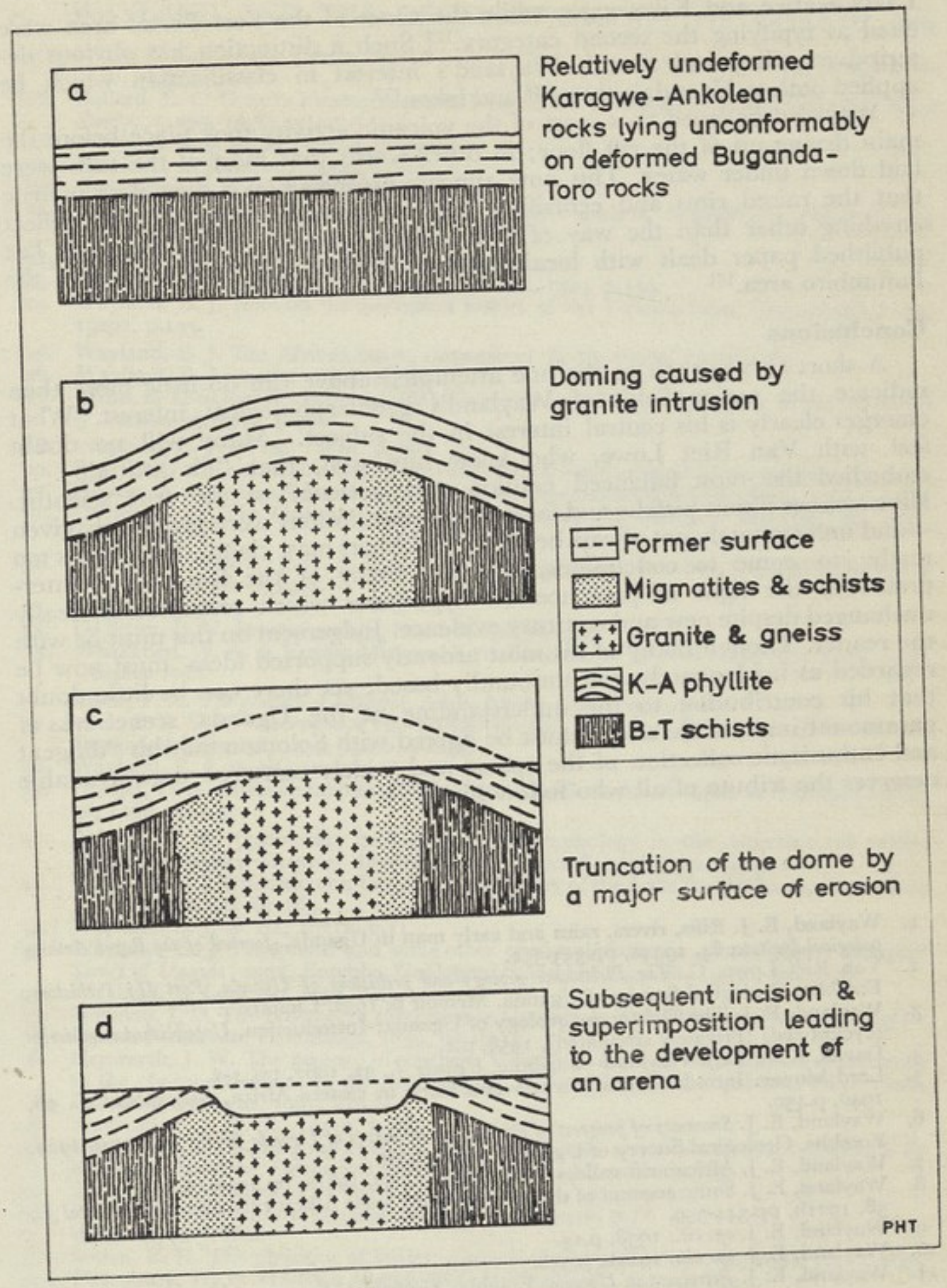

Figure 3
Stages in the formation of an arena, i.e. relief inversion in dome structures as exemplified in southwest Ankole and northern Kigezi.

Lakes Katwe and Kikorongo; while the cones of the Fort Portal area were cited as typifying the second category.[127] Such a distinction has obvious descriptive utility and reveals Wayland's interest in classification which he applied both to Uganda's rivers[128] and lakes.[129]

Wayland believed that most of the volcanic activity took place before the main drying-up of the rift floor; in other words that most of the tuffs were laid down under water. This now appears erroneous, nor does it seem true that the raised rims and centrifugal dips of the tuffaceous deposits reflect anything other than the way of their original deposition.[130] Wayland's last published paper dealt with local volcanic features, the lava tunnels of the Bufumbiro area.[131]

Conclusions

A short survey such as the one attempted above can do little more then indicate the major fields of Wayland's geomorphological interest. What emerges clearly is his central interest in the subject. Many will no doubt feel with Van Riet Lowe, who knew him well, that "his attitude . . . embodied the most balanced caution and patience of the true scientist. His warnings about pitfalls and far-reaching conclusions were generously given —and unfortunately not always heeded".[132] Others may claim that he was too ready to come to conclusions, that too many of the facts were interpreted in the light of preconceived hypotheses which remained basically unchanged despite new and contrary evidence. Judgement on this must lie with the reader. Though many of his most ardently supported ideas must now be regarded as inadequately and unsoundly based, yet there can be little doubt that his contribution to the understanding of the Uganda scene was of paramount importance and it must be agreed with Solomon that his "diligent and enthusiastic collection of the sparse and widely scattered data available deserves the tribute of all who follow him".[133]

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THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF E. J. WAYLAND

By B. W. Langlands

The writings of E. J. Wayland cover many subjects and many different countries, but his most active period was undoubtedly that of his twenty-year tenure as Director of the Geological Survey of Uganda. Most of the works of geological interest produced in this period are listed annually in a comprehensive bibliography which was produced in 1939 in the *Geological Survey Bulletin No.* 3, pp.193-195. Indeed by itemising each mineral note and each field note separately this bibliography contains 170 entries to Wayland's name. In the biliography presented below closely related works have been grouped together and mineral notes and field notes appearing in a single publication have been placed under a single entry. In classifying the publications under subject headings, in including works from outside the field of geology, in covering publications for countries other than Uganda and in dealing with the entire period of Wayland's publishing life from 1915 to 1963 this bibliography is more comprehensive than is available elsewhere.

Within the field of geology Wayland's interests were very wide. As a student he won a research scholarship in palaeontology, though few of his later writings were on this subject (Items 144-149). His first post arose from an interest in stratigraphy and many of his later writings were specifically in this field (Items 182-191) and much of his field work inevitably arose from this interest and is listed here under Geological Surveys (Items 50-103). His second and third posts were in mining and mineralogy; initially with the Memba Mining Co. of Mozambique and later as assistant mineralogist to the government of Ceylon. Also much of Wayland's time in Uganda was devoted to a concern for its mineral wealth. In all Wayland contributed notes on more than forty minerals (Items 117-143). Also in his capacity as Director of Geological Survey he was concerned with groundwater supplies in which subject he wrote authoritatively (Items 216-224), and this gave rise to a wider interest in the geography of arid lands (Items 47-49). Apart from these purely professional concerns, he showed a keen interest in various academic problems associated with the moulding of the land surface of East Africa. This gave rise to a number of notes on the formation of rift valleys (Items 192-204), on the formation of lakes and lake basins (Items 110-116), on peneplains and erosion cycles (Items 104-109), and on volcanology (Items 205-215). Increasingly Wayland became involved in arguments concerning the Pleistocene geology of Uganda and the possibility of climatic changes in that period (Items 150-174). Many of these academic disputes were stimulated by his chief non-geological hobby, archaeology, for he laid the foundation to later work on many of Uganda's key archaeological sites (Items 6-19) and applied himself to classifying Uganda's early artifacts (Items 20-41). Amidst all this it is surprising to find at least two papers of

fundamental importance on the peoples of Karamoja and on the Amba from Wayland's pen, yet both of these papers are full of detailed observation (Items 3 and 4).

Wayland had a deep interest in the peoples as well as the land of Uganda; but he also wrote on the other countries in which he worked. Little seems to have arisen from his years in Egypt (1909-1910) (Item 188). Apart from an archaeological note (Item 20) the references to his brief stay in Mozambique (1911-1912) are in the works of others (Items 50-53, 104 and 117). His stay in Ceylon from 1912-1916 produced rather more, but even so many of these were published after he had left the country (Items 1, 21, 26, 44, 47, 121, 144-146, 182 and 184). Whilst he was employed in Uganda he was drawn in as consultant to the Kenya government on gold in Kavirondo so at least eight of his writings concern Kenya (Items 80, 82, 84, 90, 98, 100, 116 and 132). Also he advised Zanzibar on its water supplies (Item 217). During one of his vacations from Uganda he visited South Africa and interested himself in the artifacts of the Transvaal (Items 24, 31-32). After retiring from Uganda he served as the Director of the Geological Survey of Bechuanaland (1948-1952) where he was able to pursue his interests in arid lands, archaeology and general geology (Items 19, 41-42, 49, 102-103, 171-172 and 190-191.)

With only one exception (Item 174) all the works listed below were printed works. In addition Wayland left an abundance of field notes and manuscript papers, most of which are available in the library of the Geological Survey of Uganda at Entebbe; and his private collection of papers he bequeathed to the library of the Directorate of Overseas Geology, London. There are also numerous unpublished papers in the files of the geological survey departments of Botswana and Ceylon.

Wayland cannot be considered an abundant writer for his major work on the Pleistocene geology of Uganda was never completed (Item 174), but he produced a prodigious quantity of papers and short notes. Probably relatively few of the works listed here may be considered as of outstanding significance; but he produced ideas on a wide range of topics, and because these ideas were constantly subject to slight modification it is a difficult task to trace the development of his thought. Nevertheless a bibliography of this nature serves well to illustrate how much Uganda owes to Wayland's multifarious scientific interests.

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GEOMORPHOLOGY See also Tectonics, for the treatment of Rift Valleys.

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MINING IN UGANDA

by A. L. Job

This article deals with the history and economy of mining and prospecting in Uganda from its inception to the present day and attempts to forecast the future trend and to emphasize the value of mining to this country's economy. From 1927 until the end of 1965 £58,000,000 was received from mineral production as follows:—

	Exports		*Production*
Copper	£35,837,000		
Tin	2,938,000	Cement, Lime	£11,252,000
Wolfram	1,564,000	Stone, Clay	3,465,000
Gold	998,000	Salt	904,000
Beryl	455,000	Superphosphates	507,000
Other Minerals	411,000		
	£42,203,000		£76,128,000

At present mineral exports form an increasingly important part of the country's export trade accounting in 1965 for 14% of all exports. The role of minerals and of copper in particular, in this respect is clearly borne out from the accompanyng table. Copper accounts for 96% of all mineral exports and comes third in value after coffee and cotto

	Value £'000			*As % of All Exports*		
	1954	1959	1965	1954	1959	1965
All Exports	40,575	42,091	63,714	100	100	100
Coffee	13,478	18,688	30,421	33.2	44.4	48.5
Cotton	20,877	15,428	16,762	51.5	36.7	26.7
All Minerals	254	2,873	9,108	0.6	6.8	14.5
Copper	Nil	2,788	8,739	Nil	6·6	14.0

It will be seen that copper has joined the list of exports relatively recently but its total value has risen sharply. In large measure this has occurred as a result of the increase in the price of copper which has more than doubled between 1959 and 1965, whereas the tonnage exported has increased by only slightly over 40% in the same period. The sole producer of copper is Kilembe Mines Ltd. which is situated near Kasese in Toro District, at the head of the western extension of the railway. The copper bearing concentrates are railed to the smelter at Jinja for conversion into blister copper. In addition to copper, cobalt and iron sulphides are produced but these are stacked at the mine because the low price for cobalt has not warranted the provision of expensive plant to recover the cobalt. Kilembe Mines Ltd also mine limestone and produce lime for their own requirements. This mine gives employment to over

4,000 people, and indirect employment to many more.

A second valuable mineralized area is the Sukulu carbonatite complex at Tororo. Here are located factories producing cement, asbestos products, fertilisers and acid. In 1965 £1,500,000 worth of cement was manufactured by the Uganda Cement Industries Ltd, a subsidiary of the Uganda Development Corporation. This company produces lime as well as cement from the Sukulu hills, a giant ring volcano which also contains immense reserves of apatite, limestone, and lesser quantities of pyrochlore, magnetitie and zircon. The apatite is mined by Tororo Industrial Chemical and Fertilisers Ltd, also a subsidiary of the Uganda Development Corporation. This mineral is converted into a superphosphate fertiliser by a process using hydrochloric acid. At present magnetite (an iron ore) produced in the process of working the apatite is stacked. There is some prospect that Sukulu Mines Ltd, (another subsidiary of the Uganda Development Corporation) may be able to market the pyrochlore, a mineral containing niobium, from the discard of the apatite flotation plant. Until recently phosphate rock has been mined on a small scale from a similar carbonatite complex at Bukusu. This small mine located at Busumbu, in Bugisu, used to export the rock to Kenya for conversion into a soda-phosphate.

Other minerals exported from Uganda have been derived mainly from the southwest. These minerals include tin, wolfram and beryl and are produced by small scale workers with very limited financial resources, and market prices are liable to severe fluctuations. There were at one time four fully equipped wolfram mines in Kigezi which exported a maximum of 186 tons in 1950 and employed over 2,000 people. In the last few years wolfram prices have been low and production virtually ceased, though two mines re-opened in 1965 in response to a rise in the price of wolfram. The production of beryl has been subject to similar fluctuations. It reached a peak of 1015 tons in 1961 and accounted then for 10% of the total world production, but this has fallen since to 189 tons in 1965. Beryl has been produced in Ankole, Kigezi and Singo. Tin has also been produced from south Ankole and Kigezi since 1927 but the amount produced currently is small. All these mineral workings in the west are small scale operations and, with the exception of beryl, have shown a decline in the last decade or so. Only wolfram mining operations have shown any tendency to develop to any size, but these mines have been severely hit by adverse prices.

A few other small scale mining operations exist mainly in western Uganda. Gold, tantalite, columbite, bismuth, lithium and mica have all been produced from time to time. Gold exports have declined from a peak of 22,483 ounces in 1938 to 50 ounces in 1965. Salt is produced by simple methods in Toro and Bunyoro.

History of Mining—1902-1939

The first prospecting concession was granted in 1902 when the East Africa Syndicate took up an area of 100 square miles around Butiaba in Bunyoro, presumably searching for gold. The licence lapsed a year later. By December 1908 there were 22 prospecting licences over Crown Lands. In 1913 Mr. W. Brittlebank secured an oil prospecting concession over 898 square miles centred on Kibiro (Lake Albert) where he had located oil seepages, but the outbreak of war in 1914 prevented exploration and the concession expired in 1922. In 1920 Captain A. W. Hill and Sir Phillip Lee Brocklehurst obtained exclusive oil rights over a large area of West Nile for £50. Gold had been found in West Nile by J. G. Currie as early as 1915 but there was little activity in

Uganda until 1920 when something of a gold rush took place in West Nile due to the proximity of the Kilo Moto gold mine over the Congo border. The search continued until 1927 but nothing of value was found. Although no gold was found, the Nile Congo Divide Syndicate (which also operated in West Nile) reported a find of low grade copper at Manya in West Madi and traced its occurrence north to the Sudan border.

In the later 1920's principle mining interests were focussed on cassiterite in Ankole and copper in Toro. Cassiterite had been discovered in neighbouring parts of Tanganyika in 1924 and the following year the search extended to Uganda and a deposit was found four miles from Kikagati, Ankole.

In 1926 when the Mwirasandu tin deposit was discovered the whole of the Western Province was covered by Exclusive Prospecting Licences with 25 European engineers employed. Large concessions were held by Tanganyika Concession Ltd[1] and by the year's end negotiations were well underway for an oil concession in the Albert Basin.

Tanganyika Concession Ltd discovered a copper body on the southwestern slopes of the Ruwenzori in 1927 which we know as Kilembe Mines. Gold was found along the banks of Kashasha River in Kigezi which led to increased prospecting activities. Tin exports had begun and the prospectors were encouraged to further searches. 1928 saw forty European engineers employed and 16,125 square miles of country covered by licences, located mainly in the Western Province. A geological survey was carried out in Karamoja by eleven Europeans for Tanganyika Concession Ltd. The D'Arcy Exploration Co. Ltd.[2] completed a survey of the Lake Albert region in order to assess the oil potential.

By the end of 1929, 13,538 square miles were covered by Exclusive Prospecting Licences. Mwirasandu tin mine expanded and further deposits were found close by at Namaherere. Drilling for alluvial tin deposits were carried out and an investigation of Nankiankoko hill[3] was made by the Central African Exploration Co. Investigation of copper at Kilembe and tin at Kaina and Burama Ridge continued in the west. In eastern Uganda Nigerian Consolidated Mines Ltd examined Budama and south Bugisu for gold. Exploration of Karamoja and Buganda continued but little was found other than Bismutotantalite, hitherto unknown.

In 1930 Exclusive Prospecting Licences in Karamoja, Gulu and West Nile were not renewed and only 5,337 square miles were covered by such licences. Uganda's three tin mines, Mwirasandu, Kikagati and Kaina continued in operation and further underground exploration was carried out at Namaherere, Naniankoko and Burama Ridge mines. Tanganika Concessions Ltd. had driven twelve adits into hill sides to explore their copper body (now known as Kilembe Mine) but allowed their licence in Karamoja to lapse. Gold prospecting in Gulu and West Nile Districts continued where the Nile Congo Divide Syndicate tested a number of streams. The area under licence continued to fall to 1983 square miles in 1931; 1542 in 1932 and 1411 in 1934 during which time several large companies withdrew their interests and were replaced by small miners such as R. M. Bayona, L. L. Nuti, P. J. Wray, J. Gastrell and J. S. Kargarotos. Most of these men worked known deposits and carried out small scale prospecting. The first export of gold was 7 oz. from Kigezi in 1931 and considerably increased returns of this mineral were shown in 1933 and 1934. Chief of the gold operators were Boazman & Gee;[4] H. M. Syndicate[5] and Utanka Exploration Ltd.

The tin mines at Kaina, Kashoza, Burama, Kyamugasha, Kikagati and Mwirasandu continued operations, all of them except the latter in the hands of small miners. H. O. Crighton made considerable installations at Kikagati Mines in 1936 and production rose to 80 tons: 42 tons were produced from Kaina: 12 tons from Kyamugasha and 26 tons from K. Carr's Mine near Kikagati. From the early 1930's principal mining interests were focussed on tin and gold. Gold ming reached a high level of activity between 1935-40. Buhwezu County in Ankole became a gold producing area whilst the Rubuguli swamp in Kigezi was the location of the Boazman & Gee interests. Busia in south Bukedi became an important gold site and Toro, Arua and Busoga saw much prospecting. In 1937 Ankole produced 15,694 ozs. of gold and Kigezi 2,190 ozs. Smaller quantities were won in Budama.[6] In the middle 1930's activities decreased at Kilembe until in 1937 they were finally reduced to a mere care and maintenance basis. During this period however interest in other minerals developed. In 1935 some tantalite was produced at Kitofa mine in Kitezi by J. Gastrell who increased production of this mineral to several tons the next year from his Kakanena mine close by. Galena (lead ore) was discovered at Kitaka on the Ankole-Toro border in 1936. Bismuth was recovered from Kabuga in Kigezi. Two asbestos claims were registered in West Nile and wolfram was discovered for the first time in the Mpororo valley on the southern edge of the Impenetrable Forest in Kigezi. Tin was exported in 1937 and some low grade asbestos came out of Karamoja in 1938.

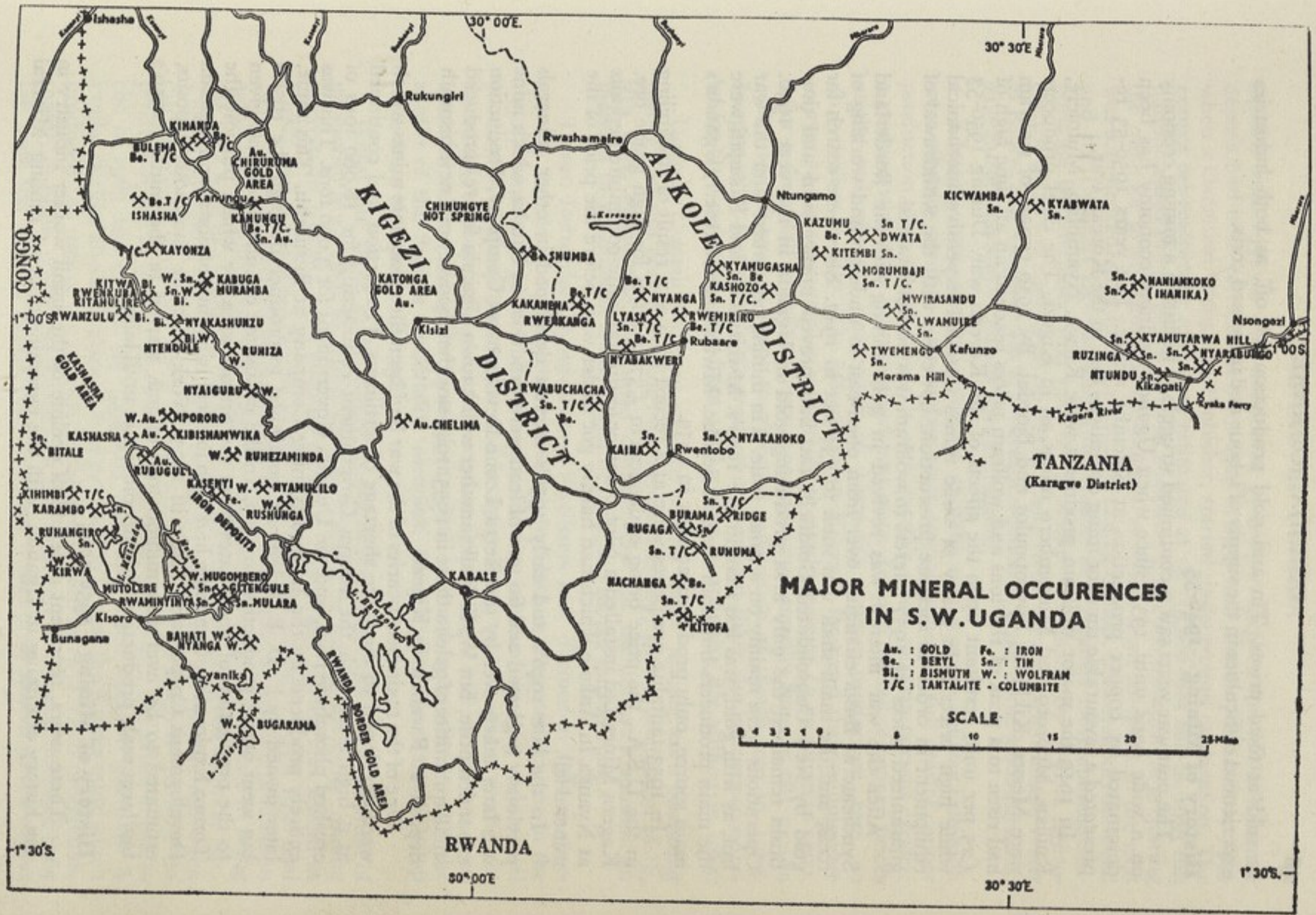
The mid 1930's saw the peak of mining activity in Uganda with nearly 9000 persons employed at the end of 1935, but at the end of the decade interest declined. Copper at £43 a ton did not warrant mining expenditure at Kilembe; but the years 1935-1940 saw great activity in gold prospecting and mining among individuals, partnerships, small companies and syndicates. Boazman & Gee were the principal producers from Rubuguli Swamp in Kigezi. Lemon and Viviers exported 1000 oz. from the Buhweju Plateau in Ankole.

In 1937 gold production reached 15,699 ozs. in Kigezi of which 2190 ozs. was produced by H. M. Syndicate. Kenya-Uganda Minerals Exploration Ltd. exported 3266 ozs. worth £20,100. Among these miners were many old pioneers.

Gold production fell rapidly in 1939 when the alluvial areas of Buhweju were virtually worked out. Oil prospecting continued and drilling to 4,000 feet was executed but nothing of commercial significance was found. Only the tin mines of Burama Ridge, Kikagati, Namaherere and Mwirasandu continued in production but all were past their prime.

History of Mining—1939-1945

In 1939 gold production fell considerably due to the near exhaustion of the Buhwezu deposits, the all-time record production for Uganda of 23,621 oz. being obtained in the previous year. The second world war saw a reduction in Mines Department staff and mining operations were further hampered by the internment of German and Italian miners. The cost of supplies and wages rose. The war, however, created a special demand for wolfram, tantalite, columbite, mica and phosphates; and a committee was established to promote the winning of these minerals. As a result 11 tons of tantalite/columbite was exported in 1943, wolfram exports reached 80 tons in 1944, small quantities of beryl were exported in 1944/45, mica ws exported for the first time, and the Busumbu phosphate deposit began production in 1944 which rose to 8,511 tons in 1945. Copper, wolfram and gold and certain other minerals could only


MAJOR MINERAL OCCURENCES
IN S.W.UGANDA
Au. : GOLD
Be. : BERYL
Bi. : BISMUTH
T/C : TANTALITE - COLUMBITE
Fe. : IRON
Sn. : TIN
W. : WOLFRAM
SCALE
0 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 25 Miles
KIGEZI DISTRICT
ANKOLE DISTRICT
CONGO
TANZANIA
(Karagwe District)
RWANDA
Ishasha
Rukungiri
Rwashamaire
Ntungamo
Kisizi
Kabale
Kisoro
Bunagana
Cyanika
Kafunzo
Nsongezi
Kikagati
Kyaka Ferry
Kagera River
Merama Hill
Rwentobo
Rubaare
KIHANDA
BULEMA
Be. T/C
Au. CHIRURUMA GOLD AREA
Be. T/C ISHASHA
KANUNGU
Be. T/C. Sn. Au.
KAYONZA
KITWA Bi.
RWENKURA
KITAHULIRE
W. Sn. KABUGA
Sn. W. MURAMBA
Bi.
RWANZULU Bi.
Bi. NYAKASHUNZU
Bi. W.
NTENDULE
RUHIZA W.
KASHASHA GOLD AREA
NYAIGURU W.
W. Au. MPORORO
KASHASHA Au. KIBISHAMWIKA
Sn. BITALE
Au. RUBUGULI
W. RUHEZAMINDA
KASENYI Fe.
W. NYAMULILO
W. RUSHUNGA
IRON DEPOSITS
KIHIMBI T/C
KARAMBO Sn.
RUHANGIRO Sn.
W. KIRWA
MUTOLERE W.
W. MUGOMBERO
Sn. GITENGULE
RWAMINYINYA Sn.
Sn. MULARA
BAHATI W.
NYANGA W.
W. BUGARAMA
CHIHUNGYE HOT SPRING
KATONGA GOLD AREA Au.
Be. SHUMBA
KAKANENA
RWENKANGA
Be. T/C
Be. T/C NYANGA
LYASA Sn. T/C
Be. T/C
RWEMIRIRO Be. T/C
NYABAKWERI
RWABUCHACHA Sn. T/C Be.
Au. CHELIMA
Sn. KAINA
Sn. NYAKAHOKO
KYAMUGASHA Sn. Be
KASHOZO Sn. T/C.
KAZUMU Be.
Sn T/C. DWATA
KITEMBI Sn.
MORUMBAJI Sn. T/C.
MWIRASANDU Sn.
LWAMUIRE Sn.
TWEMENGO Sn.
KICWAMBA Sn.
KYABWATA Sn.
Sn. NANIANKOKO
Sn. (IHANIKA)
Sn. KYAMUTARWA HILL
Sn. NYARABUNGO
RUZINGA Sn.
NTUNDU Sn.
Sn. T/C BURAMA RIDGE
RUGAGA Sn.
Sn. T/C RUHUMA
NACHANGA Be.
Sn. T/C KITOFA
RWANDA BORDER GOLD AREA
30° 00'E.
30° 30'E
1° 00'S.
1° 30'S.

be sold at fixed prices. Tin and gold production fell off, as both industries experienced difficulties in the supply of labour and increased costs.

History of Mining—1946-55

The post war years saw a continued struggle to maintain a mining economy on a wide basis until 1957, since when Uganda's mining economy has been dominated by copper production at Kilembe mines. The years 1950-53 represented a favourable time for ming operations due to the Korean war.

In 1949 the major wolfram producers were Kirwa, Nyamulilo, Mutolere, Ruhiza, Mpororo and Mugombero mines, all in Kigezi. The chief producers were Messrs. Kikkides, Spyropoulos and Bjordal. By 1950 export of wolfram had risen to a peak of 186 tons and wolfram prices reached an all time high of £25 per unit, resultant upon the effects of the Korean war. During 1950-53 while high prices held many of these mines installed expensive mechanical equipment in order to increase production, however, with the withdrawal of guaranteed prices[7] in 1957 interest in wolfram was not maintained.

After the war interest was revived in gold mining with the Borderland Syndicate at Busia changing over from open-cast to underground working of reefs, and the main shaft was sunk to 334 feet in 1947. Elsewhere search for gold by New Consolidated Goldfield Ltd had proved unsuccessful and thus Busia remained the only area producing gold in Uganda in the year 1950. Operations were mainly on a small scale. Tin mining continued after the war but, as with gold, was less than in the 1930's. Mwirasandu and Kikagati were the main producers but both were in decline. Mwirasandu, formerly Uganda's main source, only produced 27 tons in 1955.

In 1953 tantalite ore prices were at a record high as a result of stockpiling in the U.S.A., the price being equivalent to £3700 a ton for high grade ore. Kagera Mines Ltd installed a pilot plant for testing tantalite-columbite deposits at Nyanga in Ankole which had hardly got under way before the price of the mineral fell.

In the late 1940's and early 1950's interest developed in other minerals previously neglected and 60 tons of lead were produced at Kitaka, which mine was later taken over by the Sierra Leone Development Company. Production expanded little, but W. B. Hall (another well known Uganda figure) produced small quantities of galena there in 1955. 1949 saw the discovery of a new bismuth deposit at Rwanzu in Kigezi.

One of the main beneficaries of the war had been the phosphate mines which were developed to meet the shortage of fertilizers. Production had continued at a high level with the Kenya Government contracting for 16,000 tons of crushed phosphate rock, and the Uganda Government for 3,000 tons. This was entirely produced by the Bukusu Mining Company at Busumbu. This mine, later owned by F. D. B. Edmunds, continued to produce through the 1950's but went out of production in 1961. In the meantime consideration was given to the production of phosphates from the Sukulu area for which purpose the Tororo Exploration Company had been formed using international and Uganda Development Corporation funds in 1953. Work on these enormous deposits, estimated to be over 200 million tons of soil, started in the middle 1950's but large scale production did not commence until later.

History of Mining—1956-1965

These years, represent a period of decline of the small worker industry in the history of mining in Uganda, with the exception of beryl mining Mineral

exports from 1957 on were dominated by copper. Exploration of the Kilembe deposit had been carried out from 1927 to 1937 and interest increased in 1949 when a Canadian Company, Frobisher, started underground exploration. The copper ore reserves in 1952 were estimated at 14,755,000 tons and in 1953 this had increased to 17,181,000 tons. In 1952 over £100,000 was spent in preparing the mine for production and the railway extension from Mityana to the west was commenced. After initial problems of raising capital, development continued and the Colonial Development Corporation and Uganda Development Corporation became associated with the Frobisher Company. By 1956, a hydro-electric plant was completed on the Mubuku river; a concentrator made ready at Kasese and a smelter was in process of erection at Jinja. Some 3,000 Africans, 212, Europeans and 63 Asians were employed.

Kilembe mine, the Jinja smelter and the new western railway extension were officially opened in November 1956. 1957 was the first full year of copper production and placed minerals as Uganda's third most important export; a position which has been retained ever since. Despite the fall of copper prices at the end of 1957 the value of Uganda's copper production rose to £1.7 million in 1957. The following year Kilembe increased their milling rate to over 70,000 tons monthly and production value rose to £3.7 million in 1960. After a slight fall in 1961, copper prodution rose steadliy from 15,081 tons in 1962; 15,766 tons in 1963: to a record production of 18,236 tons in 1964. In spite of the fact that 1965's production was less, a sharp rise in prices accounted for an increase in value from £6.8 million in 1964 to £8.7 million in 1965.

