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SIR APOLO KAGGWA AND THE PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY OF BUGANDA

By M. S. M. KIWANUKA

According to his own account in *Basekabaka*, Sir Apolo Kagga was born about 1865; but apart from this testimony concerning his birth little is known about Kagga's early years. It is clear from the evidence,¹ however, that his parents placed him in the household of a relative who was himself a chief. Thus the next important information on him is when he was in the household of Basudde, the chief of *Ekitongole Ekisuuna*.² During the years he spent in Basudde's household, Kagga made acquaintance with Nzalambi who was the caretaker of the royal mosque. It was probably through this acquaintance that Kagga eventually entered the royal court and joined the service of Kulugi; the chief keeper of the royal stores. His first job under Kulugi was to distribute food among the members of the household, and this would appear to have been in 1884, because Zimbe argues that by the time King Mutesa died (October 1884), Kagga had been in the court for about a year³.

Meanwhile, Kagga had been converted to Christianity by the members of the Church Missionary Society.⁴ In 1886, King Mwanga arrested him with other Christian converts, but he escaped execution and he was beaten instead.⁵ He first became politically prominent in 1887, when he was promoted to become chief of the royal stores (probably in succession to his former master, Kulugi). The new appointment put him at the head of a large number of the Protestant converts.⁶ Thus after the civil war of 1888, Kagga got the chieftainship of Mukwenda as one of the leading members of the Protestant faction. The turning point in his political career came during the first religious wars of 1887, when the Muslim faction defeated the Christians and the latter took refuge in Ankole. Then, after Honorato Nyonyintono, the Prime Minister, had been killed in the battle of Mawuki (1889), Kagga became one of the leading contenders for the office of Prime Minister among the Christian group.⁷ Thus after the Christian victory over the Muslims in 1889, Kagga became the Prime Minister and continued to hold this office until his enforced retirement in 1926. Long before his retirement he had been honoured by the colonial government with a K.C.M.G.

Like many of his contemporaries, Kagga acquired a passion for writing. He seems to have begun at an early date to record events of the 1880s and 1890s. For instance, one learns from R. P. Ashe of the C.M.S. that by 1894, Kagga had already written a small book called *Entalo za Buganda* (The Wars of Buganda)⁸. The book presumably referred to those wars in which Kagga himself had played an important role and which had resulted in his becoming the Prime Minister. Ashe himself expressed his indebtedness to this small book in the preface to his *Chronicles of Uganda*. The *Entalo* is no longer extant, though one can safely assume that the information it contained was included in the later works. These were the *Basekabaka be Buganda* (The kings of Buganda), first published in 1901; *Ekitabo Kye Empisa za Buganda* (The book of the man-

ners and customs of the Baganda), first published in 1905; *Ekitabo Ky'Ebika bya Abaganda* (The book of the clans of the Baganda) published in 1908, and the book of the Grasshopper clan *Ekitabo Kye Kika Kye Nsenene*, which seems to have been begun in 1893. These are Kaggwa's most outstanding historical writings. That work of such size should appear a little less than thirty years after the Luganda language had been committed to writing was no mean achievement on the part of Kaggwa. What is curious, however, is that all these books should have been written between 1900-1912, the years during which the country was just settling down to the new colonial administration and when Kaggwa, as the Prime Minister and first Regent of the young king, must have been very busy⁹.

A question which has often been asked and to which it is difficult to give an exact answer is why did Kaggwa write? While it is true that Kaggwa himself was extremely interested in writing, it is also not unreasonable to suppose that he was greatly influenced by the literary atmosphere provided by the missionaries around him, such as J. Roscoe, R. P. Ashe, Walker and others. The present writer was repeatedly told by Kaggwa's family, that it was John Roscoe who suggested to Kaggwa to write in Luganda what he himself was already writing in English.¹⁰ It is worth noting also that it was Kaggwa who summoned most, if not all, of the informants Roscoe used as his sources. As these gave their information in Luganda, Kaggwa wrote it down and these notes provided the basis of his own writings. An interesting comparison can in fact be made between Kaggwa's writings and Roscoe's *The Baganda*.¹¹ The latter consists of a long section on the history of the kings, on the history of the clans and their totems, and the rest of the book deals with every other aspect of Kiganda society; military, political, cultural and social. As shown above, Kaggwa's writings also deal exactly with these same subjects, but in a more detailed manner. Another interesting comparison is that *The Baganda* was published in 1911, and after that date Roscoe concluded his serious enquiries in Buganda. In 1912, Kaggwa's *Ebika* was re-issued and after that date he did not do any more writing except for a few occasional articles he contributed to the *Ebifa*, a C.M.S. newspaper. The *Ebika* ends with a chronology of the most important events of the nineteenth century. The editor of the *Uganda Journal* drew attention to the fact that Kaggwa's chronology was based on that of J. D. Mullins *The wonderful story of Uganda* which had been published in 1904. The editor further observed that though the characters included in the chronology showed that Kaggwa's was largely an independent compilation, the dates were nevertheless taken from Mullins' book.¹² The comparisons do not prove that Kaggwa copied the work of the missionaries, but at least they indicate that part of the initiative to write came from them. This influence is clearly illustrated in the planning and arrangement of his historical writings.

The three main books of Kaggwa supplement each other. This is because the views expressed and the incidents described in one book are referred to in another book in a similar or different context. Hence the information provided in *Empisa*, for example may be modified in *Basekabaka* and vice versa. Because of this, no full account of the history of Buganda can be made without using material from all of them. *Basekabaka* itself, is a volume of nearly 90,000 words and it is the principal source of the dynastic history of Buganda. It recounts the history of each king from Kintu, the supposed founder of the dynasty, to the reign of Cwa II.¹³ The details differ from reign to reign. The accounts of some reigns are full, while those of others are tantalizingly short

and uninformative. The reign of Kintu, for example, is recorded at great length, probably because he represented the period of settlement. After the reign of Kimera (who seems to have introduced a new dynasty) there is a dearth of information and it is not until the reign of Nakibinge that the oral accounts become detailed again. From this reign until the reign of Kateregga in the seventeenth century, little useful information is recorded, and even after this reign, there are some disappointing gaps. Thus, the excellent accounts of Mwanda and his subjugation of the Busoga states, are followed by the scrappy accounts of the short reigns of Mwanga I and Namugala. Like most chronicles, *Basekabaka* becomes more detailed as recent times are approached. Thus the three reigns of Kamanya, Suna II and Mutesa I take up as much space as the previous twenty-seven reigns. There are several reasons for this. Information on the nineteenth century was collected from eyewitnesses, and inevitably much more was remembered on this period than any other. Moreover, as Buganda had expanded territorially, so had her administrative and military needs become more complex. Thus the lists of the chiefs are longer.