Uganda Cement Industry was the second major mining corn operating throughout this period, coming into operation in 1953 with a production of 16, 913 tons. Production fluctuated considerably but the industry showed an increase in production from 71,524 in 1964, to 128,742 tons in 1965.

Tororo Industrial Chemicals and Fertilizers Ltd. (formed in 1960 to operate the Sukulu phosphate deposits which had had a chequered career in the 1950s) became Uganda's third major mining concern. By 1963 substantial production of phosphates began and in 1965 16,123 tons of apatite were produced and the superphosphate industry was expanding. Little success has been achieved in producing the pyrochlore which is found in association with the apatite of the Sukulu carbonatite complex, though pilot schemes to develop these were established in 1958.

Whilst the three main mining concerns had progressed to a position of prosperity from 1956 to 1965, the same cannot be said of the other mining interests in Uganda. The wolfram mines at Nyamulilo, Kirwa and Bahati in Kigezi had produced 170 tons in 1956 but all were closed in 1957, 1958 and 1959. Wolfram production recommenced on a small scale in 1960 but production again became uneconomic in 1963, though a small increase took place to bring the 1965 total to 41 tons. At the same time tin production suffered a similar fate. The Mwirasandu tin mine closed down in 1956 after 30 years of operation during which it yielded 5,716 tons of ore valued at £1,295,000. In 1956 tin production fell to 36 tons, the lowest it had been since 1927, but prices began to rise in 1963 and exports for 1964 and 1965 have risen again to 300 tons. A similar decline also took place in lead production in that the Kitaka mine which produced 150 tons of ore in 1956 ceased production in 1959. Gold production, mainly at Busia, continued throughout the 1950s on a small scale but since 1963 has been less than 50 ounces each year and was entirely absent in the export

figures for 1964. In 1956 prospecting took place in Karamoja for chromite, and in Toro and Ankole for diamonds but nothing developed from these investigations.

The only commodity other than those concerned with the three U.D.C. associated companies to expand in the period from 1956-1965 was beryllium. In 1958 the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority examined berly deposits in west Uganda with a view to using beryllium in atomic reactors. Production of beryl rose from 209 tons in 1959 to 419 tons in 1960, but by 1963 a fall in the price of beryl led to a marked reduction in production.

In recent years a renewed intensity of mineral exploration has been evident Over 12,000 square miles of Ankole, Toro, Karamoja, Acholi and Lango were surveyed from the air in 1962 under a project financed by United Nations aid. In the following year this was followed up by a ground survey in southwest Uganda and Karamoja, largely under Canadian financial assistance.

Salt

Salt from Lake Katwe and Mbakovia and Kibiro on Lake Albert has probably been produced to meet the essential needs of man and cattle from the earliest times. It has been produced from the burning of papyrus rushes and grass (the ashes of which were soaked in water) or from cow's urine; but most of Uganda's needs have been met from Lake Katwe and Kibiro for a very long time. Baker[8] described the method of production seen during his visit to Vacovia (Mbakovia or Bukobya) in 1864. Pits were dug six feet deep from which a sandy mud was placed in jars, mixed with water and filtered through holes in the jar bottom. The water was used again and again and was finally evaporated to produce salt. Emin Pasha[9] visited Kibiro and Mbakovia in 1886 and described the production of salt by leading water from the saline springs over specially collected saline soil and by further processes of solution, filtration and evaporation a salt was produced and sold in Buganda, Toro, Bunyoro and areas north and northeast of the lake. This salt was packed in dried banana leaf, each packet weighing 7½ ocka (25 lbs.) and sold for 400 cowrie shells which Emin estimated as being worth 5 shillings. Emin also mentioned Hamgurko on the Duero (Semliki) River as a source of salt. In 1889 Stanley [10] described Katwe as a busy town of 2,000 inhabitants supported by the winning and sale of salt which was bartered for grains, millet, barkcloth, iron tools, weapons and foodstuffs. Much of the salt was carried across Lake Edward by canoe. In 1891[11] Lugard visited Katwe and established a military post, Fort George, on the ridge between Lakes Katwe and Edward for the purpose of controlling the salt trade. Later Katwe was visited by the Duke of Mecklenberg[12] (1907-08) and his book reproduced a colour painting of the lake. He found that the salt trade was the monopoly of sultan Kasakamo of Toro and said that the salt was exported as far as Entebbe and Bukoba.

Lake Katwe lies in an explosion crater separated from Lake Edward by a ridge only 400 yards wide. The water of the lake is rarely more than 4 feet deep but the water lies at an elevation 94 feet less than Lake Edward. It has been suggested that the circulation of water through shattered alkaline rocks at depth results in the dissolving of salts which are carried upward into the lake[13].

Three grades of salt are recovered at Katwe. The first grade, crystals, are collected from windblown deposits on the shores or from clusters which form around vertical sticks driven into the lake bottom. The second grade is obtained from solar pans constructed around the lake shore and the third grade is dug

from the lake bottom and towed ashore on small wooden rafts. The pink and blood-red colours of the waters are caused by protein of bacterial origin. The lake brine is 47% sodium-chloride (common salt), 21% sodium carbonate (soda ash), 2% sodium bicarbonate, 18% sodium sulphate (Glaubers salt), and 12% potassium-chloride (all by dry weight).

While the salt deposits are owned by the central government, they are worked by a Salt Board under the control of the Toro government and all the proceeds of sales go to Toro. The deposits were examined by the E.A. Industrial Research Organisation[14] from 1944 to 1949. In 1958 further investigations were conducted by the Technical Development Division of the U.D.C. which demonstrated that carbonates, sulphates and chlorides of sodium could be recovered in a state of high purity on an industrial scale. Assuming a depth of 18 feet, reserves were estimated at 19,000,000 tons at a value of £170,000,000, potentially a very valuable natural resource.

As well as Katwe, Lake Bunyampaka (Kasenyi) has been worked for salt and there are eight other known saline lakes some of which are rendered unsuitable for salt recovery by simple methods of production because they contain too much sulphur. These lakes all lie in the volcanic tuffs on either side of the Kazinga Channel between Lakes Edward and George. Some of the many dry craters may also contain saline deposits. Lakes Masecha, Begusa, Nshenyi, Kikorongo, Nyamunuka, Murumuli, Kitagata and Munyanyange are all saline. Relatively little is known about Katwe, and much less is known about these other lakes. Plants are in hand for further investigation of Lake Katwe by the Geological Survey Department. Lake Kasenyi is less saline than Lake Katwe and has not been worked to the same extent.

The sources of the salt at Kibiro are saline hot springs which percolate into the sands and gravels of the lake shore. This saline soil is placed in small piles to dry and capillary action concentrates salt on the surface from which it is scraped off. The material thus collected is purified by dissolving, filtering and evaporation.[15] These spring waters have a high chloride content, but are comparatively poor in sulphates, magnesia and lime.

Production of salt from these sources from 1923-1965 has totalled at least 182, 852 tons from Katwe; 6,980 tons from Kasenyi and 1,965 tons from Kibiro. Since no accurate records have been kept of salt production at Lake Kasenyi and Kibiro production is probably in excess of this.

Iron

Wainwright[16] in a linguistic study of *uma*, a clmmon name for iron, has shown that iron smelting spread from Meroe in Sudan south and southwest and that its spread in Uganda was from an early centre of smelting and iron-working in Bunyoro. Apolo Kagwa[17] confirmed that the Baganda acquired their knowledge of smelting from Bunyoro.

The smelting of iron ores in Uganda is carried out in clay ovens using charcoal as a reductant. An air blast is supplied by a number of hand-worked bellows which may be made of hollow Y shaped logs, the two ends being covered with loose goatskin and worked rapidly and alternately back and forth by attached sticks to produce the air blast. Another method is the use of two earthenware bowls with stems resembling large tobacco pipes. The stems converge into an earthenware funnel which feeds the air blast into the furnace. The art of the smith is still practised but the art of smelting is rapidly disappearing. Its seems that quite low grade latertic ores were used for smelting and these were

in fact preferred to high grade ores. The many ancient shafts known in certain parts of Uganda were believed to have some connection with the search for iron ores but it seems more likely they were used for extracting "enoni" or kaolin. Emin Pasha mentions the iron and iron ores of Bunyoro and says tha the ores around Kisunga (Bunyoro) are exceptionally rich.[18]

Masindi was a well-known centre for iron working and in 1906 a Mr. D. Bennett was engaged to give the local smiths instruction in brazing, welding and the making of collars. In 1909 a Catalan furnace was obtained for Masindi. This type of furnance needed water power to produce the air blast hence it could not be erected near the site of the ore. This and other causes resulted in the failure of this equipment. The smiths in Masindi and district had a considerable trade in "jembies" but with the advent of cheap tools from Germany just before the 1914-18 war the trade declined considerably. During the war there was a shortage of tools and an attempt was made to revive the industry but without success. A report in 1907 suggested electric smelting of the Bunyoro ores using power supplied by the Murchison Falls. Later the use of charcoal and dolomite (from east Uganda) was suggested by Wayland.[19] The charcoal could have been derived from bush clearing operations connected with the control of tsetse fly.

Iron ore deposits are known to exist at Sukulu near Tororo and at Nangalwe and Surumbusa further northeast; these deposits are mainly of magnetite. Haematites of a high iron content (over 60%) are found in Kigezi and at Mugabuzi hill on the Ankole-Toro border. The remoteness of the Kigezi deposits from major roads or railways renders it unlikely that they will be used in the near future even though methane gas which is being recovered from Lake Kivu in Rwanda could provide a suitable fuel if carried by pipe line. More probably the iron of Sukulu which is being produced as a by-product of the apatite mining will be used first. The magnetites of Surumbusa contain too much titanium to be useful for smelting, as also do the Namekara ores of Bukusu; though these ores might be utilisable for electric rather than blast furnace smelting. The reserves of these iron ores in Uganda have been estimated as follows:—

Haematite:	9	million	tons at	Kasenyi ridge, Kigezi
	20	—	—	Kiruruma hill, Kigezi
	2	—	—	Butale, Kigezi
	2	—	—	Mugabuzi, Ankole
Magnetite:	2	—	—	Surumbusa, Bugisu
	18	—	—	Namekara, Bugisu
	½	—	—	Nangalwe, Bugisu
	36	—	—	Sukulu, Bukedi

In 1950 a firm of consultants, John Miles and Partners,[20] were appointed by the government to make recommendations on the setting up of an iron and steel industry. Their recommendations were to the effect that such an industry was feasible, and that the demand in the three East African countries was likely to be about 50,000 tons of pig iron a year; but that if the cost of electricity exceeded 5 cents per KWH then the only economic basis for production would depend upon smelting in a blast furnace using charcoal. On the other hand charcoal was unsuitable for the Sukulu iron with a high titanium content. It was possible that the iron industry could be developed in close working association with the cement and fertiliser industries. Later (1951) the same firm produced plans for the production of 33,000 tons of pig iron on the understanding that the Uganda Electricity Board could supply electricity at 2 cents

per KWH so that electric smelting now became feasible. The project, however, was not put into effect since finance was not forthcoming as the East African market was considered to be too small to justify such an investment.

Since then the Steel Corporation of East Africa, a subsidiary of the Madhavani group in association with the U.D.C. has gone ahead with a smaller plant at Jinja with a capacity of 27,000 tons steel a year from scrap metal. The present production is between 16-18,000 tons per year, but the supply of scrap in East Africa is limited to about 20,000 tons. By 1970 it is planned to step up production to 50,000 tons and to make up the deficiency from Sukulu. At present magnetite from the apaptite deposits is being stacked at the rate of 20,000 tons per year and could meet this future need.

Tin

Cassiterite, tin oxide, is found in Uganda in both surface gravels and in veins. The Geological Survey Department first recognised cassiterite in the gravels of the Kafu river and in 1922 A.D. Combe collected samples of cassiterite and rutile from Ngoma hill, Ankole. In 1924 James and Dimitri Kargarotos discovered a mineral which was later identified as cassiterite in a dry valley known later as Grey Tin Creek, at Kyerwa in Karagwe, Tanganyika. In 1925 in association with G. C. Ishmael these two found Uganda's first workable tin deposit at Kyamutarwa, four miles northwest of Kikagati. This was later owned and worked by Ankole Tinfields Ltd. In 1926 East African Trust Ltd. took out an Exclusive Prospecting licence and G. Williams discovered Uganda's most important source of tin at Mwirasandu which was for many years worked by Kagera (U) Tinfields Ltd (later Kagera Mines Ltd).

Production at Mwirasandu[21] commenced in 1927 when 115 tons of ore was sent to Malaya for smelting. Subsequently this mine produced over 60% of Uganda's tin production to date; a total of 5,751 tons valued at £1,300,000. Between 1932 and 1937 it was yielding over 300 tons per year. Operations here were essentially underground, to a maximum depth of 500 feet, but some tin was also won from surface gravels. The end of production here in 1956 was hastened by the death of one European and two Africans from gassing.

Tin fields in Uganda are confined to southwest Ankole and south Kigezi[22]. Mineralization is widespread, but only two mines, Mwirasandu and Burama Ridge have reached the modest depth of 500 feet. The most prolific tin producing areas, Mwirasandu, Namaherere, Burama Ridge, Kaina and Kikagati were all discovered between 1925 and 1930, and there has been only one notable discovery since then. The only mine of any interest working at present is the Rwaminyinya mine near Kisoro in Kigezi where thin veins in a soft sandstone are worked open-cast. Also the first all African mining company, the East African Metal Co, is working the Mwirasandu area for detrital deposits. Detrital tin is formed by the denudation of the vein outcrop whereby the heavier tin minerals and harder rocks such as quartz are left behind as a concentrate near to, and often overlying, the original vein. Such material which is easily worked is found in insufficient quantities to interest a large mining company. In the last three years some three quarters of Uganda's tin exports have been derived from smuggling across the Rwanda border. The tin is sold by holders of Uganda mining titles as Uganda produce, the title holder may retain a few bona fide miners on his title to cover up his illegal activities.

Although, when compared with tin deposits of Cornwall the tin metal content of the Uganda's deposits is low (8 to 10 lbs per ton, as compared with

Cornwall's 25 lbs), it would seem that certain mines still have distinct prospects for a properly organised mining company. A British government team is at present investigating the old deposits and searching for new ones since the world price of tin is now high. The prospect of finding alluvial tin in any large quantity is remote.

Gold

Gold is the most widely spread of any mineral in Uganda. It was the first mineral to be prospected for and was reported from the West Nile as early as 1915, but appreciable production did not begin until 1933. Since then 148,043 ounces, (unrefined) have been extracted; 68% from Ankole, 15% from Kigezi and 16% from Bukedi. Most of this has been won from gravels in shallow swamps and river beds.

The most prolific gold producing area in Uganda has been the Buhwezu plateau in northern Ankole which produced gold valued at over £700,000.[23] In 1937 56 Europeans and 5,468 Africans were engaged in winning gold in Ankole and maximum production of 17,511 oz. was obtained from this district in 1938. Thereafter production gradually tailed off. The Busia area in Bukedi District discovered in 1932 is the only area where gold has been mined from veins. This gold field is an extension of the Kenya Kavirondo gold field.

In some of the swamps and streams in the Impenetrable Forest area of Kigezi such as the Rubuguli swamp and Kabale river and its tributaries, the gold shows very little wear and would appear to have been derived from a a source nearby. This is a strange feature of many Uganda alluvials in that apart from Busia the source of the coarse gold has not been found. The thick soil cover and the reversal of rivers makes the search for the source of gold difficult. Also the gold bearing gravels at the base of the Kigezi swamps may carry an overburden of as much as 60 feet of decaying vegetable matter. After draining some of these swamps are being developed for agricultural purposes.

A few veins with very low grade values have been located in Kigezi[24] and elsewhere, but none have carried visible gold. The only hope for the revival of gold mining lies in the Busia area of Bukedi where further exploratory drilling is at present being carried out by the Geological Survey Department.

Wolfram[25]

Wolfram was first discovered by Ishmael and Kargarotos in Kigezi in 1931, when prospecting for gold. This was found in the Kabale river near the Impenetrable Forest in stream gravels and later the source of the mineral was found further upstream at what became the Mpororo wolfram mine. Exports from here by Boazman and Gee began in 1937 but Uganda exports did not reach 80 tons until 1944. Since then production has fluctuated in accordance with erratic variations in the price of wolfram. To the end of 1965 the value of all wolfram exports totalled £1,564,000. Two operators account for over three quarters of the total tonnage of exports, these are P. Kikkides, the owner of Kirwa and Bahati Mines (though the latter was sold in 1961) and H. Bjordal the owner of Nyamulilo mine. These three mines have yielded 1,775 tons (644 from Kirwa, 280 from Bahati and 851 from Nyamulilo.) Another pioneer wolfram miner is T. Spyropoulos whose Rubiza mine; which has not been as successful as the others, was started in 1942. A small quantity of wolfram (25 tons) has also been produced from Singo county of west Buganda.

Kirwa mine is situated on a hill-top near Kisoro and is in one of Uganda's most scenic regions looking out over the volcanoes of the Virunga range. The mine was worked from surface and the immense benches or steps, of which there are thirty-eight, form an outstanding land mark in this area. Nyamulilo mine near Kabale is amongst other things remarkable for its "floating" road. The road crosses a wide papyrus swamp and the motor track is built up on the branches and bush laid on the papyrus which is then fashioned into a road-bed by the addition of clay. This road gradually subsides into the underlying slime and peat and has to be built up from time to time.

A unique feature of the wolfram miners is the extent to which they have re-invested their profits during the period of high prices. The capital investment in the three main mines exceeds £250,000. At one time 2,380 Africans were employed in Kigezi wolfram mines which provided an important outlet for labour in a poor and heavily populated district.

Wolfram deposits in Kigezi are fairly widespread and some are sizeable, though none have been fully explored. With the exception of Bahati where a quartz vein 3-5 feet thick is worked underground, the mines are worked by surface methods. The ore occurs in numerous parallel quartz veins in black phyllite rock which requires drilling and blasting and yields only about 5 lbs of wolfram per ton,. The quartz veins alone are of a higher grade. The minerals obtained are wolfram and ferberite, both of which are sold under the name "wolfram". Scheelite has also been found at Kitaka lead mine. All these minerals are the source of tungsten which is used as an alloy for cutting and tool steels. Uganda's exports are of a high grade.

The outlook for the industry is uncertain, largely because of the fluctuations in the price of wolfram. After a period in the early 1960's when it was uneconomic to work these mines, the price rose in 1965 and production has recommenced. Given a reasonable price it would seem that Kirwa and Nyamulilo should continue to operate, but it is unlikely that new mines will open since much richer mines exist in other parts of the world; with there being very rich reserves in China and Canada. In Kigezi the wolfram deposits are located in difficult hill country, have a thick soil over-burden, and are in areas with heavy cultivation or forest cover. The U.D.C. have examined Kirwa mine but there seems little or no prospect of increasing the scale of operations.

Diamonds

Diamonds have been found in the Buhwezu area of Ankole.[26] The first recorded diamond was found in a search for gold in 1938 at Kibale, northwest of Marangaro, by H. M. Syndicate and Kenya-Uganda Minerals Ltd. The diamond was ¼ carat in weight and was in gravels. In 1939 a few small diamonds were found in gold alluvials of the Nyabikurungu valley just west of Butale. Work carried out from June, 1955 to January, 1957 by Consolidated of African Selection Trust[27] (a company whose main interest are diamonds in West Africa) did not show any Kimberlite, the source rock of diamonds, and the company came to the conclusion that no economic deposits existed. They found one diamond of .09 carat weight. The source of the diamonds has not been established. They may have been derived from the quartzite rocks in this area or possibly from volcanic craters. It has been suggested that certain of the salt lakes of the Katwe area could overly Kimberlite type pipes. In Tanzania a considerable number of Kimberlite pipes are known but many are unmineralized or uneconomic to work so that the discovery of economic diamond deposits in Uganda

would seem somewhat remote. A diamond company is at present prospecting in northeast Uganda.

Beryl

The mineral beryl is a source of beryllium, a metal. The metal is used in copper alloys and for certain nuclear applications and more recently in space application. Beryl occurs in columnar crystals with hexagonal sections, some crystals weighing as much as a ton have been found. Emerald & beryl have the same composition. The intial discovery by A.D. Combe in 1922 was in coarse granites near Chihungye hot springs on the Kigezi-Ankole border, but most commercial production is from pegmatite bodies. These are irregular, generally lenticular, bodies of coarse-grained quartz, felspar and mica. Very often ores of tantalite, columbite and lithium are associated with beryl. Beryl varies in colour, green, blue, white and yellow are common. If nicely coloured and in good crystals the mineral is easily recognised, otherwise recognition is very difficult. All beryl is recovered from the mines by hand-picking and African workers show a remarkable ability to recognise it even when stained and broken. As well as occurring in pegmatites, beryl occurs in a few tin bearing veins in Ankole. The content in some mine dumps at Mwirasandu is surprisingly high, but is too fine to be recovered by hand-picking.

Most of the beryl mined has been won from Kigezi and Ankole, but some has come from Buganda and occurrences are known in Karamoja. The maximum export of 1,063 tons was obtained in 1962 which represented 11% of the world production. Production had begun as early as 1944 in a very small way. One of the most prolific producers has been the Bulema mine near Kanungu in Kigezi which also produces an unusual mineral, microlite (a high grade ore of tantalite).

From investigations carried out by the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority[28] reserves of up to 90,000 tons beryl are known to exist in Kigezi and Ankole. The largest is at Ishasha beryl mine, eight miles west of Kanungu. Since deposits are so widespread and plentiful it is believed that Uganda's production could be considerably expanded beyond 1,000 tons a year, given a price of about £120 a ton which prevailed in 1962. In recent years prices have been generally sub-economic, but the deposits are well suited to small scale workers whose capital and resources are limited. Mining of the beryl pegmatites at or near the surface, requiring little or no water, and needing no concentration machinery and little labour can be done easily. Hence some beryl is produced even when prices are low. Prices have varied from £20 per ton in 1944 to £203 in 1943 and £85 per ton in 1965; but prices have not been the sole controlling factor in production, as in the earlier years recognition of this mineral in the field was difficult.

Phosphates and fertilisers

Potentially the most valuable mineral assets of Uganda lie in the ancient ring carbonatite volcanic cores of Sukulu and Bukusu in south Bukedi and south Bugisu respectively.[29] The minerals found here are apatite (calcium phosphate), magnetite (iron ore), limestone, pyrochlore (an ore of niobium), zircon, baddeleyite, barytes and vermiculite (a mica). Of these the most important currently are the limestones and apatite.

The larger of these volcanic cores and the first to be worked for its apatite is Bukusu, with a diameter of five miles. The part known as Busumbu has been

worked since about 1939 with the phosphate being railed to Turbo in Kenya for calcination with Magadi soda to produce a soda phosphate fertiliser. It has also been used directly on soils in Uganda after preliminary grinding to reduce the rock to a very fine powder, but due to its low citric-solubility it is valuable in this way only for long term application. Reserves at Busumbu have been estimated at 50 million tons but the material is not suitable for conversion to a super-phosphate by the sulphuric acid process due to a high alumina and iron content. Production at Busumbu has now ceased.

The Sukulu deposit lies southwest of Tororo.[30] Here there are reserves estimated at 202-million tons of soil in three valleys. The soil is estimated to contain 30% apatite (13% $P^2 O^5$.) Exports of raw apatite from these reserves have been considered but the long rail haul renders this uneconomic. Instead the manufacture of superphosphates on the spot has been realised by the importation of sulphur and the local manufacture of sulphuric acid required for the conversion process. In future it may be possible to use sulphur from pyrites at present discarded at Kilembe to replace the imported sulphur.

Phosphates also occur at the smaller carbonatite centre at Tororo. The volcanic area of Bufumbira in south Kigezi contains leucite, which in Italy and elsewhere has been used as a source of potassium salts for certain fertilisers.

Thus it is evident that Uganda has adequate reserves to sustain a fertiliser industry, and this is being developed on a large scale. Tororo Industrial Chemicals and Fertilisers Ltd produced 23,849 tons of single superphosphate in 1965, and this is expected to increase to 35,000 tons in the near future. At present most is exported to Kenya, but Uganda is a large potential market itself. Exports are valued at over £250,000 a year. By the Kampala Agreement the phosphate industry was allocated to Uganda, and Tororo Industrial and Chemical and Fertilisers Ltd plan to expand production to 100,000 tons per annum.

Limestone

Although commonly regarded as a rock or stone, for the purposes of the Uganda mining laws limestone is considered a mineral. Limestone occurs in the Sukulu and Tororo hills with reserves of 27 million tons; at Hima, ten miles northeast of Kasese with 23 million tons in reserve; at Muhokya, six miles miles southwest of Kasese ($\frac{1}{4}$ million tons) and at the Dura river sixteen miles east of Kasese (2 million tons).[31] The first of these deposits are carbonatities of volcanic origin, whereas the others are secondary; that is to say they are derived from lime leached from calcareous volcanic tuffs and from springs carrying calcium. Marble, a metamorphosed limestone occurs in Karamoja and could be used as a decorative building stone, as also could the Dura river limestone, where a variety, satin-spar, is not uncommon.

The earliest known use of the limestone was by the Public Works Department, but large scale commercial use did not really get underway until the construction of the cement works at Tororo in 1953. The presence of phosphates and iron oxides at Tororo present difficulties and from 1956-1958 Dura river limestone was added but this was found to contain too much iron. In 1965 the Uganda Cement Industries Ltd quarried 194,285 tons of limestone of which 160,513 tons were for cement; 18,816 for the manufacture of lime; and 14,956 tons for road and building aggregate. Thus after Kilembe, the U.C.I. is Uganda's largest mining operator. The U.C.I. is currently planning to set up a second cement plant at Kasese. Local limestone would be trucked or railed to

the factory. Drilling operations have already been carried out to find suitable limestones deposits.

Copper

The first recorded discovery of copper in Uganda was by the Duke of Abruzzi's Ruwenzori expedition[32] in 1906 when copper was found on the high peaks of Mts. Stanley and Baker. There Professor A. Rocatti found copper with twenty other minerals. E. J. Wayland later found evidences in the general area of Kilembe, but the main deposit at Kilembe was not discovered until 1927 by D. Magee who worked for Tanganyika Concession Ltd. This company had a prospecting licence over 9,360 square miles in 1926. Trenching was commenced on the north side of Nyalusige stream; a further deposit was found on the south side in 1928 and underground exploration commenced. Surface and underground exploration continued till 1933 with a license then over only 200 square miles. Ore reserves in 1934 were estimated at 1,000,000 tons, with a copper content of 45,000 tons. As already seen, little work was done in the late 1930s but it should be noted that the area was then still very isolated. The road from Mbarara to Fort Portal, for instance had only been built in 1932. With the advent of low copper prices and the war in 1939 the company abandoned work in the area. Subsequently an area of 155 square miles around Kilembe was closed by the government to keep the deposit an entity until a major mining company could be found to develop the deposit.

Interest was revived in 1942 by Mr. Alderson, a Canadian, who had developed the Macalder copper and gold mine in Kenya. Mr. Alderson managed to interest Frobisher Ltd, a large Canadian base metal mining company, and they were subsequently joined by Rio Tinto Ltd, a British Company. Preliminary investigations were carried out in 1946 and 1947. It was decided that the deposit warranted exploration, and diamond drilling was started in mid 1948. Underground work started in 1949 and continued to 1951 when over 10,500,000 tons of proved and probable ore had been discovered with an additional 4,000,000 tons of possible ore with an overall grade of 2% copper.

It was recommended in December 1951 that the railway be extended from Mityana to Kasese (the extension Kampala-Mityana having been previously approved) and in early 1953 the Legislative Council approved the recommendation. Plans were formulated to build a power line from Jinja so that the copper could be smelted at Kilembe. By 1952 the estimated cost of the copper development scheme rose to £8,000,000 and Rio Tinto withdrew. A cheaper scheme involving smelting at Jinja was drawn up in conjunction with the U.D.C. and the C.D.C. and mine construction commenced in 1954, aimed at producing 7,500 tons of copper and 800,000 lbs. of cobalt per year. Production of copper commenced by the end of 1956. Subsequently the Frobisher interests were taken over by Falconbridge Nickel Mines Ltd of Canada who now own just over 75% of the Kilembe company.

By 1956 the price of cobalt became uneconomic and the copper production had to be expanded to make up the deficit. This has enabled the copper production to rise to 18,000 tons in 1964. Since 1946 the total capital expenditure has been nearly £11,000,000. From the start of production till the end of 1963 the company received £229 per ton of copper, which was about the price on the London Metal Exchange. Profits during this period were meagre, but by 1965 the price rose to £522 per ton. Loans were paid off in 1964 and substantial profits were paid to shareholders in 1965. The cost per ton of copper produced at

Kilembe (1965) was £173, to which must be added £44 ocean freight and refining charges and £26 royalties, to raise the price delivered to buyers to £243, which would compare with an average of £224 for Zambian copper. There is now a 40% Uganda tax upon copper sold in excess of £400 per ton.

The mine is now firmly established and the only point causing anxiety is the failure to prove further large reserves. Ore reserves at the end of 1965 were 6,500,000 tons of grade 2% copper, sufficient for only 6 or 7 years working. Ore already mined has totalled 7,600,000 tons. Extensive prospecting has been carried out in Uganda and although new deposits have not been found so far, the chances of a new discovery in the belt of Toro rocks through Toro, Bunyoro and Buganda appear reasonable.

The labour force at Kilembe in 1965 numbered over 4,500 and a further 350 are employed at the Jinja smelter. It is evident that Kilembe is of great value to the economy of the country, but the history of the deposit shows very clearly the high risk involved in bringing a low grade mine into production in an isolated area. The establishment of the mine has depended upon many far-sighted people who have promoted investment in the area and by the government's willingness to forego taxes and royalties until such time as the prosperity of the mine was assured.

Other Minerals

Lead has been mined at Kitaka mine in Toro, near the Ankole border. It contains 3-5 ounces of silver per ton of ore. Production reached a peak of 200 tons of galena in 1959, but nothing has been sold since.

Tantalite and Columbite have been mined on a small scale in southwest Uganda and Buganda, often in association with beryl.

Pyrochlore (an ore of columbium) exists at Sukulu, and production will doubtless take place, but at present world needs are met from the Oka carbonatite volcano in Quebec and other sources.

Bismuth has been mined in Kigezi, where it is associated with gold.[33]

Amblygonite (a source of lithium) has been produced from Ankole and Kigezi

Asbestos has been exploited in Karamoja on a very small scale and interest has recently revived, but the asbestos is of a type known as anthophyllite and is of only limited commercial use. At present the asbestos factory at Tororo imports its material from Canada (earlier from Rhodesia) and from Kenya. Probably a certain amount of local material could be used if it could be supplied in an unweathered condition.

Mica has also been produced in small quantities in Karamoja. In the past significant quantities were sold in 1944 and 1945 but almost nothing has been sold since 1953.

Vermiculite is known to occur at Bukusu. This is a mica which exfoliates on heating to a number of times its original size. Its chief use is as an insulator and for lightweight plasters. An increasing world demand is evident and it may be exploited in the near future.

Graphite deposits in Karamoja have been tested in the past and extensive new deposits are still being investigated.

Various other minerals are known to occur in Uganda. *Pyritic* concentrates accumulate at Kilembe at the rate of nearly 70,000 tons a year and may be made to yield *cobalt* and *sulphur* at some future date.

Oil

Oil indications are found at numerous points around the shores of Lake Albert from seepages on both the Congo and Uganda shores.[34] The Geological Survey has carried out gravity measurements which show a marked negative anomaly over Lakes Albert and Edward. These observations have been taken to indicate that the rift valley is here filled with sediments to a maximum thickness of 6-8,000 feet.

The oil seepages around Lake Albert were known to the Banyoro long ago, since Roscoe[35] mentions that they used the oil in rainmaking ceremonies. The first commercial interest in oil was taken by W. Brittlebank who obtained an option over a small area around a seepage in 1913 and later took out a licence for 625 square miles. In 1919 he tried to sell this back to the government for £200 but was turned down. The option expired in 1922 with no work being done.

Various options were subsequently taken out, but no drilling was done until 1936 when the African and European Investment Co[36] of Johannesburg secured a licence over 1384 square miles. (Later increased to 2,475 square miles). At Waki, near Butiaba a hole was drilled to 4,008 feet, and although oil shale were encountered there was no free oil. Other holes were drilled from Kibiro to 2,245 feet and 870 feet but again without success. In 1947 the Geological Survey drilled to 1,960 feet at the southwest end of the lake, but still no oil was found and operations were suspended in 1951. In 1963 an American company entered into preliminary negotiations with the Uganda Government and declared a willingness to spend 4,000,000 dollars searching for oil, but the negotiations were unsuccessful.