Basekabaka is not a source of royal history only, but also of the chiefs and their clans. The reign of each king is concluded with a long list of chiefs and the lists become longer towards more recent times which suggests that there had been rapid administrative and military expansion. *The Empisa* is a study of the manners and customs of the Baganda, but it includes also a long section on the history of the kings. For example 66 of its 319 pages are a repetition of *Basekabaka* in a more or less detailed manner. And the reign of each king is concluded not only with a list of chiefs, but also with a list of the royal wives, their fathers and clans and the royal children they bore. There are also detailed sections on the military organisation and taxation system. Kaggwa was at his best when he described these aspects of Kiganda society. It should not surprise us that he showed such knowledge, because a Muganda chief was an administrator and a tax-gatherer in peace time and a leader in time of war. The *Ebika* was Kaggwa's major work on the clans and their histories. The Baganda are divided into totemic clans, each of which has its own head and *Butaka*.¹⁴ Kaggwa recorded thirty-one clans and twelve others which he classified as the Buddu clans.¹⁵ The book is full of details, not only of the supposed origins of the clans, but also of their relationships with the monarchy. Thus evidence is provided of the unique social and political relationships in Kiganda society. Knowledge of a common history, and in some cases of common origins (though remote) with a single leader; and the participation at the royal court in the ritual functions at the occasion and death of each king, gave the clans a great sense of unity. At the same time this feeling of unity drew the clans and the monarchy closer together. Some clans were vastly larger and had greater influence at the royal court than others. Evidence suggests also that before the seventeenth century the heads of the clans had greater influence in the affairs of the kingdom, and they seem to have regarded the king merely as *primus inter pares*. It was not until the reign of Mutebi who first stripped them of their privileges, that their powers began to decline. Successive kings gradually gathered all the threads of power in their hands, so that by the middle of the nineteenth century, the king was the fountain of all honours and privileges.

Each clan had its own main *Butaka* on which it buried its dead and on which the head of the clan lived. Baganda clans, unlike those of the Nilotes, for example, did not live in communities. They were scattered all over the country, though some tended to concentrate more in certain areas than in others. There are several explanations for this. One is the increase in population

which forced clansmen to spread out and settle in other parts of the country. In addition territorial expansion was another factor. Once an area had been conquered, a Muganda chief was appointed to rule it. Inevitably the chief would be followed by his relatives and clansmen. If he stayed long enough in that area and had children born there, these would also settle nearby. If he died in that area, it could become a *Siga* (sub-clan) of his clan. In other cases some chieftainships were hereditary, which meant that many men of one clan settled permanently in a particular district with some of their off-spring and other clansmen. It was in this way that the clans spread. By plotting on a map of Buganda the sites of the various *Butaka* and by carefully investigating when these were founded, one can establish fairly accurately when some districts became parts of Buganda. There are two interesting examples of the Cephalopus (Forest duiker) and of the Sheep clans. Some ancestors of these clans claim to have been the conquering generals of the modern counties of Gomba and Butambala. The writer discovered during his field research that all the *Butaka* in Gomba traced their foundation to King Kateregga in whose reign these areas were annexed from Bunyoro. The other *Butaka* which exists in Gomba is that of the Grasshopper clan. These, however, do not trace their origins to the reign of Kateregga but to Kimera and their claim is supported by the traditions of the surrounding districts. In Butambala all the members of the Sheep clan date the foundation of their *Butaka* to the same reign of Kateregga, and they stress that they had no *Butaka* in that county before that period. It is thus clear that the existence of clan *Butaka* in a district can be a very useful clue to the date when particular districts were annexed by Buganda. So far as the book of the Grasshopper clan is concerned, it was merely a record of the clan traditions, and it was even less detailed than that of the Lungfish clan which was published in 1916.¹⁶ But because of the clan's close links with the immigration of Kimera the traditions of the Grasshopper clan have a significant bearing on the early history of Buganda.

A proper assessment of Kaggwa's historical writings cannot be made without an understanding of the man himself. Mention of his character has already been made, but one requires to know his relatives, his political associates and his attitude towards his political and religious rivals. A careful study of these points should throw light on his merits and weaknesses as a collector of the Kiganda traditions. First of all his historical writings are a living example of the man himself and a notable testimony of his great industry and ability. So far as his politics were concerned, he belonged to the Protestant faction. In *Ebika* and *Basekabaka* he describes their activities and defends their conduct in the crises of the 1880s and 1890s. But he disparages severely the supporters of the other factions, Catholic and Muslim. Mwanga is portrayed as an evil king, who was misguided by his evil counsellors. It did not occur to Kaggwa that Mwanga and his followers, who opposed British colonialism, were defending their independence. Throughout the text, particular individuals are specially mentioned by name. For instance, the reader is told more than a dozen times in the reign of Kamanya and Suna, that Bunya was one of Semakokiro's Kangawos.¹⁷ The reason for this would appear to be that Kaggwa wanted to demonstrate that he had distinguished ancestors, because he claims that Bunya was his great-great-grandfather.

An advantage which Buganda had over her neighbours, was that her traditions were collected in the very early period of the colonial administration when, as Professor Oliver has put it, anybody over sixty years would have received his education in the old tribal society.¹⁸ In the original edition of the text,

Kaggwa does not give a list of his informants. He only states that he wrote it after he had inquired from very many old people who knew the things of the past and who did not forget them. In the 1927 edition, however, he gave the following list of informants; Kalunga, Sekamwa Kibaale, Kweye, Paulo Buzibwa, Isaya Mayanja, Tefiro Kulugi, Princesses Tajuba, Maliyamu Gwoisa, and Ndalike (the bark cloth maker). In the *Empisa* (1918 edition) he gave a longer list of his informants and described how he proceeded in his inquiries thus :—

I wrote this book after I had inquired from many very old people and these are their names :—

1. Maliyamu Gwoisa of the Lungfish clan, who was the wife of Sebbowa the Sabaganzi (official maternal uncle) of King Kamanya.
2. Princes Tojuba, the daughter of King Kamanya.
3. Luka Sekamwa of the Oribi Antelope clan, who was the Kimbugwe (bearer of the royal umbilical cord) and who was also the Kibaale.
4. Paulo Buzibwa of the money clan, who was the chief of the *Ekitongole Ekimanya*.
5. Isaya Mayanja of the Lungfish clan, who was that chief of the *Ekitongole Ekinakulya*.
6. Tefiro Kulugi of the Colobus Monkey clan, who was the chief storekeeper at the court and who was also the chief of the *Ekitongole Ekirangira*.
7. Ibulaimu Basudde of the Grasshopper clan, who was the chief of the *Ekitongole Ekisuuna*.
8. Ndalike of the Otter clan, who was the chief of the bark cloth makers at Kasaka.
9. Saulo Bwogi of the Grasshopper clan, who was the chief of the *Ekitongole Ekitabuza*.
10. Makumbi, the Mugema of the Monkey clan. All these were chiefs of King Mukabya.
11. Kwei who used to bear the jawbone of Prince Kawagga Ebuwagga. This man belonged to the Envuma clan, and he was full of the ancient knowledge.
12. Kulanga was the bearer of King Kiggala's jawbone. He also knew a great deal of the traditions of Busiro.
13. Lujumba, the chief of Bulenga who was the son of Mugema of the Monkey clan.
14. Bitanga of the Yam clan, who was the chief of the makers of the spears.
15. Abidenigo Misagyankumbi, a Mutongole chief under the *Ekitongole Ekikabya*. He was particularly well informed about those who became chiefs in the olden times.
16. Erasto Kawagga, a prince descended from King Suna I. He is now the head of the princes who have no immediate claim to the throne. After I had inquired from these people, I also made inquiries from the ladies who were in King Suna's court, and also in the court of King Mukabya Mutesa Walugembe. I also inquired from the principal princesses of King Suna II, and also from the heads of the clans. They told me about their clans and how they came to Buganda and their customs. After I had made these inquiries I wrote this book . . .".

In this extract Kaggwa wrote as if the information he obtained from these informants was used only in writing the *Empisa*. It is safe to assume, nevertheless, that he did not categorize his informants. He probably collected all the information he wanted at once and divided it according to the plans of his books. One hopes that Kaggwa inquired from more people than those listed above. It could well be that these were mentioned because he regarded them as his principal sources. Evidence that he inquired from more people is suggested by the *Roscoe-Kaggwa Inquiry*.¹⁹ Roscoe made a record of the informants including those already mentioned by Kaggwa, and it is not improbable that these others were used by Kaggwa also. Kaggwa's list of informants is very impressive indeed and at first sight it is beyond reproach. By inquiring from the *Abataka* of Busiro, he went to some of the most authoritative sources in the country. These were the men and women who guarded the royal jawbones and their shrines, the royal tombs and the royal umbilical cords (called the twins). They were the men who performed the ritual duties at the accession and death of each king. Hence their knowledge especially of royal history was extremely wide. By also inquiring from the heads of the clans Kaggwa went to the best sources and he was thus able to write a valuable account of the clans and their

relations with the monarchy. It is worth mentioning also, (though he himself was perhaps too modest to mention the fact) that Kaggwa was his own source and a very important one. His own clan, the Grasshopper, had long and close associations with the monarchy. From the reign of Kamanya (whose mother belonged to that clan) many of its members got chieftainships. For Kaggwa this meant that he had a close network of clansmen who had been active in public life and should have therefore been well informed. He had also other advantages. Apart from the fact that he was a product of the royal court, he was at the time of his inquiries the Prime Minister and the first Regent of the young king. As the virtual ruler of the country, he could summon as many informants as he wanted and presumably the majority of these came.

But impressive as Kaggwa's list of informants may be, the omission of some of the would-be excellent sources of information is significant. For example, Princess Katalina Mpalikitenda, one of the daughters of King Kamanya, is not included in the list of informants.²⁰ Yet Kaggwa asserts that she was greatly honoured and that she outlived all her sisters and died in 1907. Also missing from the list of informants is Kasujju of the Manis clan, whose family and clan were associated with the throne from the reign of Mutebi in the seventeenth century until the reign of the present king without a break. Kasujju was the guardian of the princes; he settled their cases and looked after their welfare. Whenever there was a peaceful succession to the throne, he was one of the few men who chose the new king. Another important omission is that of Mugwanya, who was one of the Regents during the minority of Cwa II. Mugwanya himself was the son of the guardian of the god Nnende, and he claims to have been in Mutesa's court even before Kaggwa was born. What was more, he would appear to have been a trusted courtier of Mutesa, because Hamu Mukasa tells us that he was one of the few men Mutesa trusted and could appoint to look after his mother and the princesses. These are just a few examples of the important informants whom Kaggwa ought to have interrogated. Equally disturbing is the fact that Kaggwa's list includes few clan heads and of those mentioned there is a predominance of a limited number of clans. This seems to confirm the accusations of Kaggwa's critics that he ignored the best qualified informants and inquired from his personal friends. The general deduction, therefore, is that Kaggwa discriminated against some informants on political and religious grounds. But even if he did, the damage caused to the recorded traditions was not as great as it may appear. This was largely due to the complex social and political organisation of Buganda. Clans did not behave as communities and political allegiance was not always determined by clan ties. Moreover, one cannot put all the blame on Kaggwa, for it is probable that some informants objected to being questioned by him. Neither in Kaggwa's case, nor in that of others, should this surprise us. The civil wars of the 1880s and 1890s were still too fresh in people's memories. Some members of the royal family presumably regarded Kaggwa as a traitor for his role in the events which led to the deposition of King Mwanga II by the colonial government. To some Catholics and Muslims he was probably no more than a leader of the Protestant faction. And to another class of Baganda he was a mere upstart who had come from Busoga as a slave boy.

Although the information provided in Kaggwa's books is copious, it is far from complete. They do not tell us anything about the land system in pre-colonial Buganda, despite the fact that land disputes provided some of the most controversial questions at the beginning of the century, and even though

Kaggwa himself was keenly interested in acquiring land and was heavily involved in the land disputes. His books are full of place names, but he invariably mentions places without stating where they were, whereas he knew very well that one name could apply to three or more different places. He does not avoid the use of technical terms, especially when he is describing ritual customs; consequently to a modern reader his Luganda is archaic. Sometimes, his chronology and sequence of events is badly arranged, which tends to make the translation of his works more difficult. One of the most serious defects is in his method of introducing new information. The mere fact that he mentions a custom for the first time (for example, that of executing household officers at the tomb of a king) does not necessarily mean that the custom had not been observed before. His lists of chiefs can be confusing, because he introduces the name of the particular chief and then that name disappears from the lists for several reigns without any explanation from him. For instance, Kimbugwe (the bearer of the royal umbilical cord) is mentioned in the reign of Nakibinge, but not in that of Suna. Sekibobo, the county chief of Kyagwe, is mentioned in the reign of Kimera, but not again until the reign of Mawanda more than two centuries later. Kaggwa was also inclined to misapply titles of chieftainships. Thus although the chief of Bulemezi was not called Kangawo before the reign of Mawanda, Kaggwa uses this title even as early as the reign of Kimera. It is necessary to emphasize, however, that these are minor criticisms of Kaggwa. As one reads the text it becomes clear that the information it contains provides a useful starting point for further research in the political history of Buganda.

In one sense, it is correct to argue that because the influence of the monarchy in Buganda permeated every part of the kingdom, one cannot separate the court traditions from those of the people. But it is also clear from the studies of Lewis Namier in English history,²¹ and from those of Kagame and Vansina in Rwanda,²² that much valuable information can be gained by studying local and family histories. Various papers of Sir Apolo Kaggwa and the drafts of some of his books are deposited in Makerere University College Library. Unfortunately, these papers are disappointing. They are too fragmentary and not all the drafts of the books are available. It is thus difficult to form a very clear idea of how Kaggwa collected his evidence. One thing seems clear. Once the Baganda learnt to read and write, they saw the value of putting on record their clan histories. But the real stimulus was provided by the political and social changes caused by the establishment of colonial rule. One of these was the introduction of a freehold land system. Because of the scramble for land, and in order to enhance their claims to other offices, many clans and families found it essential to put their genealogies in order. Thus the clans which had disputed headships, such as the Oribi Antelope, the Lungfish and the Grasshopper, were more inclined to write their histories than others. The publication of Kaggwa's books acted also as a stimulus to historical writing. Men wrote either to add to what he had said or to correct him. Others provided entirely new information from fields which Kaggwa had not inquired into in detail. There were many such writers, but at least two deserve to be mentioned as the most important; these were Alifunsi Aliwali and Ggomotoka. Aliwali was born in 1880, and he later acted as Bishop Gorju's collector of traditions. Since 1911, when the White Fathers first published their newspaper, *Munno*, Aliwali had been contributing historical articles in that paper, and he still writes in *Musizi*. When I interviewed him in August and September, 1963, he stated that Kyaggwe and Sesse were the only counties of Buganda he did not visit when collecting traditions for Gorju.²³ Ggomotoka, the former Sabalangira