As the sediments of the Lake Albert region occur over a length of 160 miles it is evident that only a very small part has been tested. The area beneath the lake has not been examined at all, and the deepest drilling has only gone to 4,000 feet whereas the maximum thickness of the sediments is 8,000 feet. It can be seen that the possibility of a commercial oil field in Uganda cannot be ruled out entirely. The discovery of commercial oil would have an immense impact on the economy as in 1965 petrol valued at £2,500,000 million was imported.

NOTES

1. Mwirasandu being worked by Kagera (U) Tinfields Ltd. and Kikagati by Ankole Tinfields Ltd. Tin was discovered at Muti, also in Ankole, by Tanganyika Concessions Ltd.
2. This company was a subsidiary of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co Ltd. It discontinued negotiations in 1929.
3. The Naniankopo deposits were investigated by the Central African Exploration Co., a subsidiary of Dutch Billiton Co. which operated in Java. This company had acquired concessions in outlying parts parts of Ankole from Kagera Tinfields, Ankole Tinfields and Kargarotos-Ishmael and carried out an extensive search for alluvial tin deposits.
4. H. Boazman had been a member of the Uganda Survey Department 1903-1913 as had A.H. Gee from 1907-1913.
5. The H. M. Syndicate consisted of H. H. Hunter and M. Moses both well known figures in Uganda. Hunter, an advocate, was known as the 'father' of the Uganda Legislative Council. Moses was a businessman who first entered Uganda Government service at Masindi in 1896 having walked from Mombasa.
6. This production from Budama was mainly from laterite and quartz veins and was worked by the Tanani Gold Mining Syndicate Ltd. who transferred their titles later to the Borderland Syndicate Ltd.
7. The U. K. Ministry of Supply had contracted to purchase wolfram from Uganda at a guaranteed price of Shs. 250/- per unit for a five year period from 1952. By September

1957 when this contract ran out the open market price had fallen to Shs. 170/- at which level it was uneconomic to produce in Uganda and the U.K. government did not renew the agreement.

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THE IK: ALIAS THE TEUSO

By C. M. TURNBULL

Wayland's brief mention of the Teuso, in his article on the tribes of northern Karamoja, describes them as mountain hunters. Dr. Gulliver, while engaged on work among the Turkana, came across them and reported them as having a few fields at the foot of the escarpment, but as still being primarily hunters. More recently still Elizabeth Marshall, while living among the Dodos, reported on the Tueso as still being hunters; though in addition to their agricultural activities, as a side-line, she reported their role as spies, working in this way to facilitate raids between the Turkana and Dodos. It was, then, in the expectation of finding a group of hunters that I set out for northern Karamoja in 1965, little over thirty years after Wayland's report, barely two years after Elizabeth Marshall Thomas was living among the neighbouring Dodos. At the moment of writing I have only just returned from the field, and as yet do not have access to my field notes. None the less it seems an appropriate moment to bring our knowledge of the Teuso up to date, and to take note of the changes that have taken place since Wayland first came across them thirty-five years ago.[1]

The first thing should be to clear up the question of tribal name, for Teuso is only the name applied to their neighbours by the Dodos, from whom the term has spread and gained wider usage. The people refer to themselves as Ik They speak a language that is quite definitely not Sudanic, as previously tentatively classified. Professor Tucker believes it to be closer to Cushitic, though some may see similarities with Khoisan languages. In both grammar and vocabulary there are similarities with Tepes, though the Ik form seems earlier. The vocabulary draws widely from the languages of all the neighbouring tribes, and many of the words in Wayland's word list are in fact not Ik at all. It is not always easy to discern which are foreign introductions, though the Ik habitually prefix most Karimojong nouns with the syllable *nia-*. This also helps to identify fauna and flora with which the Ik are not traditionally familiar, so giving a clearer picture of their original habitat than can be had by observing them as they are today, confined to the northeastern corner of Uganda.

The Ik regard all the neighbouring pastoral tribes with some contempt, but feel a kindred spirit to exist between themselves and the Napore and Niangea, to the west, and the Tepes to the south, referring to all, like themselves, as *kwarikik*, or "mountain people." Their concept of themselves as a mountain people is vital to their sense of identity, and is today one of the few factors that hold them together as a tribe, for economic pressures threaten to shatter what little is left of Ik tribal organization. At the same time, however, it is the Ik attachment to their mountains that prevents the administration from relocating them, as they would like to, in an area where their farming activities can reap a richer reward and where, at the same time, there will be neither need nor opportunity for them to intrigue and instigate tribal raids between the pastoral peoples.

The Ik number about 1300 as far as I can tell at the moment, and are divided among a dozen or so villages strung out along the escarpment above Turkanaland, northwards from Kaabong, and over to the slopes of Mount Morungole, overlooking the northeastern corner of the Kidepo National Park. The number of villages fluctuates, however, having been fourteen at the beginning of my work in 1965, dropping to nine, and then rising to twelve by the end of 1966. It is customary for a village to last about two years, after which it is abandoned partly because of the activity of termites, and partly because in any case the Ik have to move fairly frequently so as to be close to their fields, which cover wide areas and are likewise only farmed for two years or so at a time, then being allowed to lie fallow for about four years.

The fact is that at the moment the Ik must be considered more as cultivators than hunters, though in famine years, which seem to occur about one year in every four, they revert to hunting and gathering. Hunting is outlawed in the Kidepo Park, and the Ik are also forbidden to venture into Kenya or Sudan, which both enclose parts of the territory they traditionally hunted. Hunting, then, is restricted to what they can safely do, illegally, and a small amount in areas that are not prohibited to them. Gathering, however, remains as an important source of food. In good years it helps tide over the period when the granaries are running low and the crops are not yet ripe for picking, and in bad years the gathering of wild fruits, roots and vegetables is the major protection the Ik have from death by starvation. At such times they supplement their gathering activities by acting as spies for neighbouring tribes, and also by making spear blades for them, being paid in meat, milk and blood. Smithing has become a thriving business for the Ik since the administration has taken to confiscating and forbidding the carrying of spears among the Karimojong.

The villages of the Ik take their names from some natural feature in the locality: a river, hill, or tree, or from some characteristic such as being "in the clouds." Villages do not correspond to clan groupings, even the smallest tends to be bilateral in composition. The village headman is neither elected nor appointed, he merely assumes the role of arbitrator and spokesman due to his own prominence and ability. As his interest or ability wane, another gradually supercedes him. No status accompanies the position, no privileges, and no specific responsibility. The usual comment about a headman, as to why he is headman, is that "he likes talking." The headman is technically responsible to the Mkungu, or Chief of the Ik, an office held and relinquished in much the same way. The Mkungu, however, has more definite responsibilities, being answerable to the local administration for all matters pertaining to the Ik. None the less, his authority among the Ik is absolutely nil, his influence is minimal and only extends so far as the Ik can see any advantage to be gained for themselves from it. In Ik eyes the Mkungu, no more than the village headman, deserves no special respect and is accorded no special status by virtue of his office.

The organizational nature of the village can be discerned most immediately and vividly through an awareness of its physical nature. Here one can immediately detect a radical change from the days of Wayland; even the house-type having changed to something much closer to the Karimojong style of house than to the Ndorobo grass beehive-hut. I only found one village of the old kind, and it was an illegal village of run-aways who defied the local authority and left the Morungole region, crossing over to the border of the Sudan, near Mount Zulia. There they built an extremely inaccessible village in a hidden

valley where they could hunt and gather at will. However, for the moment we are more concerned with the present-day village, to which this one traditional example was the sole exception.[2]

Each village tends to be situated on or near a high prominence from which clear views can be had of the approaches and of the valleys far below. This is important to the Ik not only for defence, but perhaps even more for increasing their efficiency as spies. Not to be dismissed, however, is the fact that the Ik seem simply to like heights and distant views, and to derive a real emotional satisfaction from their mountain habitat, becoming morose or truculent when in the foothills or the plains for any length of time. Unlike the traditional village, which was pretty open and undivided, internally, the present-day Ik village is almost as heavily stockaded internally, if not more so, than it is on the outside. The extent of the outer stockade depends largely on the circumstance of the moment. If that particular village possesses any cattle it will automatically, itself, be subject to raids, and must consequently defend itself heavily, enclosing both village and boma within a heavy wooden stockade up to eight feet in height. When a village is being built, large piles of thorn bush are dragged around the village to afford the minimal protection required against marauding leopards or hyena, but as soon as possible a more efficient outer stockade will be erected. Before this is done, however, it is more likely that each family will see to its own internal defences. A nuclear family builds its compound co-operatively, with no specific division of labour except that generally women cut the grass and men do the thatching. It is not uncommon, however, to see a man and wife working together on the thatch or, indeed, on any other part of the house during its construction. This does not, unhappily, reflect any distinctive pattern of conjugal harmony, but rather a recognition of the practical necessity for co-operation, on occasions. The earlier hunting economy of the Ik must have demanded much closer co-operation, and something of its nature is discernible in the bilateral village composition. Today, however, circumstances are driving the Ik more and more to act as individuals, to the extent that the village as a social unit has virtually ceased to exist; it is merely a collection of nuclear families who have fields in the vicinity and who feel a need to come together at night for purposes of defence.

Even while the house is going up, the family builds the stockade that will surround the compound. Roughly circular, there may be a screen dividing the compound in two, the house being in one section, the granary in another. The houses are circular reed walls rising only two or three feet from the ground, surmounted by a conical roof thatched with grass, resting on a number of forked roof poles built into the walls. More rarely the Ik build as the Napore do, resting the roof on a ring of roof poles that lies outside the walls, and rises higher, so that the roof clears the top of the wall by eight inches or so, making it much easier to prevent termite damage and also allowing for better ventilation and light. None of these are considerations, though, that much bother the Ik and they are content with their small dark huts that quickly become infested with termites and cockroaches, just as their sleeping skins become infested with lice. The Ik are much more concerned about securing privacy within the family compound, and the surrounding stockade is frequently tight enough to prevent easy vision, and it is always stout enough to discourage intruders. The internal stockades may be six or seven feet high, and the one entrance door into each compound can be as low as two feet so that access can only be had with difficulty, giving plenty of time for those inside the compound to despatch their

visitor if he is unwelcome. Sometimes particularly anti-social Ik build a double stockade resulting in a corridor leading to their compound through two gates. The floor of the corridor is strewn with dried leaves and branches, acting as an effective alarm. An intruder trapped in such a corridor would have no chance of escape. First, however, he would have to pentrate the outer defences, and each outer stockade may have only three or four low gates, sometimes only one or two, and these likewise are sometimes booby-trapped. On passing through an outer gate one is in an ambulatory that may run all the way around the village, with or without dividing walls, or may in places join the compound stockades so that in order to gain admission to the next section of the village one has to go outside and enter by another gate. The rather surprising thing is that there is no centre to an Ik village. From the ambulatory one merely has the choice of entering any single private compound; there is no central point or meeting place inside the village. Indeed there is no point in having one, for the Ik village has become a place where the Ik merely sleep and store their grain, and perform a minimum amount of cooking and food preparation.

Outside each village there are usually one or two sitting places, sometimes one for the men and one for the women, where people like to sit and while away the time in discussion, or doze in the hot sun, and where the men in particular do a number of their chores such as making stools and neckrests, fashioning knives and spears, bows and arrows. It is here that the rare communal feasts take place. If there is a centre to village life it is here, and, typical of the Ik, it is decidedly off-centre.

At these sitting places, or *di*, Ik from different villages meet. It is most exceptional for anyone, even from the same village, to visit the compound of another, though when an opportunity presents itself as many people as possible will crowd into someone's sanctuary to satisfy their curiosity. When a little wicker door is lowered over the gate, however, it is a sign that whether anyone is at home or not, visitors are more unwelcome than usual, and the desire for privacy is generally respected. The *di* is where people meet, at random or by assignment, whether they be from the same village or villages several days' walk apart. Yet it is not the place for settling disputes. When a dispute arises within a village, each disputant will appear at his compound gate in the early morning or late evening, and hurl accusations at each other, for all to hear. It is at times like this that the headman may intervene, coming to his own gate and adding his own comments. If villages are within earshot, then inter-village disputes are aired in the same way. If not, the offended party will visit the other's village, staying with a friend there and shouting his case from his friend's gate. There is no recognized means for settling any disputes other than by mutual reconciliation. Some disputes smoulder on for months, and it is under such circumstances that the ambulatory around a village may become barricaded to prevent access from one section to the other. Inner stockades may also be strengthened, more as a gesture than out of any necessity. The Ik village becomes even more like a fortress.

Despite the unfriendly appearance and structure of Ik villages, and the obvious readiness of the Ik themselves for battle, the people are not in the least aggressive or hostile towards neighbouring tribes. There is, if anything, more aggression within the tribe. Neighbours exist, as the Ik see it, to be used as a supplementary source of food. The Ik legend of origin clearly forbids them to fight and kill. It is remarkably similar to the Ndorobo[3] legends telling how God created the herders, letting cattle down from heaven by a rope and giving the

cattle, together with spears, to one group of people, while to the others he gave no cattle and no spears, only the digging stick and the injuncton never to kill.

True to the injuctions of God (*Didigwari*), the Ik claim that from that day onwards they have hunted and gathered and have never fought and killed, until recent events have compelled them to take up agriculture. It is quite plain, however, that although agriculture in its strict sense is a recent innovation, the Ik have for a long time practiced an advanced form of vegeculture, and this practice serves them in particularly good stead these days when their economy is at its most marginal. Ik knowledge of the local flora, particularly on Morungole, is not exhaustive and this and other factors indicate that the original home of the Ik stretched much further afield, and that Morungole was only at one extreme.

Gathering is done largely but not exculsively by the women, who set out in small groups if they have to go far afield, otherwise individually. If in groups they are usually accompanied by one of the older men for protection against wild animals. On such expeditions, which often last for several days or a week, the women will transplant wild plants from one region to another, and will take care not to exhaust any given area. Men may do the same thing on their hunting trips, which are always exclusively male; women only join the men on a hunt in order to carry meat, if there is much of it, back to the village. Formerly, camps of grass huts were built as the necessities of the hunting-and-gathering economy dictated; today the more permanent villages and the severe restrictions on hunting have meant that the women are in effect totally excluded, even from the spoils of the hunt. Men set off in parties of from five to ten, and may be away for anything from a day at a time to several weeks. In nearly all instances the game killed is eaten away from the village, in hidden valleys where the ever watchful game wardens will not be able to spot a tell-tale whisp of smoke. If meat is brought back to the village at all, for trade, it is done under cover of darkness and men will even try to conceal it from their wives. The net hunt, which seems to be modelled after the Acholi style of hunt, has been abandoned as being too conspicuous, and the Ik have reverted to what must be the earlier method in which a half dozen men or so round up some game and drive it towards a narrow gorge in which others are waiting to make the kill with spears. Bows and arrows (unpoisoned) are used mainly for birds and arboreal animals. The quivers are fixed to sticks with iron points that can be driven into the ground so that the quiver stands ready for instant use.

Undoutedly their former hunting pattern required migration over a very much larger tract of land than the Ik now occupy, stretching well into both the Sudan and Kenya. Administrative problems have forced the Ik into a tiny corner of what they consider as "their territory and with the establishment of the Kidepo Valley as a national park hunting and gathering ceased to be adequate for anything more than an emergency and supplementary economy. The Ik became vigorous and enthusiastic farmers. Their very vigour and enthusiasm, would seem to indicate that they have known some form of cultivation for a considerable time, certainly antedating administrative efforts to introduce agriculture in the region.

The Ik plant the most precipitous hillsides, largely those facing east or west, since in this way they can secure the maximum degree of shade for their crops which inevitably suffer from both lack of water and an excessive strong sunlight.

They plant a wide variety of crops including both bullrush and finger millet, sorghum, corn, and pumpkins. Each man will certainly have more than one field; two per wife seems to be an average. These are strategically and widely placed so as to have a chance of success in one field if not another. Some of the fields slope to an extent of seventy degrees; others are nearly flat. Some are up in the heights of the mountain range, and the same man with a field there may have another down in Kidepo Valley (illegal), or below the escarpment in Turkanaland (also illegal). If all goes well the planting is done in February/March, and the harvest begins in June and continues until November.

Even in the best of years it appears that the returns are barely sufficient, and the Ik habitually rely on various other forms of food-getting. Primarily they do this by living as parasites on the neighbouring herding tribes, whom they regard with a certain amount of contempt, as a regrettable necessity. They unhesitatingly accept the inferior role and status accorded them by the herders, and from this vantage point proceed to "eat" their hosts. The services they perform in return for food are minimal, but the herders consider the Ik as particularly skilled in two fields—witchcraft and iron-working, and pay highly for service in either of these capacities. The Ik go further and make good use of the fact they have similar relations with a number of different herding tribes, most of whom are antagonistic to each other.

In time of drought, when the Ik are at starvation level, the herders are also in desperate straits, though not to the same extent. Cattle die, and the great need is to replenish the dwindling herd, something most simply done by raiding. The Ik, in such times, do a lively business as spies and guides, organizing raids for their divers patrons, frequently doing a double deal by selling information concerning the raid to the proposed victims. The tribes involved are primarily the Dodos, Turkana, and Jie; the Didinga and Topos. The raids lead to killings, and create ugly incidents that in a sense are international, involving Kenya and Sudan as well as Uganda. The Ik, then, are very much an administrative headache, for as far as they are concerned this is merely a part of their economy, without which even more of them would starve, as some do, to death. Yet they reject any attempt on the part of the administraton to coax them away from their mountain refuge to an area where their farming might meet with more success and where, at the same time, they would be less able to intrigue.

Any study of the Ik today is a study of a society under the severest stress, and that is its value. It probably has little bearing on the traditonal structure of Ik society, though there are indications that their economy has been marginal for some time. The degree of social disintegration under present circumstances is quite exceptional. Even the nuclear family ceases to have much validity as a a social unit, and only exists as a corporate group for purposes of shelter. From the age of three onwards, children are expected to get their own food, and if they do not, when times are hard, they are simply left to die. The same applies to old peoole, who are considered to have no use, being unable to produce either food or children. While there is death by starvation or thirst at each extreme, the centre, the breeding group, remains relatively healthy and even, at times, plump. There is no thought that there is any obligation even within the family, and a husky youth, if he has any sense, snatches food from the hands of his aged father whenever he gets the chance. Older people, most of whom died during my last few months among the Ik, told me that they remembered that as children they had always been able to expect food from their parents, but they were not so sure that they had ever reciprocated. Most of them seemed inclined to accept

that the natural thing is to let old people die if they can no longer take care of themselves. "That is their concern" is the comment from both old and young, and an old man or woman who has a morsel of food snatched away will show no resentment, only a mild frustration.

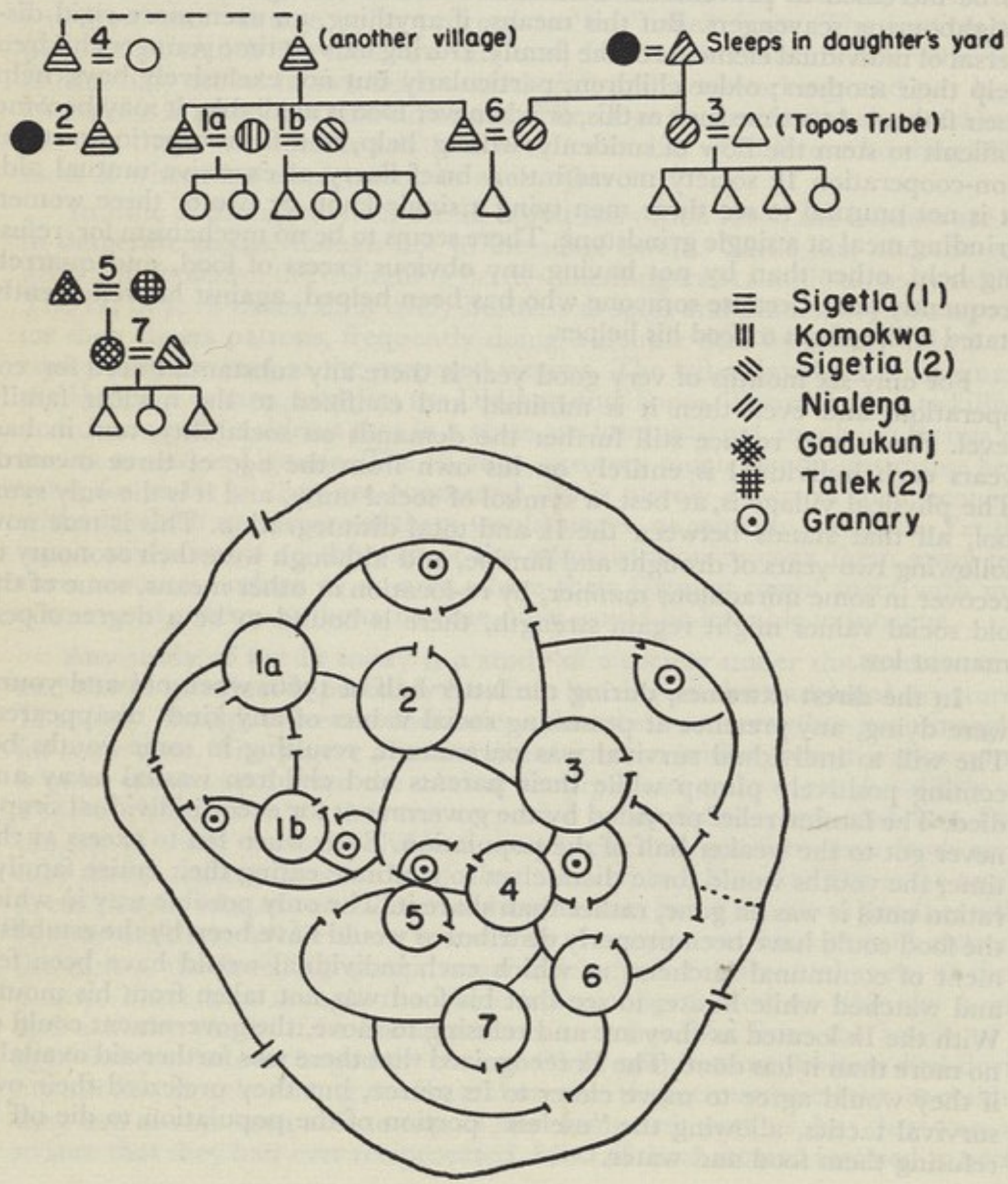
Early each morning the village, in a sense, explodes. Families that have gathered together in the same compounds for the night break up. every individual going his own way. If there is work to be done in the fields, since a nuclear family is likely to possess anything from two to six or even eight fields, the family in any case becomes dispersed. Children generally are left to keep guard against birds and animals, and scavenge for their own food as they do so, not infrequently abandoning the fields for many hours at a time. A husband and wife may work together in the same field, but as often as not they are apart, and again each adult scavenges for his own food. As crops ripen, vigilance has to be increased to prevent the field itself from becoming a source of food to neighbouring scavengers. But this means, if anything, an even more rigid dispersal of individual elements of the family. During harvest time younger children help their mothers; older children, particularly but not exclusively boys, help their fathers. At a time such as this, or whenever food is available, it may become difficult to stem the flow of suddenly willing help, and from a period of total non-cooperation Ik society moves into a brief flurry of excessive mutual aid. It is not unusual to see three men tying a single knot, or two or three women grinding meal at a single grindstone. There seems to be no mechanism for refusing help, other than by not having any obvious excess of food, and quarrels frequently arise because someone who has been helped, against his vehemently stated will, refuses to feed his helper.

For only six months of very good year is there any substantial need for cooperation, and even then it is minimal and confined to the nuclear family level. Poor years reduce still further the demands on sociability, and in bad years each individual is entirely on his own from the age of three ownards The physical village is, at best, a symbol of social unity, and it is the only symbol, all that stands between the Ik and total disintegration. This is true now following two years of drought and famine, and although were their economy to recover in some miraculous manner, by re-location or other means, some of the old social values might regain strength, there is bound to be a degree of permanent loss.

In the direst extremes, during the latter half of 1966, when old and young were dying, any pretence at possessing social values of any kind disappeared. The will to individual survival was paramount, resulting in some youths becoming positively plump while their parents and children wasted away and died. The famine relief provided by the government for every individual simply never got to the weaker half of the population. Even when fed to excess at this time, the youths would force themselves to continue eating their entire family's ration until it was all gone, rather than share it. The only possible way in which the food could have been properly distributed would have been by the establishment of communal kitchens, at which each individual would have been fed, and watched while he ate, to see that his food was not taken from his mouth. With the Ik located as they are and refusing to move, the government could do no more than it has done. The Ik recognized that there was further aid available if they would agree to move closer to its source, but they preferred their own survival tactics, allowing the "useless" portion of the population to die off by refusing them food and water.

Social disintegration has gone to the limit, yet the Ik are still a society, and not without their own peculiar form of organization. Whatever one may think of the method, one has to admit that it has enabled them to survive. In fact, the system seems so well established that this alone may be evidence for supposing that present conditions are merely an aggravated form of conditions they have been used to for a long time. My own suspicion is that Ik behaviour in good years would be very different, and that many latent social values, disadvantageous in bad years, would re-emerge. There is urgent need for such a study, for at the present rate the Ik are not likely to survive much longer.

Appendix



Village diagram

This village is typical of the smaller Ik villages. The eight houses represent four different clans in the male line (counting the two divisions of Sigetia as two separate clans, for inter-marriage is possible), and four different clans in the female line, with the membership of two of the women unknown. When questioned, women invariably give the clan membership of their husband, and at times seem genuinely unable to recall their own patrilineally inherited clan membership.

As will be seen, there is no access direct from any one compound to any other, with the exception of the small children's gate that connects compounds 3 and 6, belonging to two sisters. However a dispute between the same compounds led to the man and his wife, from compound 6, erecting a stockade across from their own stockade to the outer stockade. This meant that adult visitations could only be made by making the complete circuit of the corridor. The children's door remained open.

Occasionally in such villages doors will be made between friendly compounds, providing direct access, but these do not necessarily follow kinship lines.

The numerical order represents the order in which the houses were erected; it was nine days between the digging of the post-holes for number 1a and the digging of the post-holes for number 7.

NOTES

1. Prior to the study of the Ik by the present author the fullest account of these people had been that of E. J. Wayland, Preliminary studies of the tribes of Karamoja, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* **61**, 1931, pp.187-230, of which pp.212-218 concern the Ik. In this account they are referred to as the Wanderobo, but there is no especial reason to associate them with the Wanderobo of Kenya. Even in Wayland's time the Ik had some agricultural interests for he refers to them as the main suppliers of tobacco in Karamoja, and to their cultivation of some amounts of sim-sim, maize and millet. Shortly after Wayland, the Ik were described in Seligman's *Pagan tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.365, where there is a single paragraph based upon information supplied from J. H. Driberg. This brief account mainly concerns those in the Sudan, but reference is made to their presence in Uganda. In Seligman the Ik are referred to as the Teuth, "short but not pygmy, rather light-skinned, nomad hunters, very secretive and shy." Subsequently the Ik were described, as Teuso, in P. and P. H. Gulliver, *The central Nilo-Hamites*, Ethnographic Survey of East Central Africa, No.7, 1953, pp.97-99. This account is also critical in some respects of the observations of Wayland. There are also some references to the Ik in E. M. Thomas' *Warrior herdsmen*, 1965, where they are called Teutho "the hunters and gatherers who lived in the woods" p.201. (Eds.)
2. The traditional village is described in Wayland, *op. cit.* p.213, and he also gives an illustration of an Ik hut. "The Wanderobo village (*chewe*).... has an inner and an outer stockade, added to which every hut (*ho, yakai*)) within the village is itself stockaded.....Within the village the huts are grouped in twos or threes so as to communicate by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze. The huts are very small, but some of them have two storeys, the lower for habitation and the upper, which opens at the side, for storing grain and property; they are built of grass, and in some cases the entrance has a little portico.....a semi-circular drain protects the village from run-off during the rains."
3. Some Ik know the term "Ndorobo," and know of people called "Wandorobo," and consider them as an extension of the Ik. Such people, generally the older men, will claim that the Ik themselves are "Wandorobo." Younger men, however, often have no such knowledge of of groups of people calling themselves by this name, yet respond with readiness to a question asking if they have heard of the "Ndorobo." They reply by restating the name, but as a question, for *ndo-rob* in the Ik language means "which people?"; and the final "o" could be taken as an ablative suffix meaning "from where?" The question thus phrased is taken by those who do not know the use of the term as a tribal name to be somewhat akin to our "Do you know what-you-may-call-it?" And their reply, using the same word, is a way of saying "who exactly do you mean?"

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THE DECLINE OF IMMIGRANT INFLUENCE ON THE UGANDA ADMINISTRATION 1945-52.

By G. F. ENGHOLM

Introduction.

This article is concerned with bringing to light a neglected feature of recent Ugandan history, namely the changing role of Asian and European non-officials as advisers to the Protectorate Government during the period 1945-52. This neglect is surprising when the prominent position of the non-official immigrant community in the decision-making processes of Government up to 1939 is recalled. It is true that there was little to suggest the extent of this influence in the formal details of the constitutional documents of the time, which merely confirmed that the Government of Uganda rested securely in the hands of colonial service officials who monopolised the Executive Council and held a majority of seats on the Legislative Council. In practice, however, European and Asian immigrants played a far more positive role than their numerical strength on certain advisory organs of Government suggest and this is demonstrated by the appearance, between the two world wars, of a rough and ready division of labour in the field of legislsation which had come to mark the relationship of officials and immigrants. Matters concerning native administration fell exclusively within the competence of the Protectorate Government; matters concerning trade and commerce were (usually) considered the special province of the immigrants. An intermediate range of topics, including the provision of infrastructural features such as roads and railways, gave rise to much bargaining, characteristically marked by an absence of widespread publicity. In more specific terms, the power and influence of the immigrants made themselves felt in the following ways: through organised pressure groups such as the Uganda Chamber of Commerce and the Uganda Cotton Association and the powerful economic interests these associations represented; through nomination by Government onto boards and committees covering the major aspects of economic and social activity; through direct representation on the Legislative Council (the membership being drawn exclusively from the major pressure groups); through the effective use of the device of the Select Committee within the Council; and by utilizing the opportunties of influence arising (after 1935) from membership of the Standing Finance Committee.

These institutional arrangements, which provided for a close collaboration between officials and non-officials, take on an added significance against the background of Uganda's economic structure. In the cotton industry, the mainspring of Uganda's economy, the free enterprise dynamism of the early years had, by the late 'thirties, been superseded by cartel arrangements among the cotton ginners; a process aided and abetted by the colonial administrators whose attitudes at the time were hardly attuned to development. The result

led to economic apathy and the emergence of a hybrid system freed from the innovating possibilities of competition and whose political aspects involved a high degree of co-operation between the businessman and the administrator. With the outbreak of war in 1939, the links between immigrants and administrators were further strengthened as many non-officials were invited to take on quasi-official posts to man the wartime machinery of inter-territorial co-operation. The war years imposed considerable controls on the economy and a bulk purchase scheme for cotton, introduced by the British Government, removed the last remnant of the competitive system i.e. variations in the world price. Thus, by the end of the war, Uganda had acquired all the attributes of a rigidly controlled economy including fixed profits and prices. The immigrants looked forward to the dismantling of wartime regulations and a return to the pre-war beliefs that economic development was the sole prerogative of the private sector, that Government spending contained within itself the seeds of profligacy, and that Government recurrent expenditure should be kept under strict control. It was the familiar post-war cry of back to normal.

Four important factors, however, prevented a return to pre-war conditions. In the first place, the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts opened up the prospect of overseas financial aid on a larger scale than earlier British schemes and this, in turn, helped to create a more positive attitude among senior colonial civil servants towards the kind of contributions that Government itself could most sensibly make on the issue of implementing economic development. Secondly, and as a supplementary boost to British funds, Uganda's surplus balances almost doubled during the war years. Thirdly, with the appointment of Sir John Hall (Governor, 1944-51) there was a clear realisation that economic advance had top priority, which was itself a response to the widely held belief that Uganda's most serious challenge was a rapidly expanding population. Finally, with the election of the British Labour Government in 1945, the whole focus of colonial policy was transformed by the prospect of eventual self-government. Thus, the Protectorate Government was confronted by a situation of unanticipated affluence which gave it a new-found freedom of manoeuvre when policy decisions were being taken. In the immediate post-war years, however, the trend of events was masked by a worldwide shortage of trained specialist manpower and capital equipment which held back many projects. These delays were at least partly responsible for leading the immigrants to suppose that their previous ability to shift the direction of Government policy would continue. The falsity of this assumption only gradually became apparent, as the following four groups of examples will illustrate: socio-economic legislation in the immediate post-war years (1946-59); co-operative legislation and its connection with cotton interests and the 1949 riots (1946-49); the formation and function of the Unofficial Members' Organisation (1949-52); and the nature and significance of various committee changes within the Legislative Council (1948-52). Other developments within the Protectorate which are also relevant can only briefly be mentioned. These further themes include the setting up of planning machinery; the structure, composition and purpose of the public corporations (the Uganda Electricity Board, the Uganda Development Corporation, etc.,); attitudes towards the establishment of the East African High Commission; and the gradual emergence of African political awareness.

The following two tables will be of assistance as background material for the subsequent narrative.

TABLE I

Composition of the Legislative Council 1945-52

	Colonial Service Officials	*Africans and Immigrants (All were nominated Unofficials)*	
1945-46	8	3 Africans 2 Europeans 2 Asians	7
1946-47	10	3 Africans 3 Europeans 3 Asians	9
1947-48	11	4 Africans 3 Europeans 3 Asians	10
1949-52	17	8 Africans 4 Europeans 4 Asians	16

TABLE II

Revenue, Expenditure, & Surplus Balances Uganda 1945-52

Year	*Revenue*	*Expenditure*	*Surplus Balance*
	£'000s	£'000s	£'000s
(1939)	1,718	1,260	1,132
1945	3,366	3,199	2,078
1946	4,053	3,574	2,599
1947	5,331	4,474	3,413
1948	6,405	6,530	3,383
1949	8,094	6,687	4,694
1950	11,037	8,000	7,770
1951	14,735	12,895	9,617
1952	17,289	15,966	6,561*

*Reduced by transferring £5 million to U.D.C.

The Immigrants and Socio-Economic Legislation

The emphasis laid by Sir John Hall on economic development, the commencement of schemes such as the hydro-electric plant at Jinja with its associated cement works at Tororo, and the surge forward in the building industry were powerful factors in the creation of a larger labour force in urban areas. These developments revealed the backwardness of existing labour and industrial legislation as well as the urgent need for reform. In the absence of organised political parties or a viable trade union movement, for even as late as 1952 there were only four registered trade unions with a total membership of 259, the Protectorate Government took on the somewhat unaccustomed role

of social reformer. Years of neglect had been compounded by the exigencies of war and the prevailing seediness seemed to have gone deeper than the deterioration of material assets. The Labour Department as such had been abolished in 1931 as an economy measure; for twelve years its emasculated functions were carried on by a small Inspectorate under the Chief Secretary, until re-instituted in 1943. By 1945 the senior staff numbered four. The effect of this abolition had been doubly unfortunate, for not only did general working conditions worsen but little was done to redress the balance of the law which was highly favourable to the employers. Industrial relations were embodied in the 1913 Masters and Servants Ordinance (as amended) which included penal sanctions applying to employees for neglect of duty, lack of diligence and absence from work without valid reason. It may be noted that these sanctions were temporarily suspended in 1943 to comply with International Labour Convention No. 65 of 1939. In Uganda there was no adequate machinery to check that employers satisfied minimum housing standards, or provided medical attention, both of which had merely to be "proper", a term described by the Labour Commissioner in 1946 as meaning anything or nothing. The law was also vague on contracts, breaches of contract and the settlement of disputes.

In 1946 the rickety Master and Servants legislation was largely replaced by a new Employment Ordinance which had already been the subject of anxious scrutiny by employers over a period of eighteen months. The Ordinance limited contracts to two years, tightened up the inspection of accommodation and professional recruiting activities and, with two exceptions, endorsed the abolition of penalties for breaches of contract. The immigrant employers viewed the legislation as a dangerous interference with the laws of supply and demand and in three important particulars succeeded in forcing concessions from the Administration. The first was the continuance of the "ticket" system whereby a worker contracted for 30 days' work to be completed in 42. The Labour Commissioner, anxious to improve the "efficiency" of the work-force, held that the system encouraged labour to divide its time between "casual attendance at work and idleness and drinking."[1] Secondly, penal sanctions for desertion and wilful damage were retained for five years, the employers praising their deterrent effect. This provision met with the disapproval of the Secretary of State and the sanctions were finally abolished by amendment in 1947. Finally, immigrant employers succeeded in keeping a close check on the extensive rule-making powers given to the Governor and, in four important areas, delegated legislation had to be passed by resolution in the Legislative Council rather than by simple executive action. The Administration made this concession when the Bill was in Select Committee and the effect was to soften the impact of the rules applying to housing, hospital, accommodation and rations; these were now "made much easier" by giving discretionary powers to the Labour Commissioner and the Director of Medical Services to relax obligations in many cases.[2]

The alarm expressed by immigrant employers was premature, for the success of the ordinance depended on an adequately staffed Labour Department , a condition that was met only in the 'fifties. By 1949 the Protectorate Government was admitting that the ordinance "was generally in its conception a trifle idealistic" which was a polite way of saying it was unworkable.[3] For example, the housing provisions were completely ignored by employers; they found it impossible to accommodate all employees receiving less than

Shs. 150/- a month who were unable to return to their own homes at night or whose rented accommodation had been disapproved by a Labour Department Officer. In 1950 the Government gave way and the employers' obligation to provide housing was abolished in major urban areas while elsewhere the monthly limit was lowered to Shs. 60/-, "above which it is thought the employee should be able to stand on his own feet".[4] The immigrants gained more from this affair than this last example suggests for Government took on new responsibilities by building housing estates at Kampala and Jinja for unskilled labour thus, in effect, providing a subsidy for employers.

A further socio-economic example illustrates the success of the immigrants in modifying legislation under apparently adverse conditions. Occasionally the Colonial Office would drop a magisterial hint that certain gaps in the Statute Book needed filling. This practice led, in 1949, to the introduction of Uganda's first *Workmen's Compensation Ordinance*. The Whitehall draft had been modified in the light of Ugandan conditions before its introduction into the legislature in accordance with the principle that the local colonial civil servant knows better; the Select Committee procedure then in use gave opportunities for the immigrants to show that they knew best.[5] It was not the practice for Europeans or Asians to spend much time discussing the principles of a Bill and the prevailing tone was consequently drab and utilitarian—an interesting form of *discretionary* politics. The aim of the immigrant Unofficials was to shunt Bills as quickly as possible into a Select Committee. The Workmen's Compensation Ordinance illustrates this process for the real issue was not the principle of compensation but the extent of employers' liabilities; this was calculated on the formula of 48 months' wages or Sh. 20,000/-, which ever was the smaller, coupled with a percentage recompense scaled according to the seriousness of the injury. Thus, the loss of two limbs qualified the injured party to 100 per cent compensation, a thumb to 10 per cent and, to quote the schedule, "loss of toes, other than great, if more than one toe is lost . . . each 1 per cent." The comparative generosity of the payments must be viewed in the knowledge that at least 90 per cent of the labour force must have been earning Sh. 100/- or less at the time. Even so, it is not necessary to assume that all employers shared the viewpoint of one who submitted evidence to the Select Committee in which he suggested that compensation should not be set too high otherwise "the African" might be tempted to hack off an exspendable thumb and recoup the loss by buying a wife and setting himself up for a life of idleness.[6]

The immigrants reacted in a similar way, to legislation in related fields such as minimum wages (1949), the creation of conciliation and arbitration procedures (1949), an amendment to the trade union ordinance to allow the formation of sub-trade unions (1952) and a long overdue factories ordinance (1952). In each case the employers and their spokesmen in Legislative Council were able to secure significant concessions from Government. These successes do not appear to support the idea propounded in this paper that the immigrants were in retreat, but suggest rather that they were still able to deploy their forces effectively. In fact, the ability to modify draft legislation represented a smaller degree of influence than that exercised during the 'thirties when vigorously expressed disapproval occasionally caused the complete withdrawal of the proposed legislation. In the immedidate post-war period, resistance to these long overdue measures was weakened by the upward trend of prices and

made more embarassing by Government's deployment of its newly found conscience. At the same time the immigrant unofficials had the uneasy suspicion that the Uganda Administration was projecting the orders of a Labour Government in Britain. When the Minimum Wages Ordinance was under discussion a European unofficial stated "you can see the ruthless Labour Commissar peeping over the shoulder of the Labour Commissioner."[7] The response of the immigrant unofficials was to label all remedial measures as "premature", which became a key word in the criticism of the period.

In concluding this section, a brief note must be added on the performance of the African members of the Legislative Council when these matters were under discussion. Description is easy, explanation difficult. These members, prominent establishment figures in their own society, remained silent, the ultimate exemplars of the discretionary politician.

Co-operative Legislation, Cotton Interests and the 1949 Riots.

A highly significant decline in immigrant influence is illustrated by the following sequence of events: the initial success of the immigrants in ensuring that co-operative legislation would do as little harm as possible to the all important cotton ginning industry (1946); the urgent need for reform in that industry as revealed by the 1948 Cotton Commission Report; the 1949 riots as a *partial* expression of popular resentment against official cotton policy; the emergence of the Uganda African Farmers' Union which both marked the failure of the official co-operative scheme and signalled the appearance of a 'radical' channel for the expression of peasant grievances; Government proposals for African participation in the ginning industry (1951); and the reorganization of the 'official' co-operative movement (1952). The cumulative effect of these events was to deliver a major defeat to the cotton ginners which had been Uganda's most powerful and wealthy immigrant interest. This was a defeat from which it was impossible to make an effective recovery.

In 1937 a Co-operative Bill was withdrawn by the Uganda Government after it had come under fierce attack in Committee. The immigrants claimed that the formation of a co-operative movement would be attended by "grave risks"; that the proposed societies would involve indirect participation in commerce by Government; that the societies might grow in size and become politically powerful and hence a source of embarrassment to Government and a still greater embarrassment to the native administration; that the societies might indulge in unfair competition with established businesses and if the stronger societies, "bound together by racial and political ties", cornered the cotton of an area, they could sell it to one selected ginnery and thus starve the other ginneries in that area. It was further added that there was every chance that the societies would fail, owing to the "incapacity of the native" whose efforts could only do "incalculable harm" to the ginning industry, while a different order of problem would arise if the African accepted guidance from "undesirable" non-natives.[8] After this catalogue of anticipated disasters it seemed only reasonable to assume that such legislation was "premature".

By 1945 it was no longer possible to argue with confidence about the possibility of failure. During the preceding eight years there occurred a spontaneous growth of associations, particularly in Buganda, among cotton growers and others which only high-lighted the absence of adequate legislation. The 1945 Co-operative Societies Bill satisfied the criteria laid down by the 1937 Special Committee that legislation should emphasise the "controlling and restrictive features" and play down any desire "to foster and encourage these

societies".[9] All that was required to strangle the co-operative movement at birth was an unimaginative and schoolmasterly Registrar, heading an understaffed department, ready to impose a mass of niggardly rules on any association foolish enough to join. In the event, these conditions were satisfied, but not before the immigrants, in Select Committee, had brought off three amendments. Two of these were in the tradition of paternalism; the first provided for a Supervising Manager if the affairs of a society fell into a poor state; and the second gave powers to the Registrar to approve all monetary payments to officials or members of a society either by the society itself or by outside persons for, in the early days, "the moving spirit may sometimes possibly not be true co-operation"[10] Of greater importance was the elimination of Clause No. 37 of the draft Bill which related to the power given to a society to compel all producers to join (either in the Protectorate as a whole or in any smaller area) once it could be shown that 75 per cent were already members. The immigrants rejected the clause on the grounds that "voluntary membership" was one of the fundamental principles of co-operation, and added the shrewder point that a co-operative monopoly would lead to the cornering of agricultural produce. The Administration's defence of Clause 37 rested on the view that co-operatives should not be frustrated by a relatively small minority "practising black-market methods". The Government agreed that this clause should be deleted but warned the immigrant Unofficials that it did not intend to abandon the principle of compulsory marketing—a hint foreshadowing the creation of the Lint Marketing Board.

The best that could be said about the possible challenge to the ginning interests raised by the Co-operative Ordinance was that the fuse had been lit; but it was a very long fuse. When the 1948 Cotton Commission Report was published it was clear that, far from constituting a threat to the ginning industry, the co-operative movement would have to be especially assisted (by monies drawn from the Cotton Fund) to make it worthwhile for the ginners to handle the "insignificant proportion of the total crop"[11] which it supplied. The report asseverated that the ginning industry was in a decrepit state, that it had maintained "antiquated machinery" and unhygienic working conditions. The industry was given a stern warning to put its house in order, over a five-year period, on the basis of statutory monopolies (pools) and the elimination of the weaker ginning brethren.

The general attitude displayed by Government and immigrant interests makes it clear that the question of African participation in the processing industry was not of central importance in the immediate post-war period. The puny character of the co-operative movement made it difficult for the Protectorate Government to devise an appropriate institutional ladder up which aspiring Africans could ascend to the world of ginning, and the ginners themselves, entrenched with monoploly privileges, were content with the *status quo* and, after the Cotton Report, with problems of reorganisation.

As no African voiced his disapproval of existing arrangements in the Legislative Council and since the remaining Unofficials were also silent, it required a dramatic incident to bring about significant reforms. The riots that broke out in April 1949, and which were largely confined to the Kampala area, were motivated in part by dissatisfaction over the Government's cotton policy. This dissatisfaction had been worked up by the Bataka Party (which had many other irons in the fire) and the Uganda African Farmers' Union, founded

in April 1948 by Ignatius Musazi. The UAFU was created under the Business Names Ordinance to act as a commission agent mainly for cotton and coffee, to act as a suitable organization to channel African grievances against immigrant ginners, and to raise African hopes for the payment of much higher cotton and coffee prices to growers. Musazi made several attempts to persuade the Protectorate Government to build cotton stores and erect ginneries and it was in reply to one of his letters that he learnt that the Administration was examining a Buganda Government request to use the monies allocated to it from the Cotton and Hard Coffee Fund for the purpose of buying a ginnery and was told that "His Excellency therefore considers that no useful purpose would be served by granting you an interview."[12] Protracted negotiations to buy the first available ginnery were not completed until the beginning of 1950 when the Buganda Government leased a ginnery to the Uganda Growers' Co-operative Union. Musazi, who had been in England at the time of the riots, was arrested immediately on his return and detained in the West Nile District.

There were two important responses to the riots; one by Musazi and his associates and the other by Government. Before his sequestration, Musazi had arranged for the recruitment of two 'Europeans', George Shepherd and John Stonehouse, to run the UAFU with the explicit aim of organising the Baganda farmers in a rival movement to the Government sponsored scheme. Stonehouse's view of the official co-operative movement may be quoted. "The Co-operative Department, staffed by civil servants who know little about the principles of the co-operative movement, was disliked by the farmers. The officious way in which the Department was run made the farmers regard the co-operative societies as mere branches of the Government rather than as democratic organisations which reflected African aspirations."[13] From the ashes of the UAFU, now banned, sprang the Federation of Uganda African Farmers whose rapid growth soon brought its own problems, for in Stonehouse's words, it harboured "black sheep, tricksters, and crooks, who came into this mushroom organisation to make a quick penny for themselves."[41]

While these developments were taking place, the Uganda Government decided to storm the citadel of immigrant ginning interests. Lengthy negotiations with the ginners made it clear that a formula was sought which would allow African participation in the ginning industry without causing too much alarm among the owners. In September 1951 the Government scheme was published in *Proposals for the Re-organisation of the Cotton Ginning Industry* which endeavoured to achieve these ends.[15] The following bargain had been struck. Out of a total of 193 ginneries, the Government proposed to buy up 35 "silent and/or uneconomic ginneries", thus increasing the throughput and hence the profits of the remaining units. This meant the elimination of the 'silent' ginnery which earned an income for *not* ginning cotton and which had been silenced so as not to compete with 'live ' units and thus lower profit levels, an arrangement which went under the polite name of 'eliminating excess capacity'. "It is proposed that ginneries so acquired would be paid for at normal market rates for ginneries of equivalent value, as assessed by an arbitration tribunal regard being had to the pool shares held by the ginneries at the time of acquisition."[16] The remaining 158 ginneries would then have an allocation of 2,400 bales—an increase of 600 bales on the then existing figure. Next, African participation was based on a calculation made of the maximum ginning capacity required over a five-year period by the co-operative unions (i.e. a

union was composed of a number of primary societies, and the way in which the co-operative movement was revived to take up these new tasks is discussed below). This capacity was estimated at 50,000 bales, i.e. one-seventh of Uganda's total output. It was also estimated that, during a second five-year period, an additional capacity of 50,000 bales would be wanted. Working on this basis, the Protectorate Government announced its intention of compulsorily acquiring ginneries from among the 158 remaining; 20 or 21 during the first five years and an identical number during the second five-year period. As each ginnery produced 2,400 bales this, multiplied by 20 or 21, reached the 50,000 bale target.

The Acquisition of Ginneries Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council in January 1952. The Government spokesman referred to the sugaring of the pill for the surviving ginners with their increased quota of bales and the need for African Co-operative Unions to provide from their own resources one-third of the capital with the balance being loaned by Government at five and three-quarter per cent a year. It was, however, the Government's proposals for the second period that excited the greatest apprehension amongst the immigrant Unofficials. "In the second five-year period new ginneries would be built for African co-operative unions or existing ginneries would have their pool share expanded . . .". "After extra ginning capacity to the extent of 50,000 bales had been provided in accordance with increased production o crop, and further increase over 400,000 bales would be dealt with in the following manner: such part, if any, as was needed to meet the expanding requirements of the African co-operative movement would be used for that purpose, any balance remaining being divided up among all existing ginneries."[17] The effect of this proposal was to block any further expansion by immigrants in the ginning industry. J. Simpson (emerging during this period as an important figure among the Unofficials) was right in regarding these steps as "perhaps the most serious this country can ever have taken".[18] On the question of restricting entry to co-operative unions once the figure of 400,000 bales was reached, Simpson took the only line possible, namely that the co-operatives, independent African interests, and "the reduced present interests" might share competitively in the prospective crop increase. In mournful tones Simpson stated "let the African try to understand and appreciate what is being done for him. He is being given—admittedly for an element of payment—someone else's property".[19] S. W. Kulubya, a nominated African member and a wealthy man in his own right, echoed Simpson's feelings about independent African participation. "Individual independence and enterprise should be encouraged".[20] The element of expropriation was mentioned by many speakers, one of them referring to "the extraordinarily generous consent of the (Uganda) Cotton Association and also those with vested rights in the industry".[21] In a burst of prophecy, the President of the Cotton Association regarded the ten-year period as insufficiently long to create an atmosphere of stability within the industry, for it seemed likely to him that if immigrant ginners spent money on modernising their ginneries there was no guarantee that Government would refrain from further steps of nationalisation. Furthermore, whilst there was no objection to the co-operative movement as such "I submit it is not right that the co-operatives should choose the best ginneries in the country".[22] The Government should make available instead "average" ginneries. The above comments were all stated during the second reading of the Bill; in Select Committee the Unofficials were unable to gain a single significant concession.

No doubt this reflected the Colonial Office's insistance that Africans must participate in the ginning industry but equally it also marked the end of the immigrant Unofficials' use of the Select Committee to obtain concessions from Government. Or, to be rather more precise, the use of this committee could no longer be relied on.

In conclusion, a brief mention must be made of a difficulty encountered in Select Committee when the Acquisition of Ginneries Bill was under discussion, that is the problem of legally defining a co-operative society. In practice, the problem referred to the Federation of Uganda African Farmers and other bodies not registered under the 1946 Co-operative Ordinance. With the arrival of Sir Andrew Cohen and the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry (1952) into the co-operative movement, a way was soon found to initiate a thorough overhaul of the 1946 Ordinance. The amendments to this Ordinance, (which largely vindicated the views of Stonehouse and the FUAF), together with the knowledge that African co-operative unions would acquired ginneries, removed all impediments to a rapid growth of the movement. The days of the quasi-co-operative, such as the FUAF, were numbered. Stonehouse wrote "The way was now open for this body to be wound up and its groups of supporters advised to form into registered co-operative societies."[23] The immigrant economic interests had suffered a major setback but, as the two following sections endeavour to show, as advisers to Government they were not yet without resources.

The Formation and Functions of the Unofficial Members' Organization

One step which the Unofficial European and Asian members of the Legislative Council could take to shore up a weakening position was to abandon the casual, *ad hoc*, and informal habits of consultation between themselves, which had been adequate enough for twenty-five years or more, and substitute a more systematic "opposition" to Government. When African membership of the Council was increased to four in 1947 and with the prospect of further increases to be considered, it became important to induct the African members into the mysteries of a commercially orientated *discretionary-opposition*. Since colonial administrations were peculiarly sensitive to the views of a united 'opposition', there was much to be said for trying to line up African members in a solid front together with the nominated immigrants. A further point was the danger that the African members might vote with the Government in approval of measures which increasingly had not been subjected to the stern criteria usual in business circles. On the other hand, from the viewpoint of the immigrant community, there were also conveniences in forming a central organization through which could be channelled the various queries and apprehensions to which growing Government intervention in the economy was giving rise.

In January 1949 the first steps were taken to form an Unofficial Members' Organization (UMO). Details were sought from already existing Organizations in Kenya and Tanganyika as well as from the Central Legislative Assembly (the legislature of the East African High Commission, created in 1948). The Kenya model was clearly unsuitable for Uganda: there the UMO was additional to the racial groups which were organised separately and any racial group could veto the discussion of a topic; no individual group was bound by a majority decision since the elected members considered themselves answerable to their constituents; the UMO met to discuss 'opposition' tactics; the danger of acrimonious argument called for a fairly formal procedure and

members had to stand and address the chairman when speaking. Tanganyika whose politics was certainly more discretionary than Kenya's provided the model to be followed by Uganda. Holcom, a European Unofficial, drew up a draft constitution for Uganda's UMO which was conceived in general terms but contained a rule that "no question of party politics may be discussed at any meeting".[24] An elected committee was to manage the affairs of the organization and would in turn elect a chairman.

When, in 1950, the number of Unofficials was increased from 10 to 16, it became necessary to reorganise the UMO to improve its efficiency and lay down its scope with greater precision. A new constitution was accordingly drawn up by Simpson in January 1951. With the approval of Government, a permanent office was rented in Kampala, a full-time secretary engaged, and a small library of Government publications started, including those from neighbouring territories. Simpson envisaged the revamped UMO fulfilling the following functions: keeping in touch with the Clerk of Council; ensuring that speakers were allocated for Bills; co-ordinating questions and supplementaries; circulating motions; receiving delegations from public bodies and minutes from their meetings; briefing members; and keeping in touch with opposite numbers in Kenya and Tanganyika. As in the Holcom constitution, there was a reference to politics and members were extolled "not to endeavour to run the Organization as a political party".[25]

How did the UMO work in practice? Its most valuable function was to receive complaints and memoranda from individuals, firms and 'public bodies' which were then usually cyclostyled and circulated to members. From time to time it invited Heads of Departments either to discuss proposed legislation or to bring to their attention anomalies in the existing law. The UMO thus brought about a concentration of effort which was quickly utilized, not only by immigrant economic interests, but also to a limited extent by the African community. The clan leaders in Busoga addressed two lengthy memorials to the UMO and, in 1951, the Federation of Partnerships of Uganda Africa Farmers contacted the organization, as did the Uganda National Congress, Uganda's first political party, in the following year. Until 1952, at least, it would seem that the entire emphasis of the UMO was on issues considered important by the immigrants and there is some evidence to show that African participation was limited and uncertain. As the African members lacked entrepreneurial experience it was difficult for them to appreciate the rather specialized nature of the 'opposition' to Government measures. The lack of business and political experience was clearly shown in 1951 when it became known that the Secretary of State was to visit Uganda to gather views on the re-organization of the cotton industry. When the UMO met to discuss tactics, it was agreed that the Secretary of State, then James Griffiths, should be told that the Organization had never split on any racial issue, that members worked together in complete harmony, and that policy decisions preferably should be left to the Legislative Council as a whole and not be imposed from London. The reference to "London" expressed the suspicion of many immigrants that the Labour Government favoured nationalizing the cotton industry. In the course of discussion it was apparent that the African members were ignorant of the meaning of nationalization so this was explained "at length" and the Africans were requested to return to their districts and consult with their people. On their return, it was hoped they "would be able to state whether the nationalization of the Cotton Industry would be welcomed by the Africans, or whether they would prefer direct participation in the industry through the co-operative societies".[26]

One problem which concerned the UMO was raised by the repeated requests from Nairobi that an East African Members' Organization be formed, mainly to concert action over the territorial budgets and to ensure that the East African Governments adopted common commercial policies. It should be noted that the UMO was prepared to support liaison with Kenya and Tanganyika only on a "conference" basis, thus allaying the fears of the Baganda that any closer links might lead to the unification of the three territories.

Only on two occasions did the UMO fail to work as a united body. The first arose when the European and Asian members decided to meet by themselves to discuss the re-organization of the cotton industry, and the second came about when the Uganda National Congress expressed a wish to meet the African members as a separate group. This was agreed to by the immigrants provided it was made clear that the African members were acting as individuals and not as members of the UMO.

The UMO proved to be a useful organizational weapon in the hands of the immigrant members and its operation in the years 1949-52 draws attention to three important aspects of political life of the period. First, informal links between Government and the UMO were maintained throughout, to the advantage of the immigrants, thus helping to preserve the *discretionary* style of politics. Secondly, the presence of African members in the UMO and the attempt to induce them to accept 'business' attitudes could hardly be a long-term strategy; its short-term success depended on the Administration continuing to find nominees who were susceptible to these attitudes. Thirdly, the UMO was not designed to deal with the fundamental problem of the immigrants, the need to influence policy (and particularly the *choice* of policy) at as early a stage as possible. To examine immigrant tactics in this sensitive area is the task of the next section.[27]

Immigrant Attitudes to Committee Changes in the Legislative Council.

The increasing dissatisfaction felt by Unofficial European and Asian members with their role in the machinery of Government has already been noted; it had become particularly marked by 1949. Hitherto, the predominance of the immigrants as advisors to the Governor had stemmed from the dependence of the Protectorate Government on taxes levied on the two major export industries, cotton and coffee, whose processing arrangements lay under immigrant control. Under conditions of continually rising world prices, and with the closing of the Cotton and Coffee Control Funds in 1948, the Protectorate Government had an unprecedented opportunity to seize the initiative and undertake large-scale plans of long overdue social and economic betterment by utilizing the large sums now at its disposal. This development was not by itself sufficient to cause undue alarm among the unofficials whose unease must be attributed rather to the Government's tendency to take far-reaching decisions without prior consultation. Even in the cotton ginning industry, where immigrant attitudes had been decisive, the Government displayed a new independence of mind by declining (during the formative stage) to disclose the nature of their plans for re-organization after the publication of the 1948 Cotton Commission Report had made it clear that drastic steps would have to be taken. Furthermore, a new threat to immigrant economic interests arose when the African membership of the Legislative Council was increased from four to eight in 1950, thus equalling the combined European and Asian Unofficial membership. Here again, the danger of greater African participation

was at first hidden by the docile and conservative attitudes displayed by the new members. This increase coincided with a number of important changes in the committee structure of the Council so that immigrant members tended to regard the two developments as different aspects of a single problem, that of the continuance of immigrant influence in the counsels of Government. These political developments, together with the structural changes in the Legislative Council, can accordingly be regarded as so closely inter-linked as to justify their exposition as a joint problem.

The first step heralding a change in the committee structure of the Council took the form of two Circular Despatches from the Secretary of State in June 1948, addressed to all the dependencies, announcing a relaxation of existing controls over finance. It took almost two and a half years to bring the new proposals into effect in Uganda and the first statement of intention was not made until October 1949 when it was stated that Colonial Office surveillance would extend only to "broad issues of fiscal policy, measures against inflation, exchange and currency control, development finance, loan policy and the like".[28] Henceforth the Appropriation and Supplementary Ordinances would require only a formal consent from London. This devolution of power involved the creation of three new committees. First, an Estimates Committee was set up; this took over the main functions of the Standing Finance Committee (SFC) which had concerned itself with a close examination of the draft estimates. Secondly, the SPC was retained but with duties now restricted to "dealing with all votes entailing supplementary or unforeseen expenditure from public funds for which the sanction of this Council is required".[29] Thirdly, provision was made for an entirely new Committee of Public Accounts but its introduction was delayed until January 1951.

Although the "old" SFC was now demoted, it was the object of considerable interest among the European and Asian members. This sprang from the fact that membership of the "new" SFC was a necessary precondition for membership of a far more important body known as the Standing Economic Committee (SEC), whose existence was unknown to the general public. The SEC was not a committee of the Legislative Council but had been set up by administrative arrangement in 1949 as a successor to the Development Advisory Committee. The immigrant Unofficials attached great importance to the Advisory Committee for Government brought before it all its development plans. But with the approval of the Harris Revision Plan in 1948, the *raison d'être* of the Development Committee was removed as plans were absorbed as part of normal departmental activity and this, in turn, meant a rapid tapering off of immigrant influence. Acting on an initiative taken by Handley Bird, the Governor was approached by the Unofficial Members' Organization in the early part of 1949 with the suggestion that an Economic Advisory Committee should be set up, composed of all the Unofficials together with the Governor as Chairman, the Chief Secretary, Development Commissioner and the Finance Secretary.[30] It was pointed out to Sir John Hall that the Unofficials were getting out of touch with Government in general and that a great deal of executive action was being taken either without reference to the Legislative Council or, if referred, it was as a *fait accompli*. It was further suggested that the proposed committee would not usurp the authority of the Executive Council but that equally (and herein lay its attraction for the immigrants) its recommendations would be unlikely to be turned down especially in commercial matters. The Governor then made a counter-suggestion broadening the basis of representation to include "members of the public".

As the Unofficials were mainly concerned with influencing policy, the Governor's suggestion of a "general" Advisory Committee was a radical watering-down of the original scheme and was accordingly rejected by them as an inadequate substitute. Furthermore, the immigrants noted that the Governor was not prepared to be chairman of the committee he was proposing.

To overcome the deadlock, it was agreed that a Standing Economic Committee (SEC) should be created and its membership restricted to those already sitting on the 'new" SFC. Its scope was to include matters of economic interest and development in Uganda and it was to perform some of the functions of the defunct Development Committee. Also, it was to advise Government on the economic repercussions likely to arise from the purchase prices paid to peasant producers for cotton and coffee—a most important privilege.[31] The SEC concerned itself with a wide range of matters. For example, the following subjects were discussed at two meetings in 1950: the Future of Tanning and Footwear Industries; the Organization of the Cement Industry; the Importation of Gold; Timber Prices; Whiskey Allocations; and Joint Imports Control (i.e. with Kenya). The SEC did not justify the expectations it aroused, for the Protectorate Government sought little advice from it on important issues and it never advised on prices to be paid to the primary producers, since this function was retained in the hands of other price fixing bodies. Only one major issue was referred to it, namely the setting up of the Cement Industry Board. On other important matters, such as the Governor's statement on land tenure, or the negotiations concerning an iron and steel industry and a phosphate and fertilizer plant, there had been no consultation. Meetings of the SEC were restricted to those occasions when the SEF met and membership of these committees was heavily weighted in favour of immigrant Unofficials, the small African membership being accounted for by the Governor's practice of leaving out those members who had a long distance to travel.[32] In 1949, for example, there were three *ex officio* members (the Financial Secretary, the Development Commissioner and the Director of Agriculture) and seven Unofficials (1 African, 3 Europeans and 3 Asians).

In 1951, the establishment of the third committee mentioned above, on Public Accounts (PAC), enabled the Unofficials to reveal the unsatisfactory state of the Protectorate Government's approach to budgeting and gave added strength to the claim that they were watch-dogs of the public interest. The PAC reported for the first time in March 1952 after investigating the 1949 accounts.[33] Under the chairmanship of Handley Bird, it carried out its task with great vigour. Twenty Heads of Departments and other witnesses gave evidence, eleven memoranda on various topics were submitted (including one which revealed an unhealthy state of affairs in the Cement Industry) and no less than thirteen Departments were shown to be "seriously at fault" in their estimates. It was further revealed that a total of 389 Special Warrants had been authorised amounting to nearly £1.5 million out of a total budget of £6.7 million and, not surprisingly, this was considered "too great".[34] This was one aspect at least of the growing independence of the Protectorate Government.