(head of the princes) was a greater inquirer than any of his contemporaries. As a prince he had easier access to the members of the royal family than other writers including Kaggwa and this is shown by his information on King Kagulu. By the time he died at the beginning of the 1940s, he had already drafted the history of the Baganda royal family, which he called *Makula*.²⁴ Today, the drafts of *Makula* are kept by the present Sabalangira. Besides Aliwali and Ggomotoka, there were many other writers who contributed a few articles in the missionary newspapers, such as *Ebifa* of the C.M.S., and *Munno* of the White Fathers. For the reign of Mutesa, there were works by other Baganda historians which had also been written in Luganda, such as J. Miti's *Short history of Buganda*; H. Mukasa's *Simudda Nyuma* and B. Zimbe's *Buganda Ne Kabaka*.²⁵ One should also mention the contribution of the social anthropologists, whose researches made Buganda one of the best documented areas in the Interlacustrine region.

From the published works and private papers of Kaggwa and other Luganda sources, it is possible to reconstruct a comprehensive study of the territorial expansion of Buganda. Until 1964 the Kingdom of Buganda was divided into twenty counties.²⁶ As has been shown in the case of Butambala and Gomba the most fruitful method of inquiry into the acquisition of new territory is to find out when particular *Butaka* were established. A second fruitful method is to study the history of the *Bitongole*. Some were founded for specific tasks, others to commemorate certain events. The study of the *Bitongole* may require investigation at the village level. In this way plenty of local information can be obtained. But *Bitongole* were often transferred from one part of the country to another and had their names changed. During the reign of Suna II, the most important *Kitongole* was called the *Ekiwambya*. But when Mutesa succeeded Suna, he transferred the *Ekitongole Ekiwambya* from Bulemezi to Kyaggwe and renamed it the *Ekikabya*.

So far as royal history is concerned, Kaggwa can be accepted as reliable, except only in his placing of Kimera and Mulondo. With regard to the pre-Kintu period, many Baganda had begun writing about it as far back as 1907, and they continued to do so until the 1920s. The literature which has so far been written on the pre-Kintu period can be used for re-constructing the history of this period, and can be compared with the traditions of the neighbouring states of Ankole, Bunyoro, Kiziba, Karagwe, Kooki, Busoga and Toro. These traditions may be used to check those in Buganda.²⁷

One of the prerequisites for traditional history is a time scale upon which to set up a chronology. Where no other source of evidence is available, a chronology can only be worked out from genealogies. Although Kaggwa did not supply dates, except for some events during the nineteenth century, he arranged the Basekabaka chronologically. From a chronological point of view therefore, the real value of Kaggwa's books is that they are full of genealogical details. Like other pre-literate peoples, the Baganda saw the past in terms which one may call "dynastic time", and dated all events with a reference to the royal or clan genealogy. But genealogies can be unreliable, especially where they are manipulated to validate political claims.²⁸ Unreliability, however, is more likely to occur in societies without centralized institutions. Buganda had an advantage in that it had a centralized and long enduring monarchy, the genealogy of which was not the monopoly of one clan or interest. Any chronology in Buganda, should therefore be based on the royal genealogy. It is also worth mentioning that no absolute dates can be fixed from genealo-

gical evidence. Any chronology has to be based on generations, and through them one can establish relative dates for some important events such as reigns. Secondly, any chronology worked out from genealogical lists depends very much on the system of succession. So far as the Kiganda monarchy was concerned, succession was hereditary, but there was not rule of primogeniture. The heir to the throne was chosen from among the sons and brothers and nephews of the late king. Thus a glance at the genealogical order of the Kiganda king lists shows that from the reign of Mulondo to that of Semakokiro, it was common practice for the succession to pass through two or three brothers before moving to the next generation. A regular system whereby a son succeeded his father came into use only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. (See Table 2.)

There exist today, four slightly different king lists, which were recorded before Kaggwa wrote his books. The first was made by Speke. It was incomplete and it consisted of only eight names, (see Table 1.). The second list was recorded thirteen years later by H. M. Stanley in 1875. This was followed by two other lists made by the missionaries R. W. Felkin and C. T. Wilson. They were similar to Stanley's though they would seem to have been independently compiled. Then in 1901 appeared Kaggwa's *Basekabaka* with its authoritative list, which has been used ever since by historians. It will be seen from Table 1 that the lists of Stanley, Felkin and Wilson differ from Kaggwa's. Kaggwa's would seem the most acceptable because it was based on more extensive inquiry. It consists of thirty names from Kintu to Mutesa I. According to the genealogical information provided by Kaggwa (see Table 2) it seems that this information contains at least one mistake. Kaggwa records Suna I as a brother of Mulondo and Jemba. But the evidence suggests that Suna was a son or a nephew of either Mulondo or Jemba. If this is correct there would have been nineteen generations instead of eighteen from Kimera to Mutasa I.

In determining the number of generations contained in the royal genealogy, useful comparisons can be made with some of the clan and family genealogies during the same, or part of the same, period. One of the clans which preserved the genealogy of its ancestors for over a long period was the Oribi Antelope (Table 3). The *Ebika* shows that this clan recorded seventeen successions from the reign of Kimera to that of Kamanya. These successions are made up of thirteen generations, that is six less than the royal family contains during the same period. This large difference is explained by the extraordinary longevity of two clan heads whose tenure of office covered between them eleven reigns. Further the Siga of Kajugujwe, that is a sub-branch of the Mushroom clan, has twelve successions from Kateregga to Mutesa I inclusive (Table 4). These consists of eight generations, that is exactly the same number as the royal family reckons during the same period. The third example is that of the descendants of King Kagulu who was deposed during the eighteenth century. Their genealogical list consists of seven successions from Kagulu to Cwa II inclusive, (Table 5). These seven successions are made up of seven generations, that is exactly the same number as the royal family has during the same period. The genealogical list of the heads of the Ant (Kinyomo) clan, records thirteen successions from Mutebi or Juko to Cwa II. The traditions of the clans, however, do not state the genealogical relationship of the successors. If it is assumed that sons succeeded their fathers, there are ten generations; that is exactly the same number reckoned by the royal family during the same period (Table 6). The family of Bwakamba (Table 7) which claims to have emigrated to Buddu

during the reign of Mutebi or Juko, records twelve successions up to 1936. If successions were from father to son, there were five generations from Mutebi to Junju. That is the same number as the royal family reckons during the same period. The final examples are derived from Gorju.²⁹ According to him, the genealogical list of the family of Nkuutu showed seven generations in the 1900s. Tradition claims that the first Nkuutu was appointed by Mawanda to be the chief of the fleet. A comparison of the genealogy of Nkuutu and that of the royal family, shows that the former reckons only one extra generation during the same period. Bishop Gorju further calculated that the Hippo clan reckoned seven generations from Nakibinge to Junju inclusive. That is three generations less than the royal family. It is clear from these comparisons that differences exist between the royal genealogy and those of the clans. One should remember that some heads of clans lived much longer than the kings who were continually exposed to the plots not only of rivals but also of groups of chiefs. Nevertheless, in cases of divergency, one would prefer to rely on the royal genealogy, because unlike the individual clans the preserving of its chronicle was the responsibility of all clans.

It is also important to determine how a series of generations should be reckoned because this depends on the system of succession. In Buganda where the system was not based on primogeniture, a generation should be reckoned from the birth of the first to the death of the last brother. This, as Professor Oliver has pointed out, tends to make a rather long generation.³⁰ A chronological computation of the Kiganda dynasty should start with the reign of Kimera because Kimera would appear to have been a real historical figure, a claim which cannot be made with certainty for Kintu and Cwa I, his two supposed predecessors. The second datum point should be 1884, the death date of Mutesa I. Mutesa was the last Muganda king who lived like his predecessors, that is before the introduction of modern medicine and the colonial administration. During the first ten years or so writers on Buganda history thought it possible to fix at least two absolute dates for the Kiganda dynasty. This evidence consisted of at least two Kiganda and Kinyoro traditions. The first was the claim made by the Banyoro that the two dynasties of Buganda and Bunyoro had common origins and that their genealogies had a common starting point.³¹ But according to the evidence, the claimed association of King Kimera in Buganda and the Babito in Bunyoro appears to be a patriotic fiction.³² This view is enhanced by the fact that any chronological computation based on the Kinyoro claim that Kimera was a contemporary of Rukidi, only brings the disagreement into sharper focus. The supposed contemporary rules in the two kingdoms, are thereby separated by nearly three generations which is rather too large a discrepancy. This being so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Kimera antedated Rukidi in Bunyoro by perhaps one or two generations. It is possible also that Kiggala, the third successor of Kimera in Buganda, to whom tradition assigns an exceptionally long reign, was the real contemporary of Rukidi, the first Mubito ruler of Bunyoro.

The second important tradition concerned the reign of Nakibinge in Buganda. The tradition of Bunyoro and Buganda agree that there was a major war between the two countries during the reign of Nakibinge. The Kinyoro traditions identify the King of Bunyoro as Olimi I, and assert that after he had defeated Nakibinge, he led another campaign to the southwest of modern Uganda where he observed an eclipse at Biharwe. Where total eclipses can be

identified with particular kings, they provide a basis for calculating absolute dates. Thus, the information on the reigns of Nakibinge and Olimi I has for a long time been regarded as a vital clue to the dating of these two kings.³³ The following dates, 1464, 1492, 1506, 1520 and 1546 have been suggested as possible dates for the eclipse at Biharwe. Unfortunately for purposes of dating some of these eclipses were not total, but a more serious point is that Olimi cannot be identified with any of them. This, and the evidence on Kimera, suggested that the Banyoro genealogy is an unsatisfactory basis for calculating the chronology of the Kiganda dynasty. On the Kiganda side, tradition mentions two reigns in which eclipses may have occurred. The first is the reign of Mulondo, the successor of Nakibinge.³⁴ But as in the case of Olimi, no single eclipse has so far been identified with Mulondo. Further research may reveal that two kings presumably saw the same eclipse. The second reign is that of Juko. According to Oppolzer, the eclipse which tradition associates with Juko, occurred on 30 March 1680.³⁵ But the evidence provided by Dr. J. R. Gray and Dr. Porter has thrown doubt on the accuracy of Oppolzer's calculations. It would now appear that the eclipse of 1680 occurred about 100 miles to the northwest of the modern county of Busiro, where Juko's capital then was. Dr. Gray argues that for the people in Busiro, the eclipse must have been "partial" and the degree of noticeability may have varied from impressive to small.³⁶ If 1680 can no longer be taken as a certain date for Juko's reign, this would lead to two suggestions. In the first place, it seems necessary that all the total eclipses should be tracked on more accurate maps than Oppolzer's. Secondly, a number of absolute dates fixed not only for the Kingdom of Buganda, but for the whole of the Interlacustrine region are needed. By making comparisons between the different genealogies some absolute dates may be established but before this is possible with any degree of certainty the existing chronologies provide only relative datings.

This analysis of Kiganda traditions as recorded by Kaggwa leads to the conclusion that enough evidence has been collected to demonstrate that Kaggwa can be trusted in much of what he wrote. He had access to sources which have been lost since, and he managed in the circumstances of the time to produce a respectable and largely trustworthy account of his country's past. He recorded honestly what he was told, except in a few cases where personal interests influenced him. His honesty may be judged from the fact that whenever he received conflicting strands of traditions, he recorded the two or the three versions without attempting to make any interpretations. Whenever he doubted what he was told, he only made brief remarks, such as that the men of the olden times did not understand such things. There are many ways in which his general conclusion can be confirmed from foreign sources such as those of Bunyoro and Busoga. The existence of other traditions collected and written by other Baganda has made it possible to check him and again he has been found to be largely reliable. Even where this information is not detailed, he throws hints here and there which are useful to an inquirer. Everyone interested in Buganda's past, be he an historian or not, will remain in Kaggwa's debt. His influence on Kiganda historiography has been tremendous, and it would be unwise today to accept any information independent of his. His books were available and the fact that *Basekabaka* has gone through four editions in the last sixty years (1901, 1912, 1927, 1953), is evidence enough that the books have been widely read. Even in cases where the informants may not have read his books, one cannot be sure whether they have not been influenced by the people who have themselves read the books. This includes the Banyoro historians such

as K. W. and Nyakatura. It was characteristic of Kaggwa that his interest as an historian was not confined to his own country. The 1927 and subsequent editions of *Basekabaka* concluded with summaries of the histories of Ankole, Bunyoro, Kooki and Toro. Herein lies Kaggwa's claim to the title of the father of historical writing in Uganda.

TABLE 1

Lists of Kiganda Kings Compiled by Various Authors

	<i>By Speke</i> ³⁷	<i>By Stanley</i> ³⁸	<i>By R. W. Felkin</i> ³⁹	<i>By Felkin & C. T. Wilson</i> ⁴⁰	<i>By Kaggwa</i>
1	Kimera	Kintu or Ham	Kintu or Ham	Ham or Kintu	Kintu
2	Mahanda	Chwa	Cwa	Cwa	Cwa
3	Katereza	Kamiera	Kalemera	Kalemela	Kimera
4	Chabago	Kimera	Kimera	Kimela	Tembo
5	Simakokiro	Almans	Rumansi	Rumaansi	Kiggala
6	Kamanya	Tembo	Tembo	Tembo	Kiyimba
7	Suna	Kiggara	Kiggala	Kiggala	Kayima
8	Mtesa	Wampamba	Wampamba	Wampamba	Nakibinge
9		Kaeema	Kayima	Kaima	Mulondo
10		Nakivingi	Nakibinge	Nachibinge	Jemba
11		Morondo	Murondo	Mrondo	Suna I
12		Sekamanya	Sekamanya	Sekamanya	Sekamanya
13		Jemba	Jemba	Jemba	Kimbugwe
14		Suna I	Suna	Suna I	Kateregga
15		Kimbugwe	Kimbugwe	Chimbugwe	Mutebi
16		Kateregga	Kateregga	Kateregga	Juko
17		Ntewi	Mutebi	Mtebe	Kayemba
18		Juko	Juko	Juko	Tebandeke
19		Kyemba	Kayemba	Kaemba	Ndawula
20		Tiwandeke	Tebandeke	Tibandeke	Kagulu
21		Ndowra	Ndawula	Ndaula	Kikulwe
22		Kaguru	Kagulu	Kagura	Mawanda
23		Kikuruwe	Kikulwe	Chikurwe	Mwanga I
24		Ma'wnda	Mawanda	Mawaanda	Namugala
25		Nsangi	Musanje	Msanje	Kyabaggu
26		Namugara	Namugala	Namgaba	Junju
27		Chabagu	Kyabaggu	Chabaggu	Semakokiro
28		Junju	Junju	Junju	Kamanya
29		Wasejje	Wasajja	Wasajja	Suna II
30		Kamanya	Kamanya	Kamanya	Mutesa d.1884.
31		Suna	Suna	Suna II	
32		Mtesa	Mutesa	Mtesa	