Finally, a very brief mention must be made of an important official proposal, whose interpretation must remain somewhat conjectural until further evidence is available. The continuing dissatisfaction displayed by the immigrant Unofficials with their role in the machinery of policy-making led the Governor to make an unpublicised offer, in January 1951, of an Unofficial majority in the Legislative Council.[35] It was suggested that the Official side of the

Council might be reduced, the actual number of Unofficials remaining unchanged. For reasons which are at the moment undisclosed, the Unofficials turned down this offer; in any case it may be supposed that the Baganda leaders would have regarded it with real misgivings whatever the immigrants' views may have been. The immigrants clearly preferred arrangements which would enable them to exercise the maximum of influence behind the scenes rather than the doubtful advantages of an Unofficial majority which might give rise to increasing independence among the African members. In fact, no changes were made in the composition of the Legislative Council; but, in July 1952, the Unofficial membership of Executive Council was increased from two to six (two Africans, two Asians and two Europeans), the Official side remaining unchanged at eight. This kind of constitutional advance was far more to the liking of the immigrants, being well within the accepted convention of discretionary politics, and it had the additional advantage that the immigrant Unofficials outnumbered the Africans. While these arrangements went a considerable way to meet the immigrants' claim to a voice in the early stages of policy-making, their importance should not be exaggerated. The Officials retained absolute control of their Departments; thus, in the absence of *executive* authority, the immigrants were able to act only in a strictly advisory capacity.

Conclusion.

The decline of immigrant influence on Government policy, 1945-52, is shewn by a variety of evidence. The kind of economic system prevailing in the late 'thirties, which was characterised by cartels and other restrictive devices created by Government with the full approval of immigrant interests, continued into the late 'forties. Thus, the most prominent feature of the 'thirties—the destruction of free competition—was retained. Yet a profound alteration in the economic and administrative environment had taken place during this period. The colonial service was fundamentally an autocracy and it responded with disconcerting swiftness to basic changes of policy in Whitehall. Such a change occurred during the war years and led the Uganda Administration to adopt a new attitude towards economic development. By a happy coincidence, occasioned by a sharp rise in the world price of cotton and coffee, the Protectorate Government was able to emerge as a major agent in economic change. It became a pacemaker in capital investment and as a formulator of new schemes and in these capacities sought to tap advice from more sophisticated sources than those available locally. The results of these changes led to a loosening of earlier methods whereby the immigrants had successfully influenced policy making and this tendency was greatly accelerated when it was decided that there must be African participation in the ginning industry. But to argue that immigrant influence had diminished is not to contend that it was negligible; the decline recorded in this article although clearly discernible was modest and, in the general optimism of economic expansion, was probably unrecognised by the immigrants themselves.

Acknowledgement

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NOTES

1. *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, (P.L.C.), 25th Session, 4th Meeting, 30/4/46, p.15.
2. *Ibid.*, p.29.
3. P.L.C., 28th Session, 7th Meeting, 18/10/49, p.55.
4. P.L.C., 29th Session, 4th Meeting, 21/3/50, p.49. *Vide* Uganda Employment (Amendment) Ordinance, No. 11 of 1950.
5. A Select Committee would be a Standing Committee at Westminster.
6. Maini Papers (personal papers of Sir Amar Maini, Makerere Univesity College Library).
7. P.L.C., 28th Session, 4th Meeting, 4/4/49, p.37.
8. Report of a Special Committee of Legislative Council appointed to Consider and Report upon the Provisions of a Bill Relating to the Regulation and Constitution of Co-operative Societies, 21/9/1937. (Typewritten).
9. *Ibid.*, p.4.
10. P.L.C., 25th Session, 3rd Meeting, 19/2/46, p.23.
11. P.L.C., 25th Session, 1st Meeting, 18/12/45, p.38.
12. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Civil Disturbances in Uganda during April 1949* (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1949), p.71.
13. J. Stonehouse, *Prohibited immigrant* (London: Bodley Head, 1960), pp.48-49.
14. *Ibid.*, p.48.
15. Uganda Gazette Extraordinary, Vol. XLIV, No. 46, 27th September, 1951. *Proposals for the Reorganization of the Cotton Ginning Industry*, G.N. No. 754 of 1951.
16. *Ibid.*, p.2.
17. *Ibid.*, p.3.
18. P.L.C., 31st Session, 6th Meeting, 8/1/52, p.19.
19. *Ibid.*, p.20.
20. *Ibid.*, p.26.
21. *Ibid.*, p.29.
22. *Ibid.*, p.38.
23. Stonehouse, *op. cit.*, p.76.
24. Maini Papers.
25. *Ibid.*,
36. Maini Papers, UMO minutes, 13/4/51.
27. This section is based on Maini Papers, UMO minutes.
28. P.L.C., 28th Session, 7th Meeting, 18/10/49, pp.20-21.
29. *Ibid.*, p.21.
30. Maini Papers, Draft Memorandum by Handley Bird, 25/5/49.
31. Maini Papers. Letter circulated by Handley Bird to the UMO, October 1950.
32. *Vide* Legislative Council, S.R. & O's, 79(1).
33. *Report by the Public Accounts Committee on the Protectorate Accounts for the Year* 1949 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1952).
34. *Ibid.*, p.4.
35. Maini Papers, UMO minutes, 3/1/51.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE KYABAZINGASHIP OF BUSOGA

By W. F. Nabwiso-Bulima

The pre-colonial political structure

The Basoga must have been in occupation of their present territory at least from the eighteenth century, and probably earlier. Before the British administration of the area they did not form a single political unit but the country was divided among a number of small kingdoms or states, similar in structure to the larger kingdom states of the Lake Victoria area. Oral tradition affirms that there were as many as forty-seven such states.[1] Each state was headed by a ruler who held his position as a member of a dynasty within a royal patrilineal clan. Territorial subdivisions within each kingdom varied in size from units of only a few dozen souls to major territorial units with several thousands of people. Each unit was headed by *abalangira* (princes, the junior members of the royal clan), or by *abakungu* (chiefs) or *abataka* (elders, who were personal clients of the ruler, princes or senior chiefs). The political hierachy of the larger kingdoms therefore consisted of a ruler, with two or three ministers followed by several princes, and then at the lowest level numerous *bataka*.

The old northern kingdoms of Busoga seem to have been established about the end of the seventeenth century when the Baisengobi clan of Bunyoro arrived in Busoga. The baisengobi legends say that the first person in Busoga was Mukama, the father of the Basoga. He was a hunter and had many wives and dogs. He is said to have entered from Bugisu and the Mount Elgon area and to have settled in Busoga for a time before he went back to Bunyoro, never to return. He left eight sons to whom each was given an area to rule, and amongst whom none was paramount. The Baisengobi rulers and their Kingdoms were: Zibondo, the ruler of Bulamogi; Gabula of Bugabula; Ngobi of Kigulu; Wakoli of Bukoli; Muzaya of Buzaya; Tabingwa of Luuka; Nkono of Bukono and Menhya of Bugweri.[2] Another legend states that the first ruler of Bugabula came straight from Bunyoro and so was not one of the Baisengobi rulers. This refers to Kitimbo who is said to have run away from Bunyoro because he had committed adultery with one of the Omukama's wives. He is said to have entered Bugabula through Iyingo. Whichever legend one follows, there is sufficient evidence that Busoga was partly populated from Bunyoro and that the Baisengobi came from there. The northeastern parts of Busoga were still under Bunyoro domination in the early nineteenth century, and even until the end of the century the deaths of leading chiefs were still being reported to the Omukama of Bunyoro.

On the other hand the southern kingdoms seem to have evolved gradually from clan leaders. A powerful clan leader would have drawn around him many people of independent ancestry but diminished fortune who were glad of his protection. Thus a collection of small independent states evolved in each

of which the unifying force was the known ancestry of the chief, with an implied association with the land, with success as a leader in war and a dispenser of justice in times of peace.

As the nineteenth century wore on, the Bunyoro influence diminished until only a nominal connection was maintained with the Omukama. Kiganda influence, on the other hand, increased in southwest Busoga. Friction between various Busoga kingdoms increased because of intrigue, often instigated by the emissaries of the Kabaka of Buganda. When the first British officer, William Grant, arrived to establish administration he found the whole of the southwest under Buganda. The establishment of British administration in ~~1983~~ 1893 averted the Buganda intentions in Busoga.

This historical background presents the situation that the British administration was confronted with when the Protectorate was extended over Busoga. The Basoga rulers were weak and divided and the predominance of Bunyoro and Buganda had prevented the establishment of a central political organisation. The local divisions had been so severe as to prevent the emergence of a leader to withstand the Banyoro, the Baganda or the British and were it not for the arrival of the British, Busoga might have been effectively controlled from Buganda. By the time the British came the Basoga were already accustomed to domination. Thus the Kyabazingaship is a creation of British administration and not in any sense the consequence of pre-colonial trends.[3]

The institution of the Kyabazingaship

Attempts to unite Busoga under a single administration were started in 1893 by the colonial government. The office of President of the Busoga Lukiiko was established in 1906; this was terminated in 1913 but revived in 1919. It was converted to the Kyabazingaship in February 1939 when E. T. Wako, who had been the President of the Lukiiko from 1919 to 1939, became the first Kyabazinga.

The official title of the constitutional head of Busoga is "Isebantu Kyabazinga" and means "the father who unites all people". It replaced the former title "President of Busoga Lukiiko" at the request of the Basoga who wanted a vernacular title. The name Kyabazinga was conceived as early as 1919 when the office of President of the Busoga Lukiiko was revived. The new institution of Kyabazingaship is known as *obwakyabazinga*.

Lubogo thinks that the name Kyabazinga is indigenous and that in pre-colonial times it applied to any kingdom ruler in Busoga, being dropped in 1906 when the kingdoms became counties. There is reason to doubt whether this was the case, but in any case there never was a Kyabazinga for the whole of Busoga nor any single organisation before the colonial period. People were identified according to their kingdoms, and even today some people call themselves Balamogi, Bagabula, or Bakigulu instead of Basoga.[5]

The beginnings of administration—1893-1906

Contact between the Basoga and British authorities began even in the time of the Imperial British East Africa Company days. In 1890 Wakoli placed himself under British protection by accepting the I.B.E.A.Co. flag from Jackson and Gedge. In 1892, Wakoli made a treaty with Lugard and the same year Captain Williams gave assistance to Miro of Kigulu. When in 1893 a more formal protectorate was established on Uganda by Portal, Busoga was defined as an adjoining territory within the British sphere of influence. By the treaty of 1900

the Kabaka of Buganda relinquished all authority over Busoga and a separate administration was established. But already the highly centralized character of the Kiganda political system as a medium for indirect rule had impressed itself upon the British authorities for application in other parts of Uganda. Furthermore, a considerable personnel of literate and capable people had been built up in Buganda as a result of Christian missionary activitiy. The protectorate government engaged a number of the Baganda chiefs to remodel the political systems of neighbouring territories along Kiganda lines. In this way the first President of Busoga, Kakungulu, was a Muganda and other Baganda were placed in charge of counties. These included, amongst others, S. Twasenga in charge of Bulamogi (1906-1914) and N. Tega in Kigulu (1906-1915).

The establishment of British administration in 1893 was made by William Grant, whose work included the collection of taxes and the settling of inter-state conflicts. His influence was quickly felt among the Basoga rulers. Lubogo[5] claimed that Grant set up a rulers' council in 1893 through which he issued orders for the collection of taxes and for administering justice. At one point Lubogo asserted that Grant was the chairman of this council, but later he reckoned that Nyago-Zigombye-Luba was the first President, from 1893 to 1906 when he died. Many problems arise from these statements. It is possible to argue that Lubogo's claims are fabricated and that such a council did not exist. There seem to be no records in the Entebbe archives concerning such a council. It is possible, nevertheless, that Grant may have established an unofficial body of this kind at Bukaleba as an aid to administration. Bukaleba was the headquarters of Busoga, and people still survive with vivid memories about it. These people testify that Basoga rulers used to assemble at Bukaleba in 1893-1899 to help build the fort, organise tax collection and to fight at the time of the Sudanese mutiny in 1897. It is conceivable that in such circumstances Grant may have allowed one of the rulers to preside, especially in matters concerning inter-state conflicts. Since Bukaleba was Luba's capital it is possible that Luba may have been chosen on some occasions. Quite probably Luba looked upon himself as a leader and other rulers may well have accepted him as such. He had previously been an ally of the Kabaka of Buganda, even to the extent of killing Bishop Hannington at his request. The presence of several Europeans at Bukaleba, including the first C.M.S. and Catholic missionaries in Busoga also heightened his status.

Alternatively local tradition, particularly in Bulamogi, claims that the first president of the rulers' council was Kisira, from 1893-1898, who was also the Zibondo of Bulamogi. It is maintained that Grant asked the rulers who their leader was and that he was given the name Kisira. It is said that when he died in 1898, his son, Wambuzi, became the President until 1906 when he was dismissed and exiled to Bukedi for disobeying the District Commissioner. The people of Bulamogi therefore concluded that Wako's appointment as President of the Busoga Lukiiko from 1919 to 1939 and to the Kyabazingaship 1939-1949 was because his grandfather (Kisira) and his father (Wambuzi) had held the office of President of the rulers' council; and that the appointment of Muloki in 1955 as Kyabazinga (1955-1962) was merely the continuance of this tradition. Certain historians of Bulamogi claim that long ago other rulers in Busoga used to send their crown princes to Zibondo (the ruler of Bulamogi) to learn the art of government.[6]

Even though there may be little evidence from outside Bulamogi to support

these claims;[7] it is still doubtful whether the Baisengobi rulers[8] would havet allowed a man of the *Nyonyi* clan (bird clan), as Luba was, to be their leader. If Luba ever was the leader, one may wonder if he remained the leader when the headquarters was transferred to Iganga in 1899 and to Jinja in 1901. In 1901 sleeping sickness broke out in Luba's kingdom of Bunya, and the administrative machinery there came to a stop. For various reasons Lubogo's claim that Luba was the President of the rulers' council from 1893-1906 is difficult to accept. The official colonial view is that the office of President of Busoga Lukiiko was not created until 1906.

Semei Kakungulu and the first Busoga Lukiiko, 1906-1913

The first Lukiiko was established in 1906. It consisted of chiefs only, but with Kakungulu at its head. Kakungulu was appointed President of the Lukiiko because he had a distinguished career with the British administration behind him and the Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province, Mr. Boyle, thought him to be the best man to rule Busoga, because, in his words, "Busoga was a headache to the Central Government and troops and the Basoga were refusing to do what they were told".[9] It is not very useful here to discuss the merits and demerits of Boyle's statement concerning the Basoga, or his claims in appointing Kakungulu but, at least, the government was interested in introducing the Kiganda political system in Busoga. It wanted to introduce the highly-centralized character of Buganda political structure and to rule Busoga through the indirect rule policy. Kakungulu was not merely to preside over Lukiiko meetings but to help also in administering the area and to judge cases, for the Busoga Lukiiko was to act as a court.

When Kakungulu started ruling, he was regarded by both the Basoga and the government as a kind of paramount chief. This concept of the office of the President of Busoga Lukiiko should be noted. It was chiefly because of this concept that both the government and Basoga rulers supported the evolution of the Kyabazingaship. There is no doubt that Kakungulu regarded himself as "Kabaka of Busoga". He had already done so in Bukedi in 1901-1902 when he called himself "Kabaka of Bukedi". To the Basoga the appointment of a Muganda to the office of President of Lukiiko was no surprise. They saw the appointment as merely a resumption of the Kabaka's overlordship.

Some Basoga rulers regarded Kakungulu as some sort of Kabaka especially when he wanted to introduce the *mailo* system in 1911. Later other Baganda chiefs were brought in to serve as advisers to the Basoga rulers; and territorial units were redrawn and renamed in accordance with the Kiganda system. Kakungulu also introduced changes in the economic aspects of the political system. Each county was divided into areas known as *butongole* (official jurisdiction) and *bwesengeeze* (personal estate). With respect to the *butongole* the rulers became administrators, but in the *bwesengeeze* the ruler could demand personal tribute in produce and labour from the peasants.

There is no doubt that Kakungulu, before 1910, carried out very well the purposes for which he was appointed. In 1908, the Provincial Commissioner at Jinja recommended Kakungulu's salary to be raised from £200 to £300 a year, because, in the mind of the Provincial Commissioner, Kakungulu's work was equal to that of the three regents in Buganda. Moreover the Provincial Commissioner thought that Kakungulu was the most able among the natives of Uganda. His comments on Kakungulu's work in 1908 were as

follows:—

> "His work was most excellent as he imparted gradually to the chiefs the methods of an orderly administration. He has worked admirably, loyally and a great deal of work in Busoga has been undoubtedly due to his good influence on the chiefs and with the co-operation of the District Commissioner, he has built a system of native administration in Busoga that could compare favourably with Buganda."[10]

The Provincial Commissioner was impressed by Kakungulu's influence on Basoga rulers. The rulers also seem to have respected him very much. In one of his letters to the Governor, demanding that his ownership of Batambogwe hill (fourteen miles on Jinja-Iganga road) be recognised, Kakungulu mentioned that the Basoga rulers used to call him their father. What is most important, is that in his time, Basoga rulers came into a common Lukiiko which in 1909 was instituted as a court.

The Lukiiko 1913-1918 and the dismissal of Kakungulu

By 1912, however, the government began to tire of Kakungulu's services; and in 1913 the Provincial Commissioner, Boyle, supported the dismissal of Kakungulu because of "inefficiency, disrespect and disobedience".[11] Probably the government became frightened of the role that Kakungulu had built up for himself as "Kabaka of Busoga". Although Kakungulu lost his appointment, the office of President continued though no-one was appointed to fill it. In the meantime the District Commissioner controlled everything, and the Lukiiko fell into the background, though it met occasionally. The attempt to create a machinery for indirect rule by introducing Kiganda institutions became abandoned and for a time a practice of direct rule was imposed.

The revival of the Presidency 1919-1920

The desire to revive the office of the President of Busoga Lukiiko started in 1918. Both the colonial government and the Basoga rulers desired the revival. A number of reasons can be put forward to explain why the rulers wanted the revival of the office. First, the rulers had, in 1906-13, come to regard Kakungulu as their paramount chief, so that when his office was abolished at the end of 1913, there seemed to be a vacuum at the apex of the political system. Probably, the rulers were once more disunited. They might have been happy to see Kakungulu go, but they felt insecure without somebody like him at the top to act as their uncle and to voice their feelings to the British masters. 1914-18 was the time when most of the Baganda chiefs and advisers were withdrawn and some of the old Basoga chiefs retired. The young ones who were appointed were mostly those who had been educated in missionary schools and who were not yet sure of their steps in the new politics.[12] Secondly, it may be that the honour they had attached to the office of President contributed to the rulers' desire for its revival. They might have wanted Busoga to be like Buganda and the other kingdoms but this could not be so unless there was somebody at the top like the Kabaka. Because Baganda chiefs had been brought by the colonial government to rule in Busoga in the 1910s, and because Busoga kingdoms had been remodelled on Buganda lines, it indicated that the Buganda political system commanded the most respect. This is why the rulers sought to call the President of Busoga Lukiiko by a new name, "Isebantu Kyabazinga", something comparable to "Ssabasajja Kabaka" or "Rukirabasaija Omukama". The establishment of the office of President in 1906 had given rulers and the people

a new identity, that of a united Busoga. The *butongole* and the *kwesengeeze* had given the rulers economic power, and if possible they wanted to gain more. The new systems were now backed by the power of the colonial government whereas, formerly, their demands were restrained by their ultimate dependence upon the peasants for political support. They wanted to stand together to be able to retain the new privileges and they wanted somebody like Kakungulu in the office of President to lead them in their struggles, particularly in pressing for *mailo* land. It is also probable that the rulers had personal reasons for wanting the Presidency revived. The rulers did not like the system of a rotating chairmanship which was operating in 1918,[13] since this meant staying in Jinja for three weeks at a time, an especial inconvenience since the chairmanship carried no salary.

The colonial administration also desired the revival of the office of President. It was thought that this would promote unity among the Basoga and also provide a channel through which to direct policy. The government recommended the revival of the Presidency in the following words:—

"To create a recognised tribal leader or representative in Busoga which on occasions it is very necessary to have and would be most useful when matters of importance connected with new problems affecting native affairs, labour, etc. which from time to time may be considered by all the main Native Lukiikos throughout the protectorate. Also such a representative at big official or private functions tends to secure and promote respect and *kitiibwa* (honour) throughout the Basoga, who have recently shown signs that such exists, but past local policy gave little or no zest to encourage it".[14]

The Presidency was therefore re-established in 1919, and this move may be seen in relation to a more widespread swing in favour of indirect rule. Significantly the discontinuance of the Kyabazingaship in 1949 occurred under a Labour government in Britain when the policy of indirect rule was discredited in many parts of Africa. But even in 1919 there was a reluctance to create kings where none existed before, and the title, 'Isebantu' was not allowed. Further it stressed that the office was 'President of the Busoga Lukiiko', not 'President of Busoga'. Thus whereas government regarded the office as a civil post, the rulers came to regard the holder of the post as the spokesman for all the rulers.

In 1919 Ezekieri Tenhywa Wako, then Zibondo of Bulamogi, was appointed to fill the revived office, initially for a period of two years. This was a popular appointment for already Wako had some experience. Shortly later a permanent headquarters and council chamber was established at Bugembe. At first Wako continued to act as Zibondo, but in 1921 he relinguished these duties and moved to live at Bugembe. His term of office was many times renewed so that he held this office until 1939. Even after the title was changed to the Kyabazingaship, he remained for a further ten years, till 1949.

The Presidency 1920-1939

Wako as an individual was regarded a good leader, except on the few occasions when he opposed government measures. He was, therefore, agreeable to both sides. The government found him very influential in the Lukiiko and in making people carry out government measures, so the policy of indirect rule was considered a success. On the other hand, the chiefs regarded him as a good spokesman for their demands, especially on the *mailo* question. Among the ordinary people he was respected. At least he gave Basoga tribal pride. He further raised his status in 1925 in the public eye when he was admitted into

the Native Kings' Council, composed of the Kabaka of Buganda, the Abakama of Bunyoro and Toro, and the Omugabe of Ankole. Little is known about his activities in this Council but the mere fact that he was a member showed that Busoga was equal in status with the kingdoms, the Kyabazingaship equal to Kabakaship and Wako himself equal to the kings. It also seemed to indicate that there was to be closer relationship between Busoga and the other Bantu kingdoms; a fact which has always made Busoga oppose moves to bring them into closer union with the other districts in the Eastern Province.[15] This acceptance of the President as a member of the Kings' Council was an important event, and contributed towards the change to 'Kyabazinga'. Later holders of the Kyabazingaship, Muloki and Nadiope, were also members; with Muloki being its secretary, and Nadiope in 1965 its chairman. It helps also to explain the attempts to make the Kyabazingaship hereditary.

Another factor which helped the success of the Presidency was the absorption of the hereditary rulers into the local government Civil Service, as county chiefs. Often illiterate chiefs were replaced by the young literate ones and from 1930s, the government started transferring them from their home areas to others. The results of these measures were that the power of hereditary chiefs began to grow weaker and so the President and the Lukiiko came to be regarded as the centres of the traditional power. The position of the rulers was further undermined by the abolition of the *bwesengeeze* system and *busulu* (a kind of land rent) from which they were getting a lot of wealth. The salary scheme introduced in 1926 put them in a weaker economic position.[16] Having been absorbed into the civil service they were now required to carry out the duties of the government and not to pursue their own demands.

Furthermore, because Wako's appointment was on several occasions extended, there seemed no possibility of another person replacing him. In this respect the government was pro-Wako but his appointment was extended because he was also a good leader and because there was no person capable of replacing him. Certainly the appointment and continuation of Wako in office for so long gave success to the Presidency, for it became a stable institution and something to be proud of.

Although the period 1919-1939 was one of considerable stability there were conflicts between the central government and the Basoga over the role of President. The government's concept of the Presidency was sometimes ambivalent. In London especially, the Colonial Office wanted genuine indirect rule; a government through an indigenous ruler, who was more than a civil servant. On the other hand, the responsible less broad-minded local administrators were often irritated when Wako took the bit between his teeth and used the power they had given him to oppose their will. Such was the dilemma of indirect rule everywhere in British colonies.

Occasionally also Wako opposed government policy. He spearheaded the chiefs' opposition to the colonial policy over land and the federation of East Africa. He accused the British officials to the Parliamentary Joint Committee of 1931 of ruling Basoga badly. He used the Luganda words "*mu ngeri ey'ekitalo ekitalojjeka* meaning that the way the officials had treated Basoga was so bad that it could not be described. When questioned why he used the word *ekitalojjeka*, he said that the word had two meanings. Either it meant "too bad to be described" or "too good to be described" and that he implied the second meaning. The government gave the matter up, but Wako submitted a report of the chiefs' grievances to the Parliamentary Joint Committee.[17]

The Basoga chiefs, regarded the President as the father of their tribe and asked for the revival of the office in 1919, partly because, as was mentioned earlier, they wanted somebody to speak for them. This is why, whenever the chiefs conflicted with government policy, the British officials did not hesitate in recommending that the office of President should be abolished. But whenever there seemed to be no more trouble between them and the chiefs, the British officials encouraged Wako to remain in office. In 1936, the government was, without doubt, pro-Wako and appointed him President of Busoga Lukiiko for life or until he retired, thus recognising that the Presidency in 1919-36 was a success. But the appointment of Wako to the Presidency for life was also the preparation of the last stage in the evolution of Kyabazingaship, for only three years later, the office of President of Busoga Lukiiko was converted to "Isebantu Kyabazinga".

The Kyabazingaship 1939-1949

At various times between 1919 and 1939 the government supported the idea of converting the title of "President of Busoga Lukiiko" to "Isebantu Kyabazinga". It did so in 1924 and again in 1936, and finally put the change into effect in 1939. The former title had proved very confusing. The Basoga could not at first understand the difference between "President of Busoga Lukiiko" and "President of Busoga". Even Lubogo refers to Wako as "President of Busoga".[18] Wako himself did not always distinguish between them; on at least one occasion he was reproached for signing himself "President of Busoga". Even in the early days of the Presidency the officials at Jinja and Entebbe exchanged correspondence seeking clarification of the proper title.[19] In so far as Wako was called upon to judge legal cases,[20] he was more than just the chairman of Lukiiko meetings. Wako travelled about in Busoga to try cases, went on tour to explain government policy, encouraged people to pay taxes, build schools and so forth. Yet although he functioned as more than just a chairman, the government was reluctant to elevate his position to that of "President of Busoga". The Basoga themselves disapproved of the use of a foreign title for their leader, and after the acceptance of the President on the Kings' Council felt strongly that his title should be changed. Yet, it proved easier to make Wako President for life (1936), before changing his title (1939).

In recommending the appointment of Wako as Isebantu Kyabazinga, in 1939, the District Commissioner said:

> "Omwami (Mr.) Wako has now served for twenty years as President of the Lukiiko. He still holds the confidence of the tribe and I am glad that the unfortunate period starting in 1934,[21] when he seemed to be losing grip and interest has now ended. During the past year, Omwami Wako has taken a new outlook and in many matters acted in the most sagacious manner.....I can therefore recommend him for the position of Kyabazinga."

The District Commissioner recommended Wako's appointment after the Busoga Lukiiko had unanimously elected him as the leader of their tribe under a new title on November 8, 1938.[22] His election and the change in his title were approved in January, 1939 and on 11 February in succeeding years celebrations were held at Bugembe to mark his appointment and the day when Busoga received *obwakyabazinga* "the kyabazingaship". The evolution of the office of the father of the tribe had been completed. From that day, the kyabazingaship personified Busoga and celebrations commemorating the event took place annually.

The Kyabazingaship initially seems to have been successful; but after 1946 its importance began to decline. Wako reached his zenith in 1943, when the Lukiiko sought to pass a motion making the Kyabazingaship hereditary. Perhaps Wako himself initiated the motion but there is no evidence to prove this. Undoubtedly Wako was very popular in 1943. In 1943 the central government tried to associate Busoga more closely with its other districts in Eastern Province, but the Basoga opposed this bitterly, and this opposition heightened the popularity of the Kyabazingaship. Also the war had an indirect influence in consolidating the Kyabazingaship for the government's attention was drawn away from the details of local government.

In the period 1939-1945, there was no person capable of replacing Wako. The young potential leaders who began to emerge in the 1930s joined the army. The Abataka movement which had begun to challenge the political structure in the 1930s disappeared from the scene.[23] After 1945, however, several factors began to undermine Wako and the Kyabazingaship. Firstly the servicemen returned from the war and agitated in both the central and local governments for compensations and accused the chiefs as obstructing their demands. Also Bataka Union (Bu) ideas from Buganda spread into Busoga, though the associated riots of 1948-49 did not occur there.[24] The establishment of a Labour government in Britain led to a change of policy away from indirect rule through local leaders towards a more democratic system of election of councils. This was accompanied by a proposal for a three-yearly election of the Kyabazingaship. It is also probable that from 1945 onwards some of the top officials at Bugembe began to undermine Wako and objected to the establishment of an hereditary Kyabazingaship from motives of personal ambition. This group of new politicians was partly responsible for reversing the policy of having an hereditary Kyabazinga in 1946 by a vote of 44 to 26; whereas in 1943 there had been no opposition to the initial passing of such a recommendation. These same people were also responsible for recommending that the Kyabazingaship should be a three yearly term of office, which has been the case from 1949 till 1962.

Under the circumstances outlined above Wako was persuaded to resign in 1949. He did so after serving Busoga in its highest office for thirty years and he still lives in retirement at Kaliro.

A summary of events 1949-1966

W. W. K. Nadiope was elected by the Lukiiko in 1949 to become the second Kyabazinga in office, but after C. A. G. Wallis' recommendations and in accordance with the colonial policy to democratise native political institutions, the Kyabazinga was to be elected by a referendum organized by county councils. Nadiope was re-elected in the referendum held in 1952. He polled about 4,000 votes to Wako's 1,000. However, government found out that there were many malpractices in the referendum system of 1952 and so the system was abolished.

H. W. Muloki was elected in 1955 by the Lukiiko, with 55 votes to Nadiope's 48. There is no doubt that Muloki was elected partly because of the record of his father, Wako. But he was also elected because he was a young man and highly educated. Muloki as an individual was a respected man. He seems to have carried out his duties with dignity, diligence and integrity. He became a co-opted member and secretary of the Native Kings' Council—a fact which indicated that the Kyabazingaship, as in 1925, was being accorded equal status to the Kabakaship or Omukamaship. This fact was given more strength in that

from 1955, almost every king used to come to Bugembe for the Kyabazinga celebrations every year, particularly Mutesa II who was a personal friend of Muloki. Muloki was re-elected for another term of three years in 1958 with 82 votes out of 141 and in 1961 his term was extended for another year.

From 1955, Muloki played a very prominent part in Busoga Administration and other activities. He could be seen in various places, and at various functions such as music festivals, Community Development festivals, school concerts and sundowners. There is no doubt that the Kyabazingaship under Muloki became a very respectable institution. In 1961, he went to the London Constitutional Conference as a member of the Kings' Council, and early in 1962, like the other Western Region kings, flew to London to press for a federal type of government for his area. He again attended the Second London Constitutional Conference in 1962 and it was partly through his influence that Busgoa was granted 'territorial' status.

In 1961 Muloki seemed well-established as Kyabazinga. The Lukiiko had approved his appointment as Kyabazinga for life and this recommendation was approved by the Democratic Party government in April, 1962. His identification with the Democratic Party, however, led to his replacement by Nadiope with the advent of the U.P.C. government in 1962. Nadiope was then elected to the post for the third time. Under the 1962 Constitution the status of the Kyabazinga had reached its highest point, and again the post was nominally made an hereditary one. Subsequent events, however, have led to the reduction of the post to that of a figurehead, and some doubts may be expressed concerning its future. Conceivably, Busoga may revert to the pre-1906 condition of having no tribal head.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance given to his enquiries during the course of interviews by the following people:— E. T. Wako, the first Musoga President of the Busoga Lukiiko, 1919-1939 and the Kyabazinga 1939-1949; and Y. K. Lubogo, C.B.E., treasurer of the Busoga African Local Government for many years and the author of *A history of Busoga*; Y.K. Zirabamuzale, the first Secretary General of Busoga; and H. W. Muloki, O.B.E., Kyabzainga 1955-1962. The former county chiefs Messrs. D. Nsobani, F. Falijala and Luba-Mukwajanga also helped in inquiries; as did Mr. Nkono-Kemba, the hereditary chief of Bukono, Mr. F. S. Musumba, a Lukiiko member in the 1940s, Mr. Y. Guliko, a Lukiiko member from 1916-1962 and the Rev. Wabuleta. The author is grateful for all the helpful co-operation given by the above in the collection of information upon which this essay is based. He is also grateful to Mr. D. W. Cohen for helpful comments upon an earlier draft of the essay.