TABLE 2

The genealogy of the Kiganda dynasty (According to Kaggwa)

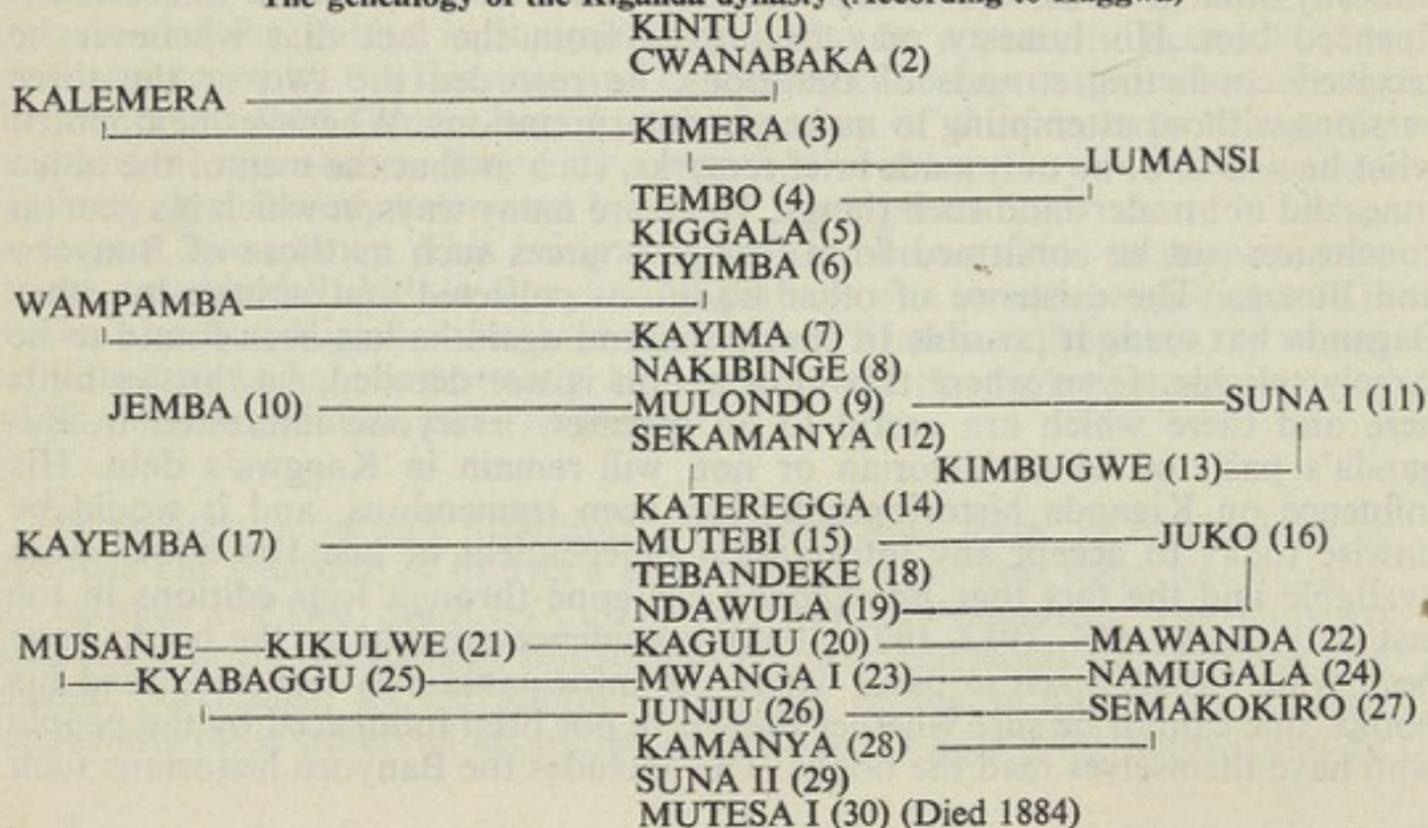


TABLE 3.

The Genealogy of the Heads of the Oribi Antelope Clan⁴¹

<i>Name of the Clan Head</i>	<i>Name of Contemporary King</i>
1. Sejjuko	Cwa I
2. Lubulwawajinja .. son of 1.	Kimera
3. Mawulube .. brother of 2.	Kimera
4. Mawayira .. nephew of 3.	Kiggala
5. Mpomba .. son of 4.	Kiyimba
6. Mujona .. brother of 5.	Kayima
7. Semunyi .. nephew of 6.	Nakibinge
8. Nansiri .. brother of 7.	Mulondo
9. Nankumba .. son of 8.	Jemba
10. Nkulubatya .. son of 9.	Suna I
11. Migadde .. son of 10.	Kimbugwe.
12. Lubulwa .. son of 11.	He held office from the end of Kateregga's to the end of Tebandeke's reign.
13. Kulubya .. son of 12.	Ndawula
14. Senkubuge .. son of 13.	From the reign of Kagulu to the reign of Kyabaggu.
15. Katoto .. son of 14	Held the office jointly because 15 was too old.
Tugavune .. son of 15	
16. Nadduli .. Same generation as 15.	Junju
17. Kantinti .. son of Nanziri, brother of 16.	Junju
18. Kisekwa .. son of 16.	Kamanya
	Kamanya-Suna II

TABLE 4

The Siga of Kajugujwe, a Sub-Branch of the Mushroom Clan⁴²

1. Kajugujwe .. The first recorded head of the clan.
2. Mugwanya .. son of 1.
3. Zzimula .. brother of 2.
4. Musitwa
5. Kagombe .. son of 2. He lived during the reign of King Mawanda.
6. Kisalita .. brother of 5. He is said to have been a half brother of King Mawanda, because their mother was the same. She was the wife of a man of the Mushroom Clan before King Ndawula married her.
7. Zibukyimbwa .. son of 5.
8. Wattiti .. Son of Malibano who was himself the son of Mugwanya.
9. Mubiru .. son of 8. He held the office during part of Semakokiro's and Kamanya's reigns.
10. Zzimula II .. Held office during the reign of Kamanya and Suna II.
11. Musitwa .. son of 10. He was the father of Stanslaus Mugwanya, who was one of the three Regents appointed by the British during the minority of King Cwa II, 1897-1914. According to tradition Mugwanya was born towards the end of the 1840s. Musitwa held the office from the reign of Suna and died at the beginning of the 1860s, that is, at the time Speke came to Buganda.
12. Mberenge .. Held the office during the reign of Mutesa.