NOTES

1. Y. K. Lubogo, *A history of Busoga*, Kampala, E. A. Literature Bureau, 1960, (Reprinted 1962) (Mimeographed); D. W. Robertson, *The historical considerations contributing to the Soga system of land tenure*, Entebbe, Government Printer, 1940, lists only twenty such states.
2. There is some dispute among the Baisengobi regarding the Menhya. Some say that he he is not a Mwisengobi, but the abaiseMenhya are quite clear that they are a separate clan.
3. The Busoga situation therefore contrasts with that of the Chagga, of whom it is thought that their paramount chief did evolve from pre-colonial trends. See K. Stahl, *The history of the Chagga people of Kilimanjaro*.

4. A lack of integration of Busoga counties is still a problem in local politics and in social behaviour. There still exists a feeling that people from Bugabula and Bulamogi should not intermarry. Also the Church of Uganda failed to choose a Musoga bishop because of county rivalry.
5. Lubogo, Y. K., *op.cit.*, pp. 61 and 114.
6. Other traditions say that crown princes were sent to the ruler of Kigulu.
7. These various views of the Bulamogi clearly conflict with Lubogo's story. Lubogo was Bulamogi himself, yet does not record any evidence that Kisira or Wambuzi ever became President of the rulers' council. One may doubt, therefore, the truth of the Bulamogi accounts.
8. The Baisengobi in the past possessed the larger part of north Busoga and have always regarded themselves as the ruling clan. Even in the 1962 Constitution only members of the Baisengobi clan were eligible for the Kyabazingaship.
9. Entebbe Archives, Appointments of chiefs in Busoga, 1906.
10. Entebbe Archives, Appointment of chiefs in Busoga, 1908.
11. Entebbe Archives, Appointment of chiegs in Busoga, 1913.
12. The new rulers were Gidioni Oboja of Kigulu, appointed in 1914, Ezekieri Wako of Bulamogi (1915), Gidioni Wambuzi of Luuka (1916), Y. K. Zirabamusale of Bugweri (1919) and Salimu Isiko of Luuka (1919).
13. From interviews with E. T. Wako, Y. K. Zirabamuzale, Y. K. Lubogo and D. Nsobani.
14. Entebbe Archives, Appointment of chiefs in Busoga, 1919.
15. Fallers, L. A., *Bantu bureaucracy*, 1959, p. 223.
16. Before the salary scheme was introduced in 1926 it was estimated that Mutekanga, the county chief of Bugabula, the largest county, was receiving an annual income of £3,500. (Entebbe Arichives, 6025/1.) He was able to support two sons in England.
17. Lubogo, Y. K., *op.cit.*
18. Lubogo, Y. K., *op.cit.*
19. Entebbe Archives, Appointment of chiefs in Busoga, 1919-1921.
20. The Judiciary was not separated from the Administration of Local Government until 1954.
21. The row had been over the abolition of *busulu*.
22. Lukiiko Debates, Bugembe Files, 1938.
23. In particular A. W. N. Mutekanga, who returned from England in 1929 to lead the Abataka movement; and W. W. K. Nadiope.
24. The Bataka Union movement in Buganda started in 1945 with a demand for higher prices for cotton and coffee, and discredited the Kabaka whom they claimed to be in league with the colonial government.

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ON THE TRAIL OF EMIN PASHA

By E. W. SCHNITZER

In August, 1966 Uganda welcomed a visit from the great nephew of Emin Pasha. The account below is the record of this visit. Dr. Schnitzer attempted to find out how much was still remembered of his ancestor, and as such the report may be of some considerable interest to others in search of oral traditions. The events examined took place only two generations ago, and already the memory of Emin's presence is extremely hazy. Inevitably much of what Dr. Schnitzer recorded did not tally exactly with the written records of the 1880s. The editors have reduced the erroneous memories as much as possible. Dr. Schnitzer's references in the notes to written records which may substantiate various claims have also been supplemented by Mr. H. B. Thomas, to whom the editors are grateful.——Eds.

In the summer of 1966, I decided to carry out a plan of long standing: to follow on foot, by car, and by boat some of the routes which Emin Pasha had taken in his wanderings through Equatoria nearly a hundred years ago. Not only had I been attracted by the colourful figure and dramatic story of this man, a German with the original name of Eduard Schnitzer, but I had also a personal interest in him because he happened to be my great-uncle. My purpose in coming to Africa was to learn about the environment in which he acted, and, if possible, to find some recollections of him among the people whose governor he had been. I decided to look for information on Emin in two areas: Muslim communities inhabited by Nubi descendants of Emin's men, and villages near the sites of Emin's forts.

On 3 August 1966 my companions and I left Kampala to visit Father Crazzolara in Karamoja. After crossing the Nile at Jinja, we took the spectacular water-shed road to Moroto. At the Government Rest House there, we met Erich v. Hippel, a native of East Prussia and a traveller with a thorough knowledge of the lands we planned to visit. He aroused our interest by claiming that the steamer *Khedive*, so closely associated with Emin's history, can still be seen under 18 feet of clear water near the village of Blukwa on the Congo shore of Lake Albert.[1]

Toward evening we were cordially received by Father Crazzolara. Now at the Mission of the Verona Fathers at Kangole. The Father came to Khartoum in 1908 and to Uganda in 1910. Through his contacts with Muslim groups in the West Nile he had heard much about Emin's period but had never personally met anyone acquainted with the Pasha. Father Crazzolara thought that Emin's efforts to suppress the trade in slaves had left the most lasting impression on the native people; in the Father's words: "They breathed more easily when Emin was around".

A few days later, we called on Sheik Musa Faraj, a Muslim teacher, living on the Lira Road at Gulu. The Sheik, speaking in Arabic (which required a double translation from Arabic into Acholi and then into English), told us this:

"My father was a soldier of Emin's at Wadelai in the year 1888. He always referred to the Pasha as "good man", whose soldiers were happy to

serve under him. Emin was a doctor who took good care of his men. Tribal feuds and the traffic in slaves decreased under his rule, and general progress was achieved during his administration."

Our impression that the Sheik's story sounded like bookish information was confirmed when he pointed to a volume, Kenneth Ingham's *A history of East Africa*, which he had often studied to learn about his father's times.

On the following day, at Gulu, we had a fruitful visit with another Muslim leader, Haji Musa Abdala. As Abdala spoke only Arabic, a double translation became once more necessary. He informed us that:—

"Emin arrived after Baker had gone. At various times, the Pasha and his soldiers lived at Patiko, Dufile and Wadelai. When they were cut off from Khartoum food was given them by the Acholi, the Madi, and the Alur. My father was a "Raneffendi", a servant of Emin's, and always described his master as a good governor and friendly to his soldiers. In the end, Emin was taken away against his will. The soldiers he left behind were under the command of Selim Bey until another European came and led them to Kibale in Toro."

It was instructive to note how detail and accuracy in Abdala's story diminished the further removed in distance were the events being described. Neither Stanley, by whom Emin "was taken away against his will", nor Lugard, the "other European", were mentioned by name. Baker, Gordon, and Selim Bey, on the other hand, whose names were connected with nearby localities, were well remembered. Toward the end of our interview, Abdala produced a manuscript that showed the marks of frequent perusal. It contained Emin's story, as told by Abdala's father and written down by his oldest brother in 1899. Here are some passages that were translated for us from the Arabic:—

"At the time of the Khedive Ismail, Baker and his soldiers were sent into Acholi-land. They came to Patiko in 1872. A few years later, Gordon was also there. After Gordon came Emin, who was a medical doctor and gave treatment to the people; later he was made governor. In the Mahdiya, Gordon was killed, but the southward sweep of the Mahdi's followers was halted before they reached Dufile. At that time, Emin resided at Wadelai. Some of his soldiers held the fort at Patiko, where they nearly starved to death. When they asked Emin for food, he told them to go to Pabo. In the end, Emin wanted to take his soldiers to the Germans in Tanganyika, but some refused to go. So he left them with his sub-mudir Selim Bey; others served under the command of Fadl-el-Mula.[2] The Pasha himself went to the Congo and was killed in 1892."

About twelve miles to the west of Gulu, near the Pakwach road, lives Matayo Okot-Lujwero, to whose thatched hut we were guided on the next day. Our expectations were high, since Matayo was said to be a hundred years old, and thus might have seen Emin in person. The story he told us, however had but little reference to Emin:—

"After Baker had gone, four Europeans came to Acholi-land. Their leader was called Langa-Langa. This man I saw with my own eyes. He was tall as myself, bald and beardless, and wore eyeglasses. He had ridden on horseback from Wadelai to Patiko, accompanied by three other Europeans and a large troop of soldiers.[3]"

Matayo then told us something of the history of Patiko.

"There was a Nubi slave trader, named Aliboro,[4] who settled at Patiko until he was chased away by Baker, who then established a fort on the same

spot. After Baker's arrival the fighting died down and nothing more happened at Patiko."

Seeing Patiko on the next day, I could believe Matayo's statement of finality. The fort presents today a picture of undisturbed peacefulness. Stone walls and moats, and the remains of living quarters, storage houses, and magazines are well preserved, sheltered by picturesque granite out-croppings. Inside the encampment stand scattered borassus palms, acacias, ancient sausage and fig trees; on some of them Emin's eyes may have rested.[5]

Our excursion to Patiko was followed by a trip to Padibe. On a fine gravel road, through "Parkland mit schönen Bäumen"[6], we travelled northeast from Gulu. Speaking in Acholi, the ex-Rwot Lasto Obol told us at Padibe:—

"Emin arrived before I was born. First he went to Patiko, then he came to the double-peaked hill of Lacic,[7] where he found a fort built by the Arabs in the 1850s. This fort was occupied by Emin and his men from 1880 to 1883. Emin called on Rwot Ogwok and brought him presents from Queen Victoria: a golden crown, clothes, chairs, a sword, and a big bottle."

Obol was willing to satisfy our curiosity about these items. After the interview, he led us over grassland paths to his hut, where sword and bottle were laid before us. The sword, whose blade was made of Damascene steel, showed a steamboat as a trademark; its guard of stamped steel resembled that of an officer's dress sword. Engraved on it were the initals V I. Equally interesting was the second object, a handsome double-bellied bottle, made of dark glass and protected by wire mesh. We speculated that both objects could have come from a store of presents kept for distribution to tribal chiefs.[8]

But to return to Obol's story:

"When trouble with the Arabs developed, Emin left for Dufile. His proposal to leave Martini rifles for defence was turned down by the people of Padibe, because they feared the weapons would fall into the Mahdi's hands.[9] So none was left. Emin was a good governor; he kept tribal warfare in check and halted the traffic in slaves. He also conducted court sessions dealing with serious offences; whereas minor cases, like family quarrels or matters of inheritance, were handled by the local chiefs. No nickname was in use for Emin, whereas Baker had been known as "Lumurudu".[10]"

Obol went on to make this surprising statement:—

"Emin was sent to make the land a British colony. When he arrived, he carried with him a British flag. Chief Ogwok was willing to go along with that plan, because he thought British rule better than Egyptian rule. In the 1880s Emin signed an agreement at Lacic to make the Egyptians leave the land."[11]

The session with Obol was attended by a sizeable crowd of his friends and relatives, including Headmaster Owiny and the Reverend Loyira. While this meant a welcome addition to the number of informants, it also had a modifying effect on some of Obol's remarks. For, more than once, some of those present attempted to correct and "straighten out" his story, thereby reducing its value as a sample of oral tradition.

On 8 August, we set out for the Albert Nile across an undulating savanna of tall grass and sparse stands of trees. The Laropi ferry carried us into West Madi where we found shelter at the Catholic Mission of Moyo. The first interview west of the Nile was held at Metu, the village of Mteo Epeadzu Katikiza, ex-chief of West Madi. The old man told us this:—

"My father was one of Emin's soldiers at Dufile. He knew the Pasha personally and had been given a gun by him. But that gun is no longer around, because, in 1912, all weapons in the possession of Madi tribesmen were destroyed by the British. Emin's troops were composed of Egyptians and local men. Afterwards the Belgians came, but they left no traces. Still later, a European, known as Langa-Langa, was in the neighbourhood; he became the founder of Nimule.[12]

Dufile was the first place in Madi-land where Europeans settled. When Emin came, trouble had spread from the Sudan and many people died. But Emin settled the disturbance. He also did away with the slave-trade, which did not start up again after his time. Besides being a soldier, Emin was a builder, he constructed a fort at Dufile on a site known as Lebubu. This fort was mostly occupied by soldiers, but in times of trouble the villagers also took refuge in it. Emin wanted to build a road, but this was not done, because, owing to the trouble from the Sudan, he left and went south to Wadelai.

While at Dufile, Emin ruled the people. He levied no taxes, but they had to supply food and timber when the fort was under construction. No money was in use then and people traded goods. Emin, for instance, gave them clothes for their services; the Sudanese brought in cows and goats, which which were exchanged for hoe points made by the Madi from iron that can be found in the local hills."

In a letter to Dr. August Petermann of 16 July 1877,[13] Emin described his arrival at Dufile thus:—

"A glorious panorama opened out before us. The hill gradually sloped down to level ground, which stretched out into wide plain, dotted here and there with palms, and through its expanse the mighty river, blue and shining, flowed on in sweeping curves. Azure hills and purple-headed mountains formed the picture's frame. By a gentle descent we left the hills, red passion flowers and lemon-coloured grass lilies bedecking the path. The roll of drums and clang of bugles bid us wlecome—we were in Dufile."

Our arrival at Dufile was less dramatic, but the beauty of the setting was equally striking. We approached the fort through reedy swamps on the Nile flats, crisscrossed by hippo trails. Moats and ramparts and the outline of a harbour were clearly discernible, but the interior was overgrown with thickets of reed and elephant grass. Guided by a survey map, which students from the Imperial College in London had made in 1965, we traced our way to a paved walk and several piles of sun-dried brick, which marked the location of former buildings. Just outside the fort, we located three graves: mounds covered by fields stones with small name plates cemented in. But the enamel of the plates had peeled off, and the names, except for two final letters "... ..ti", have vanished with it. According to local rumour, the bodies of Gordon, Emin, and another European lie buried there. Most likely, they are the burial sites of former camp officials, probably from the time of the Belgian occupation.

At Dufile we met Manyo Sandu, a local official who said:—

"My father knew Emin personally when he ruled all of Madi-land. When Emin was at Dufile, taxes were collected in the form of food. After he left, the Belgians came. They made some changes at the fort, but otherwise left left no trace."

Until a few years ago there were Nile boats, the S. S. *Samuel Baker* and the S. S. *Lugard*, travelling up and down the Nile between Butiaba and Nimule.

Nowadays there are no boats. Later, we saw the *Lugard* ourselves, a stern-wheeler of 186 tons, moored, or rather stranded, at Pakwach.

On 12 August we crossed the lovely highlands along the border of the Congo and, following the gracious recommendation of Bishop Tarantino of Arua, called on Alur Chief Jalosiga in the village of Paidha. But here my inquiries met with negative response. Jalosiga had not heard of Emin Pasha, nor had he been to Dufile or Wadelai. He was not familiar with any texts used in Alur schools in which Emin might be mentioned. Even with regard to the more widely known Samuel Baker, he knew only of a river boat by that name. Equally negative was an interview with the son of Alur Chief Omach, who lives at Paroketto, about five miles south of Pakwach.

Our search took us next to Wadelai, the famous site, to which the thoughts of Europe were directed during the fateful years of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. The Nile at this point is quite narrow, which must have made it difficult for Emin's steamers to manoeuvre. The site was probably chosen because it is one of few in many miles where access to the river is not blocked by papyrus swamps. The surrounding country, a pastoral parkland, is lacking in forest: a particular difficulty, considering Emin's need for wood to fuel his steamers.[14]

The ditches enclosing the encampment are still clearly visible, although the grass, at the time of our visit, was of almost impenetrable height. Cautiously I looked around for leopards, remembering Emin's mention of their nightly appearance at the station.[15] But none showed up. Nor did we find traces of burnt ivory, as Delmé Radcliffe did, when he visited Wadelai in 1899.[16] We discovered, however, a variety of potsherds, some decorated by string-roulette, perhaps remains of jars that once belonged to Emin's soldiers. I was pleased to find a small grey obelisk with a bronze plaque commemorating Emin's stay.

At Wadelai we talked with Okech-Omony and Abee Odoch; both were about 65 years old, and both their fathers had known Emin. Okech gave a slightly confused account of the history of Wadelai, which may be summarised thus:—

> "My father spent all his life at Wadelai; he served Emin as a Lwo interpreter and watched the fort being built. Later the Belgians wanted to take the fort. They came down from the Congo and raided the countryside, which forced people to life on the other side of the river for a while. But then the people chased the Belgians away. The Arabs, also threatened to take the fort, but once more the native people did not allow it.
>
> Emin had the reputation of being a good man; he was much liked by the people. He brought steamers with him, which were nicknamed "Babur". There is one type of tree around, which Emin brought; we know it by the name "bwodumunu". Some roads were built at Emin's time, but they have since disappeared. When I was a boy, the walls of buildings inside the fort were still standing, but the roofs were gone. By and by, the villagers carried the crumbling bricks away.[17] The Belgian rule, which followed Emin's, was quite unpopular."

To the great amusement of the local audience attending this interview, Okech illustrated Belgian demands for the impossible by saying that they were like a man who insisted that white ants, which had been roasted for eating, be planted in the ground as seeds.

Abee Odoch began his tale with the grim but undeniable remark that the people who had known Emin were dead by now. Then he said:—

"My father told me that the ditches and walls surrounding the station were built by Emin, but most of the buildings by the Belgians. In the end, the fort was not destroyed by enemyattack but fell down by itself.

Emin was a good ruler. He protected the people from Arab raids; he brought them cotton seeds and taught them how to make tarbushes out of cotton. The Nubis, who held the fort after Emin was gone, were unfriendly to the natives. But they too lived in fear, especially of Kotoria, a Sudanese leader. When they heard he was approaching Wadelai they ran away, but Kotira never came.[18]"

At Pakwach, our party was joined by Mr. Thomas Gentles, the Regional Engineer of the Ministry of Works at Gulu. Through his kind assistance, we obtained the use of a Government-owned launch, on which we travelled up and down the Albert Nile, into Lake Albert, and on the Victoria Nile as far as Murchison Falls. Emin's description of this same water route, noted in 1877, closely paralleled our own experiences and impressions. The intervening 89 years have thus left this primeval scene almost untouched.[19]

From Murchison Falls, where Emin, like ourselves, felt how the enormous force of the water made the ground shake under his feet, we turned south to the centre of Bunyoro.

In response to my inquiry whether or not my visit would be welcome, R. A. Sir Tito Winyi, the Omukama of Bunyoro, graciously received us at Masindi and, again on the next day, in his place at Hoima. For an hour the king talked about the meeting of his father, King Kabarega, with Emin in 1877. Speaking partly in English, partly in Lunyoro, he said:—

"Emin came out of Egypt; his chief desire was to find the source of the Nile. Wadelai, his headquarters, was located within Kabarega's kingdom. Since Emin had heard that Kabarega felt a strong dislike for Europeans, he came to find out for himself.

The kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda were not on good terms at that time, being rival powers. Mwanga, the Kabaka of Buganda who was then but a little over nineteen years old, told the Europeans who came to see him that the lands to the west (meaning Bunyoro) were part of his own kingdom.

Mwanga wrote a letter to Kabarega in which he said: If you send me salt and ivory I shall tell the British that you are a good man, and they will not fight you.[20] But Kabarega refused. Later on, he sent a message to Lugard in which he asked for a treaty with the British. In reply, Lugard sent a bullet which meant war, and a hoe which meant submission; Kabarega chose the bullet.

In the meantime, Emin had received permission to visit Kabarega. He travelled to Mparo and was warmly welcomed by Kabarega. All the way from Mruli, local chiefs fed Emin and his followers, and escorted them to the next chief. At the last station before Mparo, the Katikiro himself fed Emin a good meal before introducing him to the king.

Emin stayed with Kabarega in a residence furnished by the king. The accounts which Emin gave of those events are all correct, but other reports, like those of Lugard and Casati, are 200% untrue.

In later times, when Emin left his province, he promised his 5,000 soldiers to Kabarega.[21]"

Sir Tito Winyi, a fine-looking man of 82 years, eyes still flashing with enthusiastic alertness, treated my companions and myself with the greatest consideration. Some of the high esteem in which Emin is held by the dynasty of Bunyoro[22] thus seemed to benefit the Pasha's great-nephew. On the way to luncheon with the Omukama, where we were joined by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance, we caught a glimpse of the impressive audience hall and its throne, covered with leopard skins. In the background stood ceremonial spears and bark-covered drums. Nobody entered the hall or addressed the king without kneeling down. From a window in the reception room Sir Tito Winyi pointed to a house on a distant slope: Casati's domicile during his less happy stay with King Kabarega. After coffee, we visited Kabarega's tomb and the site of Emin's meeting with the king. Some day perhaps the latter may be indicated by an historical marker.

After the royal visit at Hoima we swung back towards Kampala, not without sending a final glance in the direction of the invisible Ruwenzori. Several weeks earlier, I had followed the trails of Emin Pasha's German-sponsored expedition in that mysterious mountain range by climbing up to Stuhlmann Pass (13,650 feet) and, from Bwamba Pass, looking down upon the meandering Semliki River and the darkness of the Ituri Forest, where the Pasha met his death.

My last interview was held at Bombo on 20 August. There, at the Bombo Sudanese School, I met a young Nubi teacher whose grandfather had been one of Emin's soldiers. His name was Mustapha Khamisy and this is what he told me

> "Most "Effendis" who knew of the old days are dead. Nowadays it is hard to get information, even though three-quarters of the inhabitants of Bombo are Nubi descendants, all of them Muslim. My grandfather came to Bombo by way of Bunyoro, Toro, and Ankole. He and the other men were led by a European. From reading my history textbooks I think that this European must have been Lugard.[23] The name of Lugard is certainly more familiar to the Nubis of Bombo than that of Emin."

* * * *

This, then, was the story of the search for traces of Emin Pasha. I was, of course, aware that my perfunctory exploration was unlikely to uncover any hitherto unknown facts or items of historic interest. The discovery of Musa Abdala's Arabic manuscript and of presents alleged to have been given by Emin to Chief Ogwok was therefore as unexpected as it was welcome. My chief aim during the journey had been to learn what image of Emin persisted among the people of his former province. Even this modest aim was not always easy to pursue, and I encountered the well-known pitfalls in the path of the explorer of oral tradition. Some of the respondents I interviewed "telescoped" events, or ascribed to one person the actions of several. In other cases, remembered history was modified either by reading on the subject or by the corrective remarks of on-lookers present at the interview. I encountered lack of memory as well as vagueness and confusion when the described events were remote in physical distance or personal experience. I also met with false identification regarding historical figures and, in one instance perhaps, regarding nationality. Not the least obstacle in the pursuit of Emin's image was the unfortunate fact that I was unfamiliar with the languages which the respondents spoke. Thus I had to rely on the interpreter and, as is common in such situations, probably lost some information through the selectiveness of the translator, especially in cases where double translations were necessary. Above all, I came to realize

that I should have come fifty years earlier if I wanted to obtain eye-witness accounts and first-hand observations. Obviously, the passage of time has a distorting effect on remembered history; the gap between fact and oral tradition constantly widens. But every distortion is, of course, in itself a piece of documentary evidence, either about the past or about present-day society, and everything I heard about Emin is therefore a valid part of his contemporary image.

The following observation on the yield of information on Emin from various respondents has, perhaps, some validity. Obviously, respondents with first-hand knowledge of him would have been the most informative; but, unfortunately, we were unable to locate any. Their sons, or other close relatives of the second generation whom we did find, had fragmentary recollections which generally (but not always) agreed with historical fact. In the third generation knowledge of Emin's days was negligible, whereas their children, the fourth generation, had regained some familiarity with names and events of the past through the study of their schoolbooks.

What image then emerged from my investigation? Surprisingly, the Pasha stands out as a military leader, a man who quelled uprisings, stopped tribal feuds, fought off raids of outside foes, and pacified the country. This is surprising, because, in the view of his contemporaries and of later historians, Emin was the opposite of a military type: a scientist of mild manner, a man whose strength was pliability, "who could endure but not dominate, who could persuade but not command".[24] A visitor to Wadelai in 1894 reported that one of Emin's officers called the former governor

> "a good hăkīm but no hākĭm—that is to say, a doctor but not a ruler, and this appeared to be the general opinion. A minority, however, quoted an Arabic proverb, which may be roughly translated into English as 'as mild a mannered man as ever cut a throat or scuttled ship".[25]

Emin's efforts to suppress the trade in slaves have also left a strong imprint, even though his endeavours in that direction were quite often only temporarily successful. As Schweitzer says:—

> "The Governor could not see everything and, despite the most stringent orders, slave dealing and forced labour were connived at during his absence.[26]"

Few memories seem to persist of Emin as a builder of forts and roads, still fewer of his introduction of new crops and crafts. The medical treatment he gave to the sick, his fairness at court trials and considerateness in collecting taxes, were well remembered, as was also his friendly attitude toward the soldiers who served under him. To have good relations with the men he dealt with must have been one of Emin's chief aims. It seems clear that he was often able to establish friendly ties with tribal rulers where others failed. He himself warned that,

> "The person who is going to be my successor in this province will have a difficult time if he does not follow my practice of visiting the chiefs. All the chiefs, from Mutesa, Kabarega, to Rionga, Afina, Rwot Ochama, the Madi and Bari chiefs, are personally attached to me, because I am liberal with them and care for them out of my own pocket.[27]"

The over-all picture of Emin Pasha, drawn from the stories of those I interviewed, is that of a good governor and a good man. True, this epithet is rather nondescript and can have only relative weight; but to be called a "good" man is perhaps as fine a memorial as one can find for a man beset by almost overwhelming problems of character and circumstance.

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NOTES

1. The end of the *Khedive* is shrouded in a certain amount of mystery. F. Stuhlmann in *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, 1894, gives two versions, p. 334 footnote and p. 337. A relic of the ship was presented to the Uganda Society and the story unravelled so far as possible is given in H. B. Thomas, A relic of S. S. Khedive, *Uganda J.*, **14**, 1950, pp. 103-104. The Rev. A.B. Fisher claimed that the mast of the *Khedive* was still visible in 1907 near Kasenyi, *Uganda J.*, **14**, 1950, p. 226. Unfortunately it has not been possible to verify v. Hippel's claim, nor to ascertain when it was seen.
2. Fadl-el-Mula, after Emin's withdrawal, re-occupied a number of posts on the Albert Nile, and in Acholi. He later entered Belgian service and was attacked and killed by the Mahdists. See *Uganda J.*, **27**, 1963, p. 161.
3. Langa-Langa was the nick-name for C. Delmé-Radcliffe. The speaker with whom he is compared stood about 5 feet 7 inches. Langa-Langa has a wide distribution as a nick-name, being used even in Nigeria. Even for Delmé-Radcliffe, it has been given a variety of meanings including 'Lanky' (*Uganda J.*, **16**, 1952, p. 132) and 'were-lion' (J. V. Wild, *Early travellers in Acholi*, 1954, p. 56.
4. Aliboro is probably identical with Abou Saoud, the notorious Sudanese slave trader.
5. See for instance the mention of trees at Patiko in the *Tagebucher von Emin Pascha*, Vol. 2, 1919, p. 33 for 4 January 1879.
6. *Ibid* p. 30, 28 December 1878.
7. Perhaps Fadibek.
8. If this is taken to stand for 'Victoria Imperatrix', the sword poses many problems. More normally one may have expected the sword to have the intitials 'V.R.I.', and the association of an 'Imperatrix' imprint as early as 1880-3 is unlikely. Quite probably the sword was presented by a British officer at a much later date, say about 1900. Enquiries are being made concerning the sword and its trade mark. The bottle may be an early 'gazogene' apparatus for making soda-water which may have been in use in the 1880s. Again it would seem possible that it was a gift of a later army officer. The gold crown referred to may have been a gold-embroidered fez.
9. This reference to Martini rifles also would seem to be very early; the Remington was the rifle more commonly in use in Emin's time.
10. This name, 'Lumurdu', for Baker shows a striking similarity to 'Murrdu', meaning the lion-maned which Delmé-Radcliffe encountered in 1899 (Survey and studies in Uganda, *Geographical J.*, **26**, 1905, p. 482.) Professor Southall considered that there was no current name for Baker in Acholi, where he was known just as 'Baca'; but that he was known amongst the Alur as 'Mulenju' which he rendered as 'wonder-maker'. (The Alur legend of Sir Samuel Baker, *Uganda J.*, **15**, 1951, p. 187). This Alur name was supposed to have been derived from Alur living in Bunyoro. In Bunyoro he was nick-named 'Muleju', the moustached, or bearded one, (A. R. Dunbar, *A history of Bunyoro-Kitara.*, 1965, p. 61.)
11. It is impossible to understand this statement, or to guess with whom the agreement was signed Quite probably the informant has confused Emin with Macdonald or Delmé-Radcliffe or one of their officers.

12. Delmé-Radcliffe established the collectorate at Nimule in 1899. See Wild *op. cit*, p. 56.
13. Schweinfurth, G. *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 1888, p. 9.
14. Trees may have been more plentiful in Emin's days for in his diary for 16 November 1879 he mentions that wood for the steamer was exchanged for glass beads. *Tagebucher*, *op. cit*, Vol. 2, p. 65.
15. Sir John Gray, The diaries of Emin Pasha, *Uganda J.*, **29**, 1965, p. 209.
16. Delmé-Radcliffe, *op. cit*, p. 482.
17. Many sun-dried bricks are used as building materials in nearby villages today.
18. The reference to 'Kotoria' one may suspect to refer to any Sudanese irregular, and not to one in particular, and may have been a Mahdist; a fuller reference to 'Khotarias' is given in H. B. Thomas, Fakih Ibrahim, Muslim Ulema, (*Uganda J.*, **30**, 1966, p. 97.)
19. Schweinfurth, *op.cit*, p. 11 gives a full description of the Nile south of Wadelai.
20. Exchanges between Kabarega and Mwanga early in 1887 are recited in A. Nicq. *Le Père Simon Lourdel*, 1932 edition, p. 461.
21. This may refer to Emin's alleged remark to Casati that "we will give our black soldiers to Kabarega, King of Bunyoro, and he will permit us to cross his boundaries," G. Casati, *Ten years in Equatoria*, 1891, Vol. 1, p. 294.
22. In a personal communication to Dunbar, the Omukama of Bunyoro remarked that Emin is remembered in Bunyoro as the only European who really understood Kabarega. There was mutual confidence between them. A. R. Dunbar, *op.cit*, p. 79. The fact that Emin could converse in Arabic with the King and even knew a few words of Runyoro undoubtedly contributed to their understanding.
23. Or probably Roddy Owen in 1893.
24. A. J. A. Symonds, *Emin, Governor of Equatoria*, London, 1928, p. 34.
25. A. B. Thruston, *African incidents*, London, 1900, p. 168.
26. G. Schweitzer, *Emin Pasha, his life and works*, London, 1898, Vol. 1, p. 127.
27. *Tagebucher*, Vol. 2, p. 131 for 22 October 1880.

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TRADITIONAL RELIGION AND THE PRECOLONIAL HISTORY OF AFRICA—THE EXAMPLE OF THE PADHOLA

By B. A. Ogot

Most writers, many of them anthropologists, who have discussed African traditional religions have been preoccupied largely with three questions: the origin, nature and development of religious beliefs.[1] These discussions have usually been conducted under the broader rubric of primitive religion, and the main purpose of the exercise was to discover points of similarity between so-called primitive religions of the world. In such a context the kind of questions with which these writers were concerned were whether religion can be explained in terms of emotion or hallucination; whether primitive religion is rational or irrational; whether primitive religion is 'animism' or 'pre-animism' or 'fetishism' or 'mana' and so on. Even recent literature on African religions has tended to concentrate mainly on the sociology of religion.[2]

But an historian is not so much concerned with the genesis of religion, except in so far as this can be demonstrated historically, or with an exposition of religious facts in terms of the totality of a culture. He is chiefly concerned with the influence of religion upon a society at different points in time. In that case, what is likely to enrich the history of precolonial Africa is not simply more data on the religious beliefs of different African peoples, but more information on what can only be called the histories of African traditional religions. This essay is a review in some detail of data relating to the traditional religion of one of the Luo-speaking peoples—the Padhola.

* * * *

The Padhola, who numbered 101,451 in 1959 are a Nilotic people who have been living in eastern Uganda since the middle of the sixteenth century.[3] This small Nilotic group is surrounded on all sides by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic peoples: the Nyole and Soga on the west, the Gwere and Iteso on the north and east; and the Gwe and Samia on the south. The histories of these people including the histories of their religions, are closely interwoven with that of the Padhola. According to Thomas and Scott, "The Acholi, Lango, Jopadhola, and Lugbara have essentially monotheistic religions, Jok, the supreme being of the Acholi and Lango, being regarded with a reverence which appears almost Semitic in spirit. Although he is recognised in his different manifestations—a development not unusual even in more highly intellectual religions—this does not detract from his fundamental oneness. Among the Jopadhola, the conception of Jok has been merged in the Bantu belief in Were, a benevolent spirit whose chief services to mankind are in connection with fertility . . ."[4] The concept of *Jok* is found among all the Luo-speaking peoples.[5] What would be important for an historian to know, and what Thomas and Scott have touched upon the passage cited above, is the reason why this basic Nilotic concept has been superseded by Were and Nyasaye, for instance, in the case

of the Padhola and Kenya Luo respectively. Whatever explanations are offered, one point should be emphasised, that just as the early religion of Israel rested upon two historical facts, (the exodus from Egypt and the conquest of Canaan) the traditional religion of the Southern Luo (Padhola and Kenya Luo) can only be understood if discussed against the background of their migration to, and settlement in, their present homes.

The thesis advanced by Thomas and Scott that the Padhola conception of the Supreme Being is an amalgam of the Nilotic concept of Jok and the Bantu concept of Were needs further examination. According to Padhola tradition[6], they have always believed in one Supreme Being whom they call Were. He is conceived of as a white, merciful and good Being, who manifests himself in diverse ways. As *God of the Courtyard* (*Were Madiodipo*), for instance, He looks after the family and the home; and as *God of the Wilderness* (*Were Othim*) He watches over men while they are out hunting or fighting or on a journey.

The term Were is also employed by the Kenya Luo. They refer to God as *Were Nyakalaga* (*God the Omnipresent*). It is to Him that they turned during a crisis. But sometimes the Luo talked of *Were Hagawa* and *Were Dibo*, and this tended to give the impression that they had many gods—which is incorrect. *Were Hagawa* and *Were Dibo* were simply different manifestations of *Were Nyakalaga*, the only true God. The name *Were Hagawa* was used chiefly by the medicine men when treating their patients. *Were Dibo*(*God the Immaculate*), on the other hand, was a kind of family God, with characteristics, similar in many respects to those of Padhola's *Were Madiodipo*. In every home, a shrine was made for Him at the gate (*dhorangach*). On each side of the shrine two white fowl feathers were planted in the ground. Every morning, the owner of the home (father) would open the gate and go to the shrine, to say his morning prayers. He would utter the following words:
"May my day be as bright as these feathers". And those leaving the home for a journey would also call at the shrine to sweep it and to say the words:
"May my journey be as peaceful as this shrine".

These religious practices and the concept of the Supreme Being found among the two Luo-speaking societies are typically Nilotic, except that they use the name Were instead of Jok, for reasons to be examined later. And yet the belief persists that Were (and the practices associated with Him) are Bantu conceptions. This belief is denied passionately by both the Padhola and Kenya Luo who claim that it is the surrounding peoples who have borrowed the name 'Were' from them. Here is a question of historical significance which can only be answered by studing the histories of the traditional religions of the people involved.

Next, the Bantu side of the story needs to be studied. In eastern Uganda the Nyole name for God was 'Gasani', the northern Iteso called Him 'Edeke', while the southern group called Him 'Emisambwa'.[7] As far as this area was concerned, it was only the Samia and the Gwe who called God 'Were'. But half of Samia clans are of Luo extraction in any case;[8] while the Gwe came into intimate contact with several Padhola and Luo migrating bounds.

In western Kenya Wagner provides two names for the Supreme Being in general use among the Luyia: 'Wele' and 'Nasaye'.[9] 'Wele' was employed among the Vugusu, Gisha, Wanga, Kalakelwa and Kabras, while 'Nasaye' was used chiefly amongst the Nyole, Kisa, Tiriki, Isuskha and Idakho. Among the Maragoli, Wagner could not "discover with certainty whether in the pre-Christian era they had a commonly employed name for a Supreme Being

and what that name was".[10] These names, and their geographical distributions, are in themselves of great historical interest.

Taking the 'Wele' list first. With the exception of the Wanga, all the other groups moved to their present homes between about 1750 and 1850 from eastern Uganda. And among them the concept of 'Wele' was so vague that Wagner found it difficult to elicit any coherent ideas regarding the belief in Him. Such incoherence cannot be ascribed merely to the corrosive work of the Christian missions, for the latter have operated longer in Padhola society (where the concept of Were is deeply ingrained and coherent), than amongst the 'Wele' group. It would seem that 'Wele' is a Luyia version of the Luo term 'Were'. Also it is worth noting that 'Were', which is a common Luo name, is not found in any Luyia society other than the Samia, half of whom are of Luo origin any way. In the case of the Wanga, the use of the name 'Wele' is easy to explain since the ruling minority are of Luo derivation.[11] It should thus be evident that it is the Padhola who influenced the religious beliefs of these northwestern Luyia groups, the majority of whom came from eastern Uganda, and not the other way round.

In the southeastern group of Luyia peoples, the 'Nasaye' (or Nyasai), the problem is even more complex. Stam, who worked in the area at the beginning of this century, found it difficult to get any agreement on the etymology of the term. He wrote: "Though entirely different in origin and language, the religious beliefs of the two races (Nilotes and Bantu) are very similar, differing only in minor points or ritual. Both the Nilotic and the Bantu Kavirondo have a distinct idea of God, the Supreme Being. The first call him Nyasaye (from *sako*, to adore), and the latter Nasaye (from *kusaka*,, to beseech) He is considered to be the creator—or originator of all things".[12]

Recently Professor A. Southall has affirmed, somewhat dogmatically, "The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God; *wasigu*, enemies,) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimilated by them".[13] Southall thus expresses surprise that a people that were notorious for imposing their culture upon other groups should so easily jettison their fundamental concepts! He does not, however, provide any evidence on which he bases the above categorical statement.

There are several important points which need to be considered in order to reach a meaningful conclusion. Firstly, all the Kenya Luo groups (in Central and South Nyanza as well as in the Musoma district of Tanzania) use the name *Nyasaye*, whereas in the case of the Luyia, only the southwestern groups which had prolonged contact with the Luo during the precolonial days employ it.

Secondly, the term *Nyasaye*, among the Luo, is not only restricted to God: it is applied, for instance, to the uterus which the Luo regard as the source of life. The Luyia word for the uterus is *oludeleshero*. The Luo also use the name *Nyasaye* to mean luck, good or bad: *nyasache rach* = he is unlucky, and *nyasache ber* = he is lucky. These other usages of the term are just as fundamental to the Luo, who regard them, in line with the Nilotic concept of Jok, as manifestations of God, *Nyasaye*. Moreover, the Luyia verb *kusaya* meaning to beseech, from which the name *Nyasaye* is supposed to be derived, is itself derived from the Luo verb *sayo* which means to beseech or to implore. It is therefore apparent that it was the Luyia who borrowed the name *Nyasaye* from the Luo and not vice versa.

* * * *

The next questions an historian approaching this problem needs to ask are why did the Southern Luo societies evolve new names (*Were* and *Nyasaye*) for God? And why is the use of the term *Nyasaye* restricted to the Kenya Luo alone?

Both of these questions can only be discussed intelligently against the wider background of Southern Luo migration and settlement. It appears that as the Padhola and Kenya Luo moved southwards, and as they successfully overcame numerous obstacles that normally confronted migrating peoples, their notion of a Supreme Being became more refined. By the sixteenth century, when the Padhola were settling in eastern Uganda, Jok , the traditional Nilotic God, had become an all-good, all-powerful and everlasting Supreme Being (Were). Every Padhola clan must then have established shrines (*kuni*) in the area of primary settlement. Their migration had come to an end, and the God who had led them to their Canaan must be a good and everlasting God. Irrespective of how much further a Padhola clan later moved from the area of primary settlement, the members always came back to worship *Were* at the clan shrine located in the area of original settlement.

In Kenya, on the other hand, the Luo continued to be a "nation on the march" until the establishment of British and German colonial administrations. For them, although God was now *Were*, they could not have a fixed abode for Him. Hence, God became *Nyakalaga* (omnipresent). The aspect of religious ritual which came to receive greater attention amongst the Luo was not sacrifice at particular temples or holy places, but prayer, which could be said anywhere, since God was now *Nyakalaga*. It was believed that God who was now *Were* (everlasting) and *Nyakalaga* (omnipresent), answered any prayers faithfully offered by the supplicants. The name *Nyasaye* was therefore applied to the Supreme Being who was constantly and regularly adored or beseeched.

The influence of a people's manner of migration and settlement upon their religion is a phenomenon not unknown in other countries and cultures. Perhaps the best example is the early religion of Israel which rested upon two historical facts: the exodus from Egypt and the conquest of Canaan. Tahweh was not the ancestral god of Israel, but was the god of the Kenites who dwelt at Mout Sinai. But although Israel had no natural claim on him, the Israelites believed that he had taken pity upon their sufferings in Egypt and in the wilderness, delivered them from bondage, and finally brought them into "the land flowing with milk and honey". This showed that in moral character and in power He was superior to all other gods. It therefore followed that He alone deserved to be worshipped.[14]

* * * *

Another aspect of Padhola traditional religion which may interest historians is the cult of *Bura* which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. Up to this time, Padhola society had been held together only by the thread of a common tribal consciousness, with each clan having its own *kuni*. *Bura* emerged as a common cult which proved a potent force which held the Padhola settlements together. According to Padhola tradition,[15] this cult originated from Bugwere, where it is known as *Nyakiriga*. It was introduced into Padhola by a certain man called Akure who had been initiated into the mysteries of the cult by his maternal uncles in Bugwere. The origin of the *bura* is not clear; but the Padhola are unanimous that it is not a Padhola word. Crazzolara asserted that the "name Bura or Vura must have been a great and famous name."[16]

Today it carries different connotations in different areas in Acholi, Alur and Madi districts. In some areas, it applies to clan groups, while in others it is applied to larger tribal or kingship groups.

But the term *bura*, according to Crazzolara, had an esoteric meaning in many societies.[17] For example, among the Acholi clan of Patiko, the residence of the *Rwot* (chief) was simply called *bura*, while among the Pari *bura* means 'royal dignity'. Crazzolara further tells us that, "In former times *bura* meant, in Atyaka (Acoli), the same as *Kagore*, i.e. place of assembly or the assembly itself. Like the old German *Dingstaff*, it was the sitting of the people's court."[18] This is similar to the meaning of *bura* in *Dholuo*, where it means a meeting or a conference or a case. It is therefore quite conceivable that the etymology of the word *bura* in Padhola may be traced back to this ancient usage.

Although the cult had been introduced by Akure, the person who developed it and turned it into a universal institution among the Padhola was his nephew Majanga. He soon emerged as the chief priest of *Bura;* and under his leadership the different Padhola clans were consolidated. The unification of Padhola territory under the charismatic leadership of Majanga, enabled them to offer stiff resistance to the intrusion of the Baganda and the British at the beginning of this century.

But this coalescence cannot be explained simply in terms of individual initiative, important though this was. The rapid manner in which this foreign Bantu cult was embraced by all Padhola clans may probably be ascribed to external factors. Padhola society was at this time threatened from two areas: from the north and east by the Iteso, and from the west by the Baganda who were operating from Busoga. It was therefore necessary for the different Padhola clans to unite against these formidable foes. And it was seen that the cult of *Bura* emerged to provide the kind of binding force that was badly needed.[19]

* * * *

This survey reveals the importance of traditional religion as an important, though littled used, source for the precolonial history of Africa. Using the Padhola society as an example the kind of questions which might pay historical dividends have been indicated. Obviously these questions will be different in the various African societies, but if this kind of investigation is carried out in a big scale the histories of precolonial African societies, which after all, were all religious societies, would be enriched.

NOTES

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3. For a fuller discussion of their history see, Ogot, B.A. *A history of the southern Luo peoples*, 1500-1900, Vol. I (forthcoming).
4. Thomas, H. B. and Scott R. *Uganda*, 1935, p.96.
5. Ogot, B.A., The concept of Jok, *African Studies*, 20, 1961, pp. 123-130.
6. *Padhola Historical Texts*, Vol. II, pp. 7-8; 75-89. *Padhola Historical Texts:* are recordings made by the author in Padhola on the traditional history of the Padhola. The texts have been translated into English and annotated, and are available in the History Department, University College, Nairobi.

7. Note that even in the case of the Iteso after only 30 or 40 years of separation the two sections have different names for God.
8. According to the findings of the author, *A history of the southern Luo peoples*, 1500-1900, Vol. I, the Abasamia are an amalgam of several peoples of diverse origin: the original Samia core; refugees from the Masai and Kalenjin peoples; and several Luo splinter groups.
9. Wagner, G. *The Bantu of north Kavirondo*, Vol. 1, 1949, pp. 167-177.
10. *Ibid*, p.168.
11. Ogot, B.A. *op. cit.* (forthcoming).
12. Stam, N. The religious conceptions of the Kavirondo. (*Anthropos*, 5, 1910, p.360.)
13. Southall, A. *Lineage formation among the Luo*. International Africa Institute, Memorandum No. 26, 1952.
14. Paton, L. B. *The early religion of Israel*, Chapter III; Budde, K., *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, Chapter I.
15. *Padhola Historical Texts*, Vol. II, pp. 75-79; 135-39.
16. Crazzolara, J. P., *The Lwoo*, Part III, pp. 336-337; 476-477; 506-507; 520-530.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 337-338.
18. *Ibid*, 338.
19. Compare for instance the emergence of the Prophets among the Nuer. Evans-Pritchard has explained that the power of the prophet in Nuer society was perhaps developed in responde to external stresses such as the spread of Madhism. Powerful prophets arose at the time when the Arabs were trying to extend their influence to Nuerland. (The Nuer, pp. 294-295, in *African political system*, (1940), edited by Evans-Pritchard and Fortes.)

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THE ORGAN IN NAMIREMBE CATHEDRAL

By J. Dixon

Like so much else of value in the musical life of the Church of Uganda, the organ in Namirembe Cathedral owes its existence chiefly to the vision and hard work of the Rev. John Murray Duncan, who spent the last years of his life in the service of the Cathedral.

Unfortunately, the correspondence which has been preserved in the Church records is tantalisingly incomplete, and it is impossible to give in these notes more than a brief summary of its story. There appear to have been many changes of mind in the early stages and only correspondence relevant to the final instrument has been kept. Incidentally, it is understood that because of these many changes of mind the organ was eventually built at a loss to the builders. Duncan knew what he wanted in the way of musical results, but he appears to have had only a rudimentary knowledge of the mechanical side of things and of the work involved in building an instrument.

As far as one can tell, plans were first started in earnest in mid-1928. A letter dated 17 April 1929 from the Organ Builders (The Positive Organ Co. 1922 Ltd.) refers to scheme A and scheme C as set out in a letter of July 5th. Whether there was ever a scheme B is one of the questions never answered. Scheme A was probably for one manual and pedal judging by the price quoted; a pedal stop is mentioned, and the quoted cost of £680 can hardly have covered two manuals and pedal. Scheme C was basically the present organ, though the original idea was to have tracker action. This would have cost £1350. However, Duncan soon seems to have turned to the idea of pneumatic action, and the first surviving letter, dated 31st Jan. 1929, gives quotes for this; Scheme A to cost £800 and weigh 30 cwt., Scheme C to cost £1575 and weigh 3 to 4 tons. (Price f.o.b. London in each case). The sketch attached to this letter shows that at this time the builders imagined the organ being on the "South" side of the Cathedral. (See Appendix 1).

In the next few months, consideration was given to the advisability of the builders sending out a man to erect the instrument, and to the inclusion on the Great of some mutation stops. Both these suggestions were turned down; the first would have cost about £100, which Duncan felt he could not afford, (or perhaps felt would be better spent on the instrument itself), and he was confident he could cope. The second would have cost £75, and the builders pointed out that "small stops like Twelfth, Fifteenth and Sesquialtera would require more frequent tuning."

While this was going on, money was also being collected for the organ, and on May 21st a cable was sent to the builders, saying "proceed scheme A", on the basis of the funds then available. However, several of "the more wealthy Baganda" (Duncan's description) felt that this was not good enough, and that they must find the extra money; so on June 7th a cable was sent off, followed

by an explanatory letter setting out the position and promising a final decisi at the meeting of the Cathedral Chapter on July 4th. On July 8th a cab was sent off confirming the larger organ, and so the present organ was launche (See also Appendix 2). The financial records are as scanty as the other on but one note, probably from early 1930 says "£900 collected in Uganc £450 guaranteed by Kabaka, Katikiro and Treasurer only £300 more requir from England". This note is on a list of £101 subscriptions which appear have been collected in England, whether they are included in the £900 collect in Uganda is not clear. (See also Appendix 4).

Even with the placing of the order, however, all was not plain sailir and much was still to be done. On August 20th, the builders wrote to say tl "at this stage we cannot give you the information requested (this includ among other things, "about what date you expect to ship the organ")..... "We cannot in no way (*sic*) rush the work, as for an organ going so away we must and will exercise every precaution, and this takes time." Dunc must by now have been wondering about his ability to erect the instrument its arrival. He had already asked for a book on organ building and the build had promised to look for one, although "in our opinion there are not any tl are of practical assistance". Now on Christmas Day 1929 (a favourite day his for writing as the first letter preserved refers to his of Dec. 25th (sc. 192 we find him writing to notify the builders of the maximum sized crate the r ways can cope with (40′×11′×9½′) and expressing the hope that this enable them to send "the mechanism of the organ in one piece already assem ed, leaving for us only the addition of the pipes, swell box, and perhaps coupling up of the pedal board." This , he says, will make our work e He also again asks when the organ will be ready, and then goes on to sug that it might be advantageous if they keep it till autumn, as (1) the open of the through rail route from Mombasa to Kampala has been promised September, and (2) the Cathedral roof has been giving trouble. The buil were quick to disabuse him of the idea that it could be sent out in one pi but "are using every effort to simplify it for you to put together". They are in a hurry to despatch it "and the longer the parts are laying here glued before finishing the better. We have had the grids of the soundboards gl up since last July, so that they are having every chance of getting well seasor and this is the most important part of any organ" (31st Jan 1930). In re Duncan has "just noticed (!) that the cathedral doors are only eight feet h and eight feet wide, so that each section must be small enough to pass thro them". He must indeed have been thankful that a package 40′×11′× was not already on the high seas!. In the same letter, he requests that Dr. Ha Darke be advised when the organ is finished, as he is to inspect it on beha the Cathedral.

On 25th Sept. the builders write: "With reference to yours of 1st ins (not, alas, still extant) re the Swell Box having shutters on the top as well as front, we do not consider this suitable for your organ, also it has one g disadvantage, that of shooting the dust into the pipes..... To fit too m shutters will spoil any swell box..... We are making good progress the organ, most of the parts are now made". On 24th Nov. "all parts are made, and being assembled". By now the railway was expected to be ope by March 1st, but the builders could not guarantee to despatch the instrun by Feb. 19th. On Feb 7th 1931 they "hope it may leave in April." " reason it is taking so long is the great precaution we are taking with it, anc

can only let special men assist on it". Three days earlier, the gentleman handling the London side of the finances for Duncan had written to say that he had heard from the company that they expect to have the organ finished by March 13th. But they wanted to have it together and playable for about a month or more before despatch, so that everything could settle down and any snags be ironed out. There the correspondence ends. The reason for its closing somewhat inconclusively can be deduced from the following notice which appeared in the "Personal & Social" column of the *Uganda Herald* for October 2nd of the same year (1931) "The Rev. J M. Duncan has returned from England and we understand that the new organ for Namirembe Cathedral is now on its way up from the coast".

With the skilled assistance of Mr. J. F. Robinson, who was then at King's College, Budo, the organ was erected in a remarkably short space of time for on October 30th the authorities were able to announce that "The Bishop of Uganda will dedicate the organ at the beginning of the 9 o'clock service on Sunday November 8th. The organ will be employed for the first time to accompany the opening hymn *Kakano Twebaza* (Now thank we all our God). The service will also include the national hymn of *Buganda Bulijo tutendereza* (Daily, daily sing the praises)". At the afternoon service the anthem was the Hallelujah chorus from Messiah, and instead of the sermon there was a recital consisting of

Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	J. S. Bach
Meditation on "When I survey"	Parry
Sonata No 1 in F minor	Mendelssohn
Prelude in B minor	Franck
Fantasia in F minor	Mozart.

On Wednesday Nov. 11th there was to be an evening recital with organ, voice and violin, and on Sunday Nov. 15th a further recital after the evening service.

The organ was a success. The *Uganda Herald* had this to say:—"We must congratulate the builders on a conspicuously successful piece of work. The volume and quality of sound produced by full organ are astonishing, when its comparatively small size is considered.....The tone of the various stops is rich and the different kinds of sound blend well.....The Positive Organ Company has risen to their opportunity" And of the recital itself "Bach's G minor was the weakest of the three; Mendelssohn's first sonata and Mozart's famous but very difficult went better (*sic*). One item, a short Bach piece played by Mr. Eriya Kaizi must not be passed over. It was an unpretentious little prelude, but was a beautiful piece of music and was played with a neatness and a competence which were a pleasure to hear." Of the Wednesday recital it was noted, inter alia, that "The performance of the noble B minor Prelude & Fugue and of Mendelsohn's A major sonata were perceptibly better than the organ solos of Sunday. However the B minor fugue is by no means such a tough proposition as the G minor."

And so ends the first chapter. But organs very rarely stand still for very long. Within a few years of its erection, a small soundboard was added to the swell, containing three pipes on each of the six ranks, to make the octave coupler effective up to c'' instead of a', which is of course of considerable benefit in playing much of the earlier organ music written for instruments whose compass stopped at c''. All I can find out about this is Mr. Robinson's information that it was supplied by a firm in the north of England.

In 1952 Mr. Alfred Davies, senior partner of a Northampton firm of builders paid a visit to Uganda and overhauled the organ. He also arranged for the in-

stallation of an electric blower, which was supplied by the British Organ Blowing Company. At the same time the Stopped Diapason (?) was removed from the Swell, and sold to the South African Organ Builders (Prop) Ltd., being replaced by a Gemshorn 4'. In this replacement the three extra notes on the small soundboard were unfortunately overlooked and were not supplied.

There is no doubt that the organ was well worth the money spent. After thirty years it is now in need of cleaning and of renewal of the more perishable parts of the action, but this is nothing to be wondered at. Indeed, since the organ has for the best part of its life had only the attention of amateurs, who although devoted to the instrument and not lacking in skill, could hardly be expected to be as expert as those doing the work full time, it has survived remarkably well, and is a great tribute to its makers. Even more so is the pipework. The voicing more than complies with the requirements in the "Details of construction" (Appendix 1). I fully endorse the verdict of the *Uganda Herald's* critic. Almost any possible combination of stops that can be drawn is pleasant to listen to, even the most unlikely ones, though naturally some are more "useful" than others. It would be hard to find two stops which clashed. The flutes in particular are of great clarity and purity, not excluding the Great Bourdon, which played an octave up is rightly a favourite solo stop of the present organist. Together with the Dulciana it makes a very good "Choir soft 8' & 4". The Oboe makes an excellent solo stop (or would if it were properly regulated—some notes are somewhat out of balance at the moment), and also adds weight to the full Swell. The Swell flues, with Octave coupler, give a very pleasant effect suitable for John Stanley and similar pieces. It would have been nice to have the mutations on the Great, but even without them the Diapason chorus has plenty of bite and power, and is capable of leading a big congregation without difficulty.

Appendix 1

Details of construction

Action. The manuals and pedal Actions, to be tubular pneumatic, ensuring perfect speech and repetition, the touch boxes and coupling chambers to be made of thoroughly seasoned mahogany all glue joints to be screwed.
Soundboards. To be of ample size, made of thoroughly seasoned mahogany, the table to be leathered and screwed to the bars. Slider system.
Bellows. To be of ample size to ensure a copious and steady supply of wind to the pipes and to be doubled leathered throughout, and fitted with panels, which, when removed, render every portion of the interior easy of access. The leather to be poisoned and tacked with copper tacks. Feeders to be fitted for double blowing actions.
Swell Box. To be as lofty as possible, of suitable thickness, lined inside and varnished outside and made perfectly tight. The Shutters (fitted vertically) to be padded and every precaution taken to ensure an effectual and silent closing.
Pedalboard. To be of the revised R.C.O. pattern (radiating and concave)
Keys. To be of ivory with ebony sharps, screwed and pinned.
Drawstops. The jambs to be placed at an angle of 45 degrees, and to be fitted with knobs engraved in English Block letters. All pins to be bushed with lea ther. The action to be mechanical.
Pipes. The Front Pipes to be Stout Zinc. Interior Pipesto be of plain and spotted metal according to character of stop. The Wood Pipes to be made of thoroughly seasoned timber, and constructed on the most improved principle, all joints (sc) screwed. Trebles varnished, Basses painted.
Voicing. The voicing of the Pipes to be such as to ensure power and accurate balance of tone in full combination, together with purity and delicacy in the soft and solo registers. Special attention to be paid to the instructions of the Rev. J. H. Duncan.
Completion. Materials and workmanship throughout to be of first quality, and the organ erected complete at our works, to be tried and tested by anyone appointed by Rev. J. R. Duncan. Then dismantled, after being plainly marked for re-erection, packed in strong cases for shipment, those cases containing Soundboards and pneumatic work to be lined with Zinc.

Appendix 2
Notes on scheme C. (by Duncan)

Plenty of wind please. The test will be Bach's prelude "Out of the deep", 4 manual parts & double pedal, with full organ.
Let no. 1 open diapason and the pedal open be as large as is consistehnt with good tone.
Let the Dulciana balance the Swell St. Diapason & Flute together wit the box open.
Let the Contra Fagotto be a 16 ft. oboe, available as an Oboe 8 ft. with Sw. Unison off coupler drawn & Sw. octave.
Spare parts.
Padlocks.
Tuning tools.

Appendix 3
Specification (as at July 1966)

Great.	Bourdon	16′	Swell.	Lieblich Gerdacht	8′
	Open Diapason Major	8′		Viole D'orchestre	8′ (Ten C.)
	Open Diapason Minr	8′		Gemshorn	4′
	Dulciana	8′		Piccolo	2′
	Clarabella	8′		Double Oboe	16′
	Principal	4′		Horn	8′
Couplers.	Swell to Great		Pedal.	Open Diapason	16′
	Great to Pedal			Bourdon	16′
	Swell to Pedal			Bass Flute	8′
	Swell Unison Off				
	Swell Octave				
	Swell Sub-Octave				

(the Pedal Bourdon and the Great Bourdon are one rank, as are also the Pedal Open Diapason and Bass Flute).
Two Combination Pedals to Great organ, and two to Swell organ.
Double acting pedal to Pedal Open Diapason. Kick pedal to Great to Pedal coupler.
Balanced Swell Pedal. Electric Blower, and hand blowers.
Compass CC to a' (fifty eight notes. Pedal CCC to F (30 notes).

Appendix 4
Notes on contributions

The funds for the organ were sought, and came, from wide and far, recorded subscriptions ranging from 1 shilling to 1855/-, and the list of contributors running from Abdul Aziz and Agricultural Office, Kampala, Staff of, to Wahid and Whykes.
At the end of the second main list, total about 10,300/-, we find

A rough Analysis.

The Church, about Shgs.	3500
The Law	360
Medicine	725
Other Learned Professions (including Police)	400
Commerce	2100
Other Government Officers	2750
Visitors and others	500

Total number of names in this and previous list, about 450.
A third list (short; some 700/- from 35 people) carries the note (For Baganda list apply to the Katikiro), and the list of £101 which appears to have been collected in England carries the note set out in the text. Since this contains no reference to any sum in England at that time it is presumed that the £101 must be included in the £900 collected in Uganda.

Uganda Journal, **31**, 1 (1967), 123—126

NOTES

ON THE FRONTIERS OF ANOTHER WORLD

By H. B. THOMAS, O.B.E.

I have never consciously encountered a psychic phenomenon—a situation which was not susceptible to rational, physical explanation. But I see no option but to accept as a fact, which I do readily, that many such phenomena have been observed by unimpeachable witnesses. In the unmapped borderlands of consciousness lies a region wide open to misrepresentation or fabrication. But scientific investigation by, for instance, the Society for Psychical Research (founded in London in 1882), has contributed to establish these enquiries as honest probings after the truth. Early scepticism has been largely dispelled, and today extra-sensory perception (ESP) is regarded as an entirely respectable attribute. I do no more than recount some stories with an East African background which have come to my notice. Upon them I am quite un unqualified to comment.

* * * *

I still have a faded invitation card to dine with the Governor and Mrs. Jackson at Government House, Entebbe, on 29 December 1911 (Sir Frederick was not knighted until 1913). I was one of a party of very young, recently arrived, cadets. To our hosts we may well have appeared the veriest animalcules but they certainly failed to show it. My recollection is of the sincerity and warmth which marked their welcome. I do not think I encountered Lady Jackson again in Uganda; they retired in 1917. Thirty years later I was privileged to be admitted to her friendship. With her advancing years it was, I think, a comfort to her to find someone with whom she could exchange memories of an almost forgotten age. She died at St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex on 27 May 1966, aged 88.

It was thus that she came to offer to *The Uganda Journal*, Sir Frederick's account of, 'The Ghost of Leven House, Mombasa', (*Uganda Journal*, **15**, 1951, p. 159). He was, it seems, throughout life, susceptible to psychic experiences. Lady Jackson, full of commonsense and quick to note the ludicrous in human foibles, had no such propensity. But she recognised, without reservation, the reality of Sir Frederick's experiences.

* * * *

She recalled how, on 21 January 1909, a fellow campaigner of Sir Frederick in the Sudanese mutiny of 1897, Sidney Ormsby, then District Officer at Mbale, died at Mumias. At breakfast that morning in Nairobi, where Sir Frederick was Deputy Commissioner, he told her that, during the night, Ormsby had appeared by his bed-side, and that he felt something must have happened to him. At noon a telegram was delivered announcing Ormsby's death, early that morning.

* * * *

In January 1925 a similar apparition and intuition came to Sir Frederick then in the south of France upon the sudden death in England of Rider Haggard's younger brother Arthur (the novelist 'Arthur Amyand', and incidentally a seventh son), who had been his contemporary at Cambridge and life-long friend. The truth of his fears was quickly confirmed.

Sir Frederick died at Beaulieu-sur-Mer on the French Riviera on 3 February 1929. That night, so Lady Jackson relates, as she lay awake, alone in their villa, a pale blue light swayed to and fro across her room, vivid and unmistakable. Emotionally overwrought at the time, she mentioned this experience to no one. Only later when she returned to London did she refer to it casually to her niece Lady Olive Archer[1] but the matter then went no further.

* * * *

That charming and vital person Vivienne de Watteville,[2] in her book *Out in the Blue*, first published in 1927, tells of the death of her father, Bernard de Watteville, the distinguished Swiss naturalist-collector. Devoted companions, they were together in Congo Belge territory at the south end of Lake Edward when, on 1 October 1924, having been savaged by a wounded lion, he died in her arms. Alone, a girl of 24, with the help of their African followers she buried her father, and thereafter resolutely led the expedition to achieve its objectives before returning to Kabale in Kigezi.[3]

In 1941 *Out in the Blue* was reprinted as a 'shilling' war-time paperback in Methuen's 'Vintage Books'. In this edition for the first time she relates that, falling asleep during the night following her father's death, she was awakened by a bar of light with two pointed wings flitting to and fro.[4]

Lady Archer who had known Miss de Watteville in Uganda in 1924 came upon this edition of the book with this addition of which she was hitherto unaware. Thereupon she recalled to Lady Jackson that 12 years before she (Lady Jackson) had described a somewhat similar appearance after Sir Frederick's death.

Lady Jackson who had not then met Miss de Watteville sought her out at her home near West Hoathly, Sussex. They exchanged notes. They recognised that they were talking of two men of very similar quality—strong, brave and gentle—each finely attuned throughout life to the world of nature. Who will gainsay the common conviction of these two who were left, that each of these gallant souls was seeking from beyond the Great Divide to signal to his loved one?