TABLE 5

The Genealogy of King Kagulu⁴³

1. Kagulu .. Overthrown by his fellow princes.
2. Sematimba .. Son of Kagulu. He died during the reign of King Kikulwe.
3. Kayemba Sekitamu .. He died during the reign of Namugala. Kayemba was a son of 2.
4. Lubugu .. He was a grandson of 3. He died during the reign of Junju.
5. Sekitamu II .. He was a brother of 4. He died during Kamanya's reign.
6. Kikindu .. He was a grandson of 5. He died during the reign of Cwa II.
7. Isaka Yali Aseka .. Seems to have held the office until the 1920s.

TABLE 6

The Genealogy of the Family of Nakigoye, the Head of the Ant Clan⁴⁴

1. Dege . . Claimed to have lived during the reign of Kyebambe I who was a contemporary of King Juko.
2. Kabeeba . . son of 1.
3. Mwema
4. Munyomansi
5. Ndaluboyine
6. Kabuubi
7. Lwolaba
8. Luyayo
9. Bitino
10. Nakigoye II
11. Kibenda
12. Yozefu Lubandi . . Cwa II.
13. Isaka Tebasoboke . . 1936.

TABLE 7

The Genealogy of the Family of Bwakamba, One of the Chiefs of Buddu⁴⁵

1. Mulannami . . Said to have lived during the reign of Kyebambe II of Bunyoro who was a contemporary of Kings Mutebi and Juuko.
2. Kumanya . . brother of 1.
3. Bwakamba . . son of 2.
4. Kagenda
5. Kiwanuka
6. Kayimbala
7. Mukubya . . Lived at the time Junju conquered Buddu.
8. Bbuye
9. Sekalo
10. Nduulu
11. Senkoto
12. Namugundu
13. Wavomukazi . . Lived from the reign of Mutesa to 1926.

TABLE 8

A Relative Chronology of the Baganda Kings

Professor Oliver states that where the system of succession is not primogeniture, the generation tends to be long, and that 27 years would be a reasonable average. "Figures calculated on this basis", he argues, "should be regarded as liable to a margin of error of two years plus or minus for every generation back from the present."⁴⁶

Eneration	Ruler	Year	Error
<i>Oliver Kiwanuka</i>			
20 (19)	Kimera	1420—1447 =	60 years
19 (17) ⁴⁷	Tembo	1447—1474 =	58 years
18 (16)	Kiggala	1474—1501 =	56 years
17 (15)	Kiyimba	1501—1528 =	54 years
16 (14)	Kayima	1528—1555 =	52 years
15 (13)	Nakibinge	1555—1582 =	50 years
14 (11&12)	Mulondo, Jemba & Suna I	1582—1609 =	48 years
13 (10)	Sekamanya & Kimbugwe	1609—1636 =	46 years
12 (9)	Kateregga Mutebi, Juko & Kayemba	1663—1690 =	44 years
10 (7)	Tebandeke & Ndawula	1690—1717 =	40 years
9 (6)	Kagulu, Kikulwe & Mawanda	1717—1744 =	38 years
8 (5)	Mwanga, Namugala & Kyabaggu	1744—1771 =	36 years
7 (4)	Junju & Semakokiro	1771—1798 =	34 years
6 (3)	Kamanya	1798—1825 =	32 years
5 (2)	Suna II	1825—1852 =	30 years
4 (1)	Mutesa I (d. 1884)	1852—1879 =	28 years
3	Mwanga, Kiwewa & Kalema	1879—1906 =	26 years
2	Cwa II (1897—1939)	1906—1933 =	24 years
1	Mutesa II (1939)	1933—1960 =	22 years

NOTES

1. From his own writings.
2. Throughout his life Kaggwa regarded this man as his benefactor and protector. When some members of the Grasshopper clan attempted to de-clan him for his alleged foreign origins, he called upon Basudde to testify that he was a Muganda and that he knew his parents.
3. Zimbe, B. *Buganda ne Kabaka*, Kampala, 1939, pp. 72-73.
4. Kaggwa, Sir Apolo, *Ebika bya Baganda*, Kampala, 1912 edition, p. 125.
5. Ashe, R.P., *Two Kings of Uganda*, London 1890 pp. 21809.
6. *The Ekitongole Ekyeggwanika*, of which he had become the chief, was filled mainly by the converts of the C.M.S., just as the *Ekitongole Ekirowa* and all the court pages were Catholics, probably because their leaders were converts of the White Fathers.
7. The number one man among the Protestants was Nicodemus Sebwato, but his followers regarded him as unsuitable to lead the country in such a crisis. See Buliggwanga, E.M., *Ekitabo Kye Kika Kye Mamba*, Kampala, 1916, pp. 122-126.
8. Ashe, R. P., *Chronicles of Uganda*, London, 1894, Preface p. x.
9. An interesting note on the publication of Kaggwa's first book occurs in the *Uganda Notes* January 1902, "The Katikiro's book is now on sale at five rupees per copy, a high price, but necessary on account of the smallness of the edition (500). It has cost considerably over £100 to print and land in Uganda. The Rev. E. Millar has had the book printed for the Katikiro in England." (*Uganda Notes*, 3, January 1902, p. 4). In a later note it is recorded that the price was reduced "The Katikiro's smaller book *The Fables of the Baganda* is now on sale, price four annas each. It is of course written in Luganda. The price of the first book, *Kings of Uganda*, has been reduced to Rs. 3 to place it within reach of the natives." (*Uganda Notes*, 3, April 1902, p. 26). This book of fables of Apolo Kaggwa is not mentioned among writings of Kaggwa for the purposes of this present article since it is of little historical significance. In its earliest edition in 1902 the *Ekitabo kye Ngero za Baganda* must have been a very small work since it cost so little, but by 1927 the edition ran into 120 pages. (Eds.)
10. This is confirmed by W. A. Crabtree's review of the second edition of *Basekabaka*, published by Luzac & Co., London, 1912, See *Man*, No. 27, 1914.
11. Roscoe, J., *The Baganda*, London, 1911, xix 547p.
12. *Uganda J.*, 16 1952, p. 148.
13. The chapter on the reign of Cwa II appears in the 1927 and subsequent editions only. It covers only the period of the minority, 1897-1914.
14. Ancestral land.
15. These clans had more in common with the Kinyoro clans than with those in Buganda.
16. Buliggwanga, E. M. *op. cit.*
17. Kangawo is the title of the county chief of Bulemezi. It was first established by King Mawanda during the first half of the eighteenth.
18. Oliver, R., The traditional histories of Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, London, 85, 1955, pp. 111-17.
19. *An inquiry into native land tenure of the Uganda Protectorate* (1906-7), Rhodes House Library, Oxford; Mss. Afr. 17.
20. She would seem to have been a Catholic.
21. Namier, L. B., *Politics at the accession of George III*, London, 1929.
22. Vansina, J., *L'evolution du royaume Rwanda des origines à 1900*, Brussels, 1960 and Kagame, A., *Les milices du Rwanda precolonial*, Brussels, 1963.
23. But he inquired from many old inhabitants of Kyaggwe and Sesse who had settled in Buddu; the former as a result of the religious wars and the latter as a result of the sleeping sickness epidemic. Bishop J. L. Gorju's book, *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edward*, Rennes, 1920, 372 p., is a mine of information.
24. His other works include *Magazi Ntakke* and a *Luganda grammar*.
25. English translations of these are available in the Makerere University Library.
26. Since then the two counties of Bugangazzi and Buyaga have been transferred to the Kingdom of Bunyoro.
27. This material is examined in greater detail in Kiwanuka, M. S. M., *The traditional history of the Buganda Kingdom: with special reference to the historical writings of Sir Apolo Kaggwa*: University of London, Ph.D. Thesis, 1965. (Unpublished).
28. Cunnison, I. History and genealogies in a conquest state, *American Anthropologist*, 59, 1957, pp. 20-21; see also Richards, A. I., Social mechanisms for transfer of political rights in some African tribes, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 90, 1960, pp. 175-187.
29. Gorju, J. L., *op. cit.*, pp. 107-117. Mawanda reigned during the first half of the eighteenth century.