"And you will speed us onward with a cheer
And wave beyond the stars that all is well".[5]

* * * *

Many years before these events Lady Jackson had been brought very close to somewhat similar happenings on the occasion of the death of one of Sir Frederick's closest friends. It is fortunate indeed that with a full chapter of his *Wanderings and Memories* (1919) J. G. Millais rescues from oblivion that attractive if enigmatical personality 'Arthur Neumann, Pioneer and Elephant Hunter', who has (almost certainly erroneously) been suggested as the prototype of Allen Quartermain, the sagacious intrepid and modest hunter of Rider Haggard's novels. Both Neumann and Allen Quartermain had many characteristics similar to those of Jackson and Bernard de Watteville.

Between the years 1893 and 1906 Neumann (of whom there is a photograph at *Uganda J.*, **23**, 1959, p. 162.) had phenomenal success as an elephant hunter in the region between Mount Kenya and Lake Rudolf. In 1906, now aged 56 and recognizing that the current urge for game preservation in East Africa has brought to an end the adventurous life of untrammelled freedom which he had enjoyed to the full, he returned gloomily to England.

Sir Frederick was due to reach London on leave from East Africa on 28 May 1907 and it had been planned that Neumann should dine with him and

Lady Jackson at their hotel that night. He did not arrive. Next day the Jacksons went on to their home at Aldeburgh, where they learnt from the papers that Neumann had shot himself in his London chambers on that very night.

Neumann had a god-daughter, Noomi, the daughter of friends he had made in South Africa years before. Despite the disparity of their ages, there was between them a remarkable bond of affection and understanding. At the time she was at a convent school in Brussels. Very shortly after, and while still ignorant of, his death she was unaccountably led to the nuns' private chapel. Kneeling down she looked up to see 'Uncle Arthur', obviously in great distress, standing by her. "Noomi, my life has now passed away.....my sufferings are terrible..... Pray for me." On several succeeding days he appeared to her momentarily in the early morning. She confided her ordeal to the Mother Superior and only subsequently did the truth, and later the circumstances, of Neumann's death become known to her. The whole facts of this case, with Noomi as a witness, were examined by members of the Society of Psychical Research, and their report is published in the Society's Journal for May 1908.

* * * *

A common element of all these cases seems to be an effort to communicate purposefully, for greetings or information, over a gulf which is by reason of circumstances or of time physically impassible.

From this one is led to consider the widely publicised concept of the 'bush telegraph'. Many remarkable cases of rapid transmission of news in primitive Africa have been related. Drums, smoke signals, messages declaimed from hill top to hill-top, and swift runners have all been suggested as possible explanations.

G. W. Hobley (*Kenya from Chartered Company to Crown Colony*, 1929, p. 96) tells of a border-line case. The trader, Andrew Dick was killed in a collision with the Masai near Kedong, Kenya, on 28 November 1895. At this time Hobley who had been marching round the north of Mount Elgon had returned to its southern slopes. Here he encountered some Masai who informed him of the death of Dick. A later comparison of dates showed that he had received this news three days after the event. The air-line distance between the two points is hardly less than 200 miles. Those who are familiar with the terrain and recall the unsettled state of the country at that period can but register astonishment that such a feat of communication should be physically possible.

* * * *

But other cases cannot be so explained. One such is cited by the Rev. W. Marcus Falloon (Chaplain at Nairobi 1904-16) in a long challenging letter published in *East Africa* on 22 January 1931. Towards the end of 1902 a Third Somaliland Expedition was being organized. Contingents of 1 and 2 King's African Rifles left Nyasaland for Somaliland in November, while details and women folk under an adjutant remained at their depot at Zomba. Ultimately the troops were put ashore at Obbia on the east coast early in January 1903 with a view to their attacking the Mad Mullah from the south.

On 17 April 1903 a force which included two companies of 2 K.A.R. under Lieut. Colonel A. W. V. Plunkett was trapped by the Mad Mullah at Gumburu and was virtually wiped out. All nine British officers perished.

In Zomba at about 3 p.m. of the same 17 April (the date was subsequently verified) "there was a great noise in the married quarters and the adjutant

sent a military policeman to quell it. He returned twenty minutes later to say that there had been a great disaster in Somaliland and that six of the company-sergeant-majors had been killed. This is officially noted in the battalion's records. Now Zomba is about 2000 miles from the scene of the disaster, and the battalion had been rushed by the Somalis at 2.30 p.m."

Mr. Falloon suggests that this space annihilation may be a form of telepathy (soul-levitation is his expression). This thought may help to elucidate what is, to the pragmatist, the inexplicable. Certainly it confirms the truth that

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio. . . ."

NOTES

1. Wife of Sir Geoffrey Archer, Governor of Uganda 1922-24. He died 1 May, 1964.
2. Married in 1930, Mrs. George Gerard Goschen, died in 1957.
3. J. R. McD. Elliot tells me that he was District Commissioner, Kigezi at the time. He was touring beyond Mount Muhavura and hoping to photograph gorillas when a special messenger brought a coded telegram. Having no code-book he had perforce to return forthwith to Kabale. Here the telegram proved to be from Governor Archer upbraiding him for failure to report de Watteville's death, news of which 'at Kabale' had reached Entebbe through the Kampala bazaar. It transpired that he had been killed near Kibare, Congo, hence the confusion. Miss de Watteville stayed with the Elliots at Kabale for some time. He recalls that her father and her experiences seemed very real to her.
4. In 1937 Methuens had published a somewhat revised edition in the 'The Devereux Books' series in which this interpolation does not appear.

   The publishers' stock of the 1941 edition was destroyed in the 'Blitz' and I have sought in vain for a copy, which is not in the British Museum. Lady Jackson had however transcribed the relevant passage from a copy lent to her by Miss de Watteville, and it seems well to reprint it here since it might irretrievably be lost. The interpolation, which would be at the top of p. 209 (1927 edition) reads:—

   "I fell asleep and was presently wakened by a bright bar of light shining above me. Two little pointed wings about four inches across flitted to and fro, but most constant was the bar of light.

   I thought that it was a blessing from B's ascending spirit, and I prayed hard that his hunter's skill and marksmanship might pass on to me. When I had sworn to finish his work, I asked for a blessing and the brightness hovered closer above me dilating yet more strongly and then vanished.

   It was final farewell."
5. From *Julian Grenfell* (killed in France, 1915) by Maurice Baring.

DEFENSIVE BEHAVIOUR IN CLICK BEETLES (COLEOPTERA: ELATERIDAE)

By A. W. R. McCrae

The behaviour of click beetles or 'skipjacks' (fam. Elateridae) is familiar to many. When these insects are placed on their backs, they flex themselves into an uncomfortable-looking posture, then suddenly with a loud click their bodies unbend and they leap into the air. With considerable naivety, several textbooks on general entomology (e.g. Imms, 1957; Borror and Delong, 1954) assert that the primary function of such behaviour is to permit these beetles to right themselves should they find themselves inverted on a flat surface. As shown below, this function can only be of secondary importance.

A huge species of click beetle about 2½ inches long, *Tetralobus mystacinus* Cand., occurs quite commonly at lights in Uganda, and provides a good opportunity to examine the intricacies of this behaviour on a scale easily visible to to the naked eye.

When *T. mystacinus* is placed on its back without undue molestation it at first invariably attempts more usual methods of righting itself, waving its legs about, twisting its head and body and occasionally opening its wing cases to get a better angle of tilt. Only after such a performance will it resort to clicking. But if the insect is picked up and held in a grasp it will click vigorously and repeatedly, with no preliminary alternative actions. The beetle's body is smooth and tapered so that with such violent clicking it becomes impossible to prevent it from slipping from the fingers.

For the clicking mechanism to operate, the junction of the insect's thorax and wing cases must be constricted above so that these parts act as a hinge. A predator might then be able to gain a firm grip at this point and with a certain amount of force might even put the clicking mechanism out of play. Here however *T. mystacinus* was seen to employ another device which falls into the category of an insect 'gin-trap'. The hind angles of the thorax are extended into sharp thorn-like structures and if the insect is grasped here it will open an appreciable gap, then close it with great force to inflict a powerful 'bite' on anything which has slipped between. If it is then dropped, the beetle will open these 'jaws' in an unmistakably threatening manner at anything that approaches

Seven smaller species of click beetles were then examined under the microscope, and all but one showed the same 'gin-trap' behaviour in addition to the expected clicking. The exception was without pointed hind angles of the thorax.

While clicking undoubtedly can permit these beetles to right themselves from an inverted position, there can be no doubt that absolutely flat surfaces are of too infrequent occurrence in nature to account for the evolution of such refined structures and behaviour. Clicking behaviour therefore must be seen as serving a primarily defensive function, as Fleutiaux (1942) and Novas (1947) have argued (unfortunately their papers do not receive the attention of authors of textbooks in English). 'Gin-trap' behaviour, hitherto unrecorded in this family of beetles, appears to be widespread and to serve a complementary defensive function.

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AN UNUSUAL ASSOCIATION BETWEEN WEAVER BIRDS AND CATFISH

By A. W. R. McCrae

In early September 1966, while trapping fresh-water crabs in the Nyara river near Bondo in West Nile district, I observed an extraordinary association between birds and fish. A colony of the Black-headed weaver birds (*Ploceus cucullatus*) was in the process of establishing itself in an acacia tree which partly overhung the river. In water flowing swiftly, at about two feet per second, a group of at least five 'nsonsi' (the catfish *Clarias carsonii*) maintained a position immediately below this tree. My attention was drawn to the fish by a boy who was dropping groundnuts into the river; when they reached the fish there was a swirl of water and the nuts disappeared. The same happened when bits of paper and ground-nut shells were thrown in. I then saw that when the weaver bird droppings fell the fish immediately consumed them, which must have accounted for the fish maintaining their position in what was for them an unusually swiftly flowing water.

It may be on chance observations such as this that peculiar parasite cycles are discovered.

UNIQUE RECORD OF CRANE FLIES BITING MAN

By A. W. R. McCrae

In January 1966 I spent a week at Chobe Lodge in the Murchison Falls Game Park investigating insects of nuisance value and medical importance. On the first day I handed out tubes for the lodge staff to collect any mosquitoes which came to bite them that night. The following day one of the staff presented me with an unusual insect similar to a small crane fly or 'daddy-long-legs' (fam. Tipulidae) which he insisted had bitten him. I was frankly incredulous, but a few nights later when I was collecting about midnight at the lights in front of the lodge I was myself bitten on the leg by one of the same kind of insect.

On receiving a specimen, Dr. Paul Freeman of the British Museum (Natural History) was as incredulous as I had been. While stating that no member of the crane fly family to which this belonged was on record as biting man, he informed me that this fly belonged to an unknown species, its closest relative bearing the appropriate name of *Toxorrhina scimitar*. The proboscis in this group is unusually long and curved, but it had hitherto been assumed that such an organ was used for flower feeding. It was suggested to me that the insect had mistaken me (and also the redoubtale staff member) for a flower and had probed a pore, this record therefore representing an instance of "pseudo-anthropophilism".

Other *Toxorrhina* are known to pass their early stages in mud, but although I have since re-visited the lodge under wetter conditions I have been unable to secure further specimens. More material would be welcome before the species can be properly described.

J. D. JAMESON, O.B.E.

President of the Uganda Society 1953-1954

Agricultural development in Uganda over the past fifty years has been served by a number of distinguished scientists. In any future assessment of the work of this pioneering period, J. D. Jameson must surely rank high amongst those who have devoted most of their working lives to Uganda's agricultural progress. Trained as a botanist, Jameson entered the service of the Uganda Department of Agriculture in 1931. Specialist officers of those days had to cope with a large variety of problems concerned with crop improvement since the research staffs were so small. Thus, during his thirty years' service in Uganda, towards the end of which he was Chief Research Officer, Jameson was responsible for a wide range of research and experimental projects in the field concerned with crop improvement. The crop to which most attention was devoted was cotton and there can have been few, if any, who possessed so intimate a knowledge of cotton growing in Uganda and cotton ginning as "J. D.". Through his travel throughout the country, supervising field experiments and studying the development of the cotton crop each year, he gained an immense knowledge and understanding of the agricultural situation and the problems of development. This was reflected not only in his writings but also in the teaching he undertook, for many years, of Makerere agriculture students, prior to the Faculty of Agriculture appointing its own full time staff. It is significant that at the time of his death he was in the final stages of producing the revised edition of *Agriculture in Uganda* by J. D. Tothill. No one was better fitted for this task. Both this volume and much of the agricultural literature of Uganda from 1930 to 1965 will, for many years to come, bear witness to the patient, systematic, and highly competent work of a very fine agricultural scientist, John D. Jameson.

F. B. WILSON.

THE MAILO SYSTEM IN BUGANDA

By H. W. West

Entebbe, Government Printer, 1965, 179p., 4 maps in pocket, 25sh. E.A. price.

Mailo tenure is far from easy to define and the author's definition of this unique tenure is greatly to be welcomed. "It is certainly not a complex of communal rights, as yet found today in some other tribal areas; although a few ancient communal rights still survive. It is not even a system based upon clan rights, also fairly common elsewhere; as in Buganda these were, in the main, swept away more than sixty years ago. Nor, despite the recognition and full acceptance of individual title to land, is it a truly commercial tenure in which custom has yielded to contract as a basis for economic relations. Instead, it is somewhere in between." (page vi) The rest of the book is a concise account of how this state of affairs came to be. The author sets out in some 180 pages all the essential features of the history of mailo, its development and shortcomings, and has supported his findings with one field study and a useful abstract of statistics. The result should prove very rewarding reading for the administrator, lawyer, agriculturist and, of course, surveyor.

The first chapter is devoted to a brief account of the position of customary tenure prior to the 1900 Land Settlement. For those who had erroneously compared land tenure in Buganda during this period to that under feudalism it would be enlightening to read that "The *bakopi* were not serfs, bound to the soil, as were the villeins under the medieval manorial system." (page 5) This chapter also contains a very important statement of the law concerning mailo which is that unlike the case everywhere else in East and Central Africa, should an owner wish to alienate his estate, he is completely free from any tribal or clan control.

Chapters II and III set out the history of mailo tenure and the important provisions of the laws which have been enacted from time to time to control dealings in mailo land and the various attempts and proposals to improve the efficiency and availability of the survey service to the mailo owner. The next chapter contains an appraisal of the mailo system as a whole. The author's conclusions are that despite any injustices which might have been perpetrated in the course of its introduction, the 1900 Land Settlement "has, in the main, proved politically, economically and socially useful" and that "It is very important that those responsible for the present operation and improvement of the the system should, themselves, appreciate the benefits derived from it". (page 59. His judgement on the mailo titles register is that it is in need of drastic reform, especially with a view to reducing the cost of the survey service to the user.

The anachronistic system of inheritance to land in Buganda (Chapter V) is considered by the author to be the most important single factor retarding progress in the development of mailo tenure, although clearly other factors

are also at work. For example, out of an estimated figure of 150,000 registerable mailo interests, almost half remained unregistered at the time of writing. The author gives some bold suggestions as to reform, including fresh legislation, greater compulsion and penalties to encourage speedier registration of transactions in mailo. However, these suggestions, seen against the problems so ably described in the rest of the book, should be received with caution.

The author also advocates the abolition of the Torrens System which requires accurate survey and its replacement by the less accurate but speedier "general" boundaries system which would facilitate the use of aerial photography. This particular suggestion for reform seen against the historical fact of title guarantee which has prevailed since the introduction of private land title into Uganda, comes as a surprise and one must be permitted to ask whether the author has thought about the full implications of effecting such a proposal.

It is also for the above reasons that the value of the study carried out at Seeta is greatly reduced. Seeta, as the author himself states, is neither rural nor semi-urban and therefore fails to tell us much about either. The author would have been much more convincing if he had supplied the reader with the results of similar studies in an urban or semi-urban area on the one hand and a rural area on the other and allowed the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The author's study concerning the operation of the Busulu and Envuju Law deserves special mention. The Law "has also made it virtually impossible for all but the largest land owners (who very likely now have alternative and additional sources of income) to live upon the rents and profits off their land, without actually farming it themselves" (page 120). It also emerges from the study that the Law makes it impossible for the tenant to realise freely on the improvements of his tenancy should he wish to move or to offer it as security to raise such loans as he may need as a farmer. It is for these twin reasons that the author concludes that the Law "has now become an inhibitor of progress . . . . and it is now proving definitely hostile to the ends of development" (page126). The author offers a number of proposals for reform which are very much worth careful study as they contain the seeds of a solution satisfactory to mailo owner and tenant alike.

The final chapter is devoted to proposals for the reform of land use in rural areas. The author argues that the land register can and should be used to control land use. It is the view of the present reviewer that this final chapter contains real wisdom which the Government could ill afford to ignore.

P. J. Nkambo Mugerwa.

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN UGANDA 1952 - 1962

By F. B. Welbourn,

Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965, 78pp.

In this book, as in much of the rest of his work, Fred Welbourn combines philosophical insights with journalistic tendencies. It is a combination which reminds one of Walter Lippmann. Like Lippmann, Welbourn is less a scholar than a thinker. That is often a strength. Yet the price of being a thinker is a certain intellectual carelessness. And Welbourn is more careless, as well as less

profound, than Lippmann. In that respect, *Religion and Politics in Uganda* is well within the Welbournian style. There are passages of real penetration of social analysis in these pages, but there are also moments of flippancy and superficial witticisms.

Ultimately, the book is about the crisis of identity in Uganda and its relationship to religious and political affiliations. To use his own words, "the situation in Uganda is bedevilled by the fact that two forms of Christianity and, to a lesser degree, Islam have offered different answers to the question of identity and have therefore come into political conflict. At the same time, because nationalism offers yet another—and this time a non-empirical—answer to this same question of, 'Who am I?', it seems inevitable that there will be political conflict on this frontier also." In spite of his attempts to explain later, it is not clear what Welbourn means by "empirical" and "non-empirical". Why a commitment to one's country should be less empirical than a commitment to a particular theological complex is a meta-empirical mystery. But Welbourn is right in suggesting that religious identity and political identity in Uganda have a special kind of bearing on the process of national integration. The task of trying to convert Ugandans to modern nationalism has risks comparable to those which accompanied their early conversion to imported religions. Both processes have involved a confrontation between new visions and ancient concepts. And then within each side of the confrontation further anatagonisms have developed. Uganda continues to have religious civil wars—but these are now less concerned with *the cult of God* and more concerned with *the cult of country*. And to the extent that political parties get associated with Catholicism or Protestantism, old and new crusades in Uganda become indistinguishable.

Although a man of religion himself, Welbourn levels some serious charges against the Churches in Uganda. He argues that Christianity and Islam have fundamentally failed in helping the process of national integration. In this he is probably wrong. This reviewer subscribes to the view that the process of integration involves *increasing* the types of divisions between people. If the confrontation in Uganda had indeed been neatly between Bantu and Nilotic, with no sub-divisions internally and no outsiders, the risk of *disintegration* would have been greater. Moreover, by increasing certain types of divisons, one also increases the possibility of "cross-cutting loyalties". A Muganda businessman who is a Catholic would have something in common with an Acholi businessman as well as with a Toro Catholic. The multiplication of loyalities—ethnic, religious, occupational, and ideological—should in time reduce the risk of a neat confrontation between "We" and "They". To Welbourn's question "Who am I?" there should be a diversity of anwers in each case—"On some issues I am first and foremost a businessman, on some pre-eminently a Muganda, on yet another issue I am ideologically a liberal, while on matters of another kind my first loyalty is to my religion". As these loyalities multiply and cut across each other, the process of national integration is under way. The fact that Ugandans take their religions seriously in their relations with each other might therefore still be an important contribution to the slow emergence of a national identity.

An even more serious charge that Welbourn seems to level against religion in Uganda is that it not only failed to create a consciousness of a common national identity among Ugandans but in some cases destroyed even a consciousness of a common *human* identity between one set of Ugandans and another "I met two men and a Muslim". This is the kind of religious arrogance which

not only withholds from antagonists a shared nationality but also withholds from them a shared humanity.

Yet religion could help the integrative process inspite of the arrogance it generates. Fred Welbourn deserves our thanks for provoking new reflection on issues such as these. He himself is not entirely persuasive on a number of his interpretations. But in intellectual matters it is often more rewarding to have your appetite aroused than satisfied. Welbourn is never an intellectual feast; but he can indeed be an effective appetiser.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONS IN UGANDA

By R. SCOTT

Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1966,—200p., 27sh. 50cts. E. A. Price

Labour as a factor in economic development is being increasingly recognised, especially in the field of economic planning in developing countries. The trade union movement as an evolving force mobilizing this factor has had a peculiar role in the development of our East African economies and African economies as a whole. In East Africa, however, as is the case in other developing countries, little attention has been paid by authors in the direction of deciding precisely what this role is. Yet, at the same time the history of political movement in East Africa has found it difficult to consider itself as a movement in the past without incorporating many forms of economic drive including that of labour. Social change has been affected to a large extent through trade union activities, and the outlook of the urban or industrialised sectors of East African economies has been given an orientation by trade union activities to the effect that trade unions are for manual workers. This orientation has seriously affected even the political leadership to come to think closely in line with management.

Up-to-date, little has been written except in isolated articles and very occasional booklets on the development of trade unionism in any of the three countries in East Africa. Roger Scott's book is indeed the first attempt to bring out this impact.

It is unfortunate that the subject had to be treated by a person whose background and training does not seem to have grasped the mentality of the community with which he had to grapple. Even after three years' research work he has not managed to bring out effectively the forces that shaped the development of trade unionism in Uganda. Nor has he managed to divorce tribal prejudices and localized personal endeavours of trade union leaders from the realities that planted the seed for an economic organisation to grow in Uganda within the field of labour as a movement to be called trade unions. Very unlike another book written by I. Davies called *African Trade Unions*, he was unable to bring together the various local, regional, inter-state and international forces or even the British colonial orientation towards the development of trade unions in

Uganda. Instead, the attempt has been that of bringing into the study the feeling that trade unions in Uganda grew basically out of a Uganda situation and thereby tended to create a narrow-minded approach guided mainly by pursuit of personalities within the trade unions.

Nevertheless, if one neglects these rather unfortunate weaknesses one still finds that Roger Scott has produced a very useful book for study. The first five chapters attempt to study the general background and growth of trade unions within Uganda. The second section which could be classified as chapters 6 to 11 tries to depict a few unions, namely:— the Railway African Union, the Plantation Workers Union, the Textile and Tobacco Union and some other general unions like the Clerical Union, Building Construction Union as examples of how these various types of unionsevolved. He also attempts to show how the national centre, namely, the Uganda Trades Union Congress came into being. Here, he fails to show the tremendous pressure which was put in by external forces in the international labour movement and especially between the ICFTU and the WFTU through the All African Trade Union Federation. His comments fail also to bring out the impact of the Kenya Federation of Labour in the encouragement of developing the T.U.C. The formation of the Uganda Federation of Labour in March 1961 was indeed not simply a beginning but rather a continuation of pressure which linked up more closely with an earlier formation of the Kenya Trades Union Congress. The author fails to see the correlation between trade union movement in Kenya and the trade union movement in Uganda nor does he recognise the underlying drive of the social, political and ideological warfare that was being played and which originated from external forces. In the last chapters of the book an attempt is made to give some sort of general forecast by referring back to the weaknesses of the Uganda trade union movement and by making haphazard references to various types of movements and activities in other countries such as Nigeria and Western Europe blaming, now and then, the international labour movement for the mistakes.

It must be realised that good, mature leadership is a prerequisite for an effective trade union organisation. It must also be realised that astute understanding of the social and economic background would enable such leadership to find its way into mobilizing an effective movement. This type of leadership has not always existed in Uganda to say the least and consequently a great deal of weakness in the movement has not been corrected and may continue for a long time until dynamic leaders emerge. It should be further noticed that trade unionists are not policy makers and until the policies are clear, trade unions would tend to remain equally confused. It is only now that in Uganda the external and international policies are getting regularised to enable the growth of an effective labour movement.

As a background, the book should be read with a realization that most of the sources of information have been newspapers, although the references given (which appear to be more useful for further reading than as references) go beyond that. Newspapers by themselves are not always the best source of facts since they have to depend on impressions.

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R. M. Mwilu

ASSIGNMENT TO DANGER

Translated and edited by G. RATHE, W. F.,
London, Samuel Walker, 1966, 174p., 20sh. U.K. price.

Assignment to Danger is a slim volume dealing with the pioneer journey of the the White Fathers who set out for Uganda in 1878. They started frcm Marseilles and sailed to Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. Then commenced the lengthy hazardous journey on foot to Uganda. It is not often that one has the opportunity of reading chronicles such as these which were never intended for publication and result in such a direct simplicity that one is drawn into immediate sympathy with the writer.

The style is so straighforward and unaffected that the reader is, for the time being, of the caravan company, sharing their setbacks and progress alternately. One is readily struck by the keen observation and accurate detailed description of the natural phenomena seen on the way. Many of the descriptions indicate an extensive background knowledge that made such observations intelligible and significant.

Readers may feel, however, that there is much more that might have been included in such a lengthy safari and that there is a great sameness about the material selected. This is to be conceded, but it is only fair to recall that the scope of the journal was defined by the White Fathers' Superiors who required it for its value in practical guidance for subsequent missionary effort. The chronicles were written by sick men often worn out at the end of a long day's march and suffering from fever. It is in this context that one has to appreciate the fidelity of the work.

Collective journals have this serious limitation that they tend to be factual and lack the more interesting personal interpretation of facts and the individual reaction to them that a single writer would certainly add. In a caravan community such as this there would be interesting discussion and divergence of views which do not appear and the reader feels the loss. But here again one must remember the purpose of the journal and not judge it adversely on that particular account. It certainly served that purpose while successfully retaining the warmth of humour and intimacy of a personal letter.

Father Rathe provides a preface which some readers might consider disproportionately long. It places the chronicles in a comprehensive context describing how the journey came to be planned and assessing the results in following years. In one short page he sums up succintly the inestimable contributions made to the civilisation of the whole continent by inspired and zealous missionaries who sought no gain or even thanks that Africa or any other country could give them in this world. Their work is there for all to see.

Si quaeras monumentum, circumspice. (If you seek a monument, just look around) There is nothing dull or irrelevant in this pleasant little book and newcomers to Africa, in particular, will find it interesting and informative.

J. MAGUIRE, S.D.B.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF TANZANIA

The Historical Association of Tanzania was formed in 1966. Applications for membership should be directed to The Secretary, The Historical Association of Tanzania, P.O. Box 9090, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The membership subscription is 10 sh. per year.

The Association intends to publish two or three Occasional Papers a year and to circulate cyclostyled book reviews and summaries of meetings. The Occasional Papers will be distributed to members free, but may also be purchased from the Publishers, East African Publishing House, and from booksellers. It is hoped to form Regional Branches and to hold meetings at other centres as well Dar es Salaam.

The first Occasional Paper, *The East African Coast—an historical and archaeological review* by J. E. G. Sutton has already been published, (27 pages 1sh. 50cts.)

Future papers will incude *The African Slave Trade* by W. Rodney; *The East African Slave Trade* by E. A. Alpers and *A history of Buganda* by M. Kiwanuka.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. K. A. Davies served in the Department of Geological Survey under E. J. Wayland, and succeeded Mr. Wayland as its second director in 1940. He was President of the Uganda Society in 1944-45.

John Dixon was formerly of the Department of Land Survey and is currently employed by the Church Missionary Society. He is the Honorary Organist of the Namirembe Cathedral and has recently been elected the Vice-President of the Uganda Society.

Geoffrey Engholm has taught political science at Makerere University College for fourteen years and has recently taken up an appointment at the University of Sussex.

Les Job was the Senior Inspector of Mines in the Mines division of the Geological Survey from which post he retired in 1967 after fifteen years in Uganda.

Professor Basil King the Professor of Geology at Bedford College, University of London, served for many years in he Department of Geological Survey in Uganda, to which he was appointed by E. J. Wayland in 1938.

W. F. Nabwiso-Bulima has graduated in 1967 from Makerere College with a degree in history and political science and expects to continue research in these fields.

Alan Ogot is Senior Lecturer and Head of the Department of History at University College, Nairobi having previously studied and worked in Uganda on the history of the southern Luo.

Merrick Posnansky after studying the archaeology of Uganda for many years in a variety of different posts has recently accepted appointment as the Professor of Arhcaeology in the University of Ghana.

Ewald Schnitzer is the grandson of Louis Schnitzer, a cousin of Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzer). He visited Uganda in 1966 from California.

Paul Temple lectures in geomorphology in the Department of Geography, Makerere College, and obtained his Ph.D. on the geomorphology of the Lake Victoria basin in 1966.

Colin Turnbull is the Associate Curator of African Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History, New York. He is an authority on the pigmies and author of many books and monographs on African ethnology including *The Forest People* and *Wayward Servants*.

Lord Twining was himself one of the leading members of the Uganda Society at the time of its re-organisation in 1934 when he was a member of the Uganda Administration.

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UGANDA BIBLIOGRAPHY 1966

Compiled by BRYAN W. LANGLANDS

This is the eighth bibliography on Uganda concerned with publications since 1961; previous issues of the Uganda Journal have contained bibliographies for 1961-62, 1962-6, 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965 and 1965-66. This list contains nearly 300 entries of which three-quarters are for works published in 1966, most of the remainder refer to 1965. Items which the compiler has not seen are marked with an asterisk.

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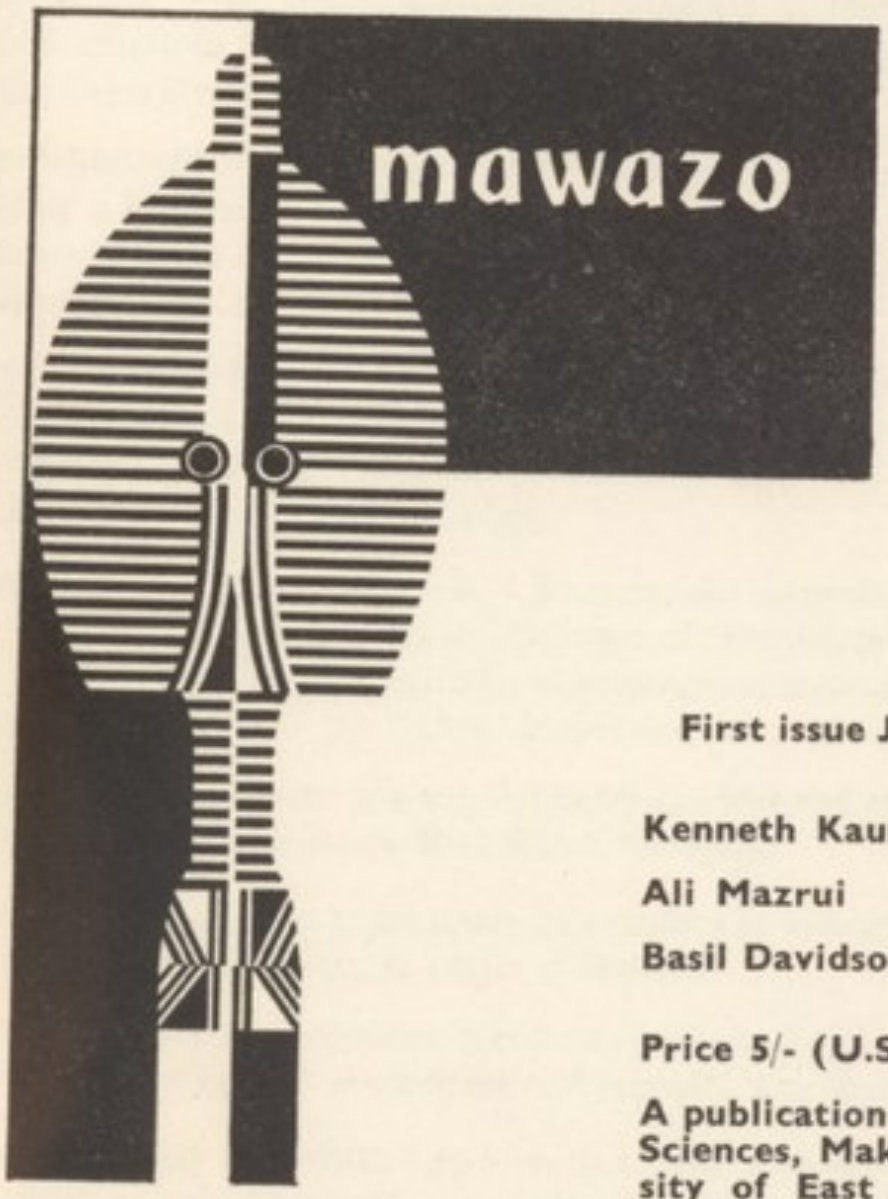

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