30. Oliver, R., *Ancient capital sites in Ankole*, *Uganda J.*, 23, 1959, pp. 51-63.
31. K. W., *Abakama Ba Bunyoro Kitara*, *Uganda J.*, 3, 1935; and Nyakatura, J., *Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara*, Canada, 1947.
32. See Kiwanuka, M. S. M., *op. v. iy.* for a fuller discussion of this point.
33. Haddon, E. B., *Uganda J.*, 21, 1957, pp. 111-119; J. Sykes, The eclipse at Biharwe, *Uganda J.*, 23, 1959, pp. 44-50; Sir John Gray, The solar eclipse in Ankole in 1492, *Uganda J.*, 27, 1963, pp. 217-222.
34. Oral evidence from Gasuza (of about 70 years) of Kojja, Kyaggwe.
35. von Oppolzer, T. *Cannon der Finisternisse* (Vienna, 1887). English Translation by O. Gingerrich, (New York 1962).
36. Gray, J. R., Eclipse maps, *J. African History*, 6, 1965, pp. 251-262.
37. Speke, J. H., *Journal of the discovery of the source of the Nile*, London, 1863, p. 252.
38. Stanley, H. M., *Through the dark continent* Vol. I, London, 1878, pp. 344-381. On p. 381 Stanley supplies another slightly different list which was not supplied by Mutesa and it consists of 35 names.
39. Felkin, R. W., Notice on the Waganda tribe of central Africa *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 13, 1886, pp. 669-770.
40. Felkin, R. W. and Wilson C. T., *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan* Vol. I, London, 1882, p. 197. The Rev. C. T. Wilson was one of the first C.M.S. missionaries to come to Buganda in 1877. Dr. Felkin belonged to the second party which arrived by the Nile route at the beginning of 1879.
41. Kaggwa, Sir Apolo, *Ebika Bya Baganda*, 1912 edition, pp. 73-78.
42. See *Munno* 1937.
43. Ggomotoka, *Munno*, 1924.
44. Isaka Nakigoye, *Munno*, 1936.
45. See A. Aliwali, *Munno* 1914; Ggomotoka, *Munno* 1925 and 1927; K. Nsigo, *Munno* 1929.
46. Oliver, R., *op. cit.* 1959, p. 52. This table is based also upon this study of R. Oliver, with number for generations as calculated by the present writer placed alongside those of Oliver.
47. According to Kaggwa, Tembo was a grandson of Kimera.

Acknowledgement: The author wishes to acknowledge with thanks the generosity of the Uganda Government and the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa in awarding grants which made it possible to conduct the extensive field work in 1963 upon which this article is based.

EXCAVATIONS AT MUBENDE HILL

By E. C. LANNING

Introduction

Mubende Hill, in Buwekula county in the west of Buganda situated almost equidistant between Kampala and Fort Portal, is one of a group of hills of that name which extends over a distance of nine miles. The highest point, rising to an altitude of 5,142 feet above sea level rises gently from the comparatively flat and partially wooded summit of the easternmost hill. This hill summit, 700 feet above the surrounding plateau, is large enough and suitable for human habitation. From here there are uninterrupted views, on the clearest days, of the snow-capped peaks of Ruwenzori in the west and the northern escarpment of Lake Albert's Congo shores in the north. Before being overrun and then occupied by the Baganda early in the last century, Buwekula County had been part of the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. Twenty miles to the north of Mubende Hill is located the main group of royal tombs of the Abakama, the rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara.

The legends of the Banyoro and Baganda tell of a ritual site having been on Mubende Hill since the earliest rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara,¹ whilst excavations have revealed evidence of occupation over an area of twelve acres.² The role of this ritual centre on the hill has been an important one, and it was a settlement long before the foundation of the present ancient dynasty of Bito rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara.³ According to local tradition, before the advent of the Bacwezi ruling clan, the predecessors of the Bito line of kings, a Muhima sorceress called Kamawenge came from Butiti (now in Toro) to settle on Kisozi, as Mubende Hill was originally known. Subsequently, her two sons asserted themselves in turn as local leaders. As a result the hill-top settlement grew into a centre of some importance. Later, the place became a focal point for the Bacwezi and the residence of their last and greatest leader, Ndaula—also called Ndahura.⁴ At a time when smallpox was rife, Bacwezi influence over the Hima pastoralists collapsed, the clan's power waned and the new dynasty of Bito rulers came into being. With the abandonment of Kisozi as the ruling centre, the hill came to be known as Mubende, meaning "there is another one", not another person or ruler but a complete change in the ruling power. No longer the seat of the ruling power, the settlement on Mubende Hill reverted to its original status as the abode of a sorceress; but with a difference. The memory of Ndaula, the Mucwezi leader who had become deified as the god of smallpox, was perpetuated here, at the site of his compound, through this woman. She assumed the name of the wife of Ndaula, Nakaima, also referred to as Nyakahima,⁵ and every successive priestess has been better known by this title rather than by her own name up to the time of the demise of the last holder, Nyanjara, in 1907.

Local tradition also tells that soon after the change of rule, the seed of a tree was planted close to the compound of the priestess in commemoration of Ndaula. This, it is said, grew to be the Giant Forest Tree, called ndaula in Lunyoro, which is better known nowadays as the Witch Tree.⁶ It towers some fifty feet above the

grove where the huts of the last priestess, Nyanjara, are said to have been. (See photograph.)

As in Ankole, the Bunyoro dynasty absorbed the kingship customs of the Bacwezi.⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that the historic centre at Mubende Hill came to be of great ritual importance to the Babito rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara. Water from a well on the hill (Fig. 1) was used at the coronation ceremonies of the earliest rulers.⁸ A newly installed ruler or Omukama also had to visit the sacred centre whilst, in times of national importance, the ruler would first visit the priestess and even drink water from the well.⁹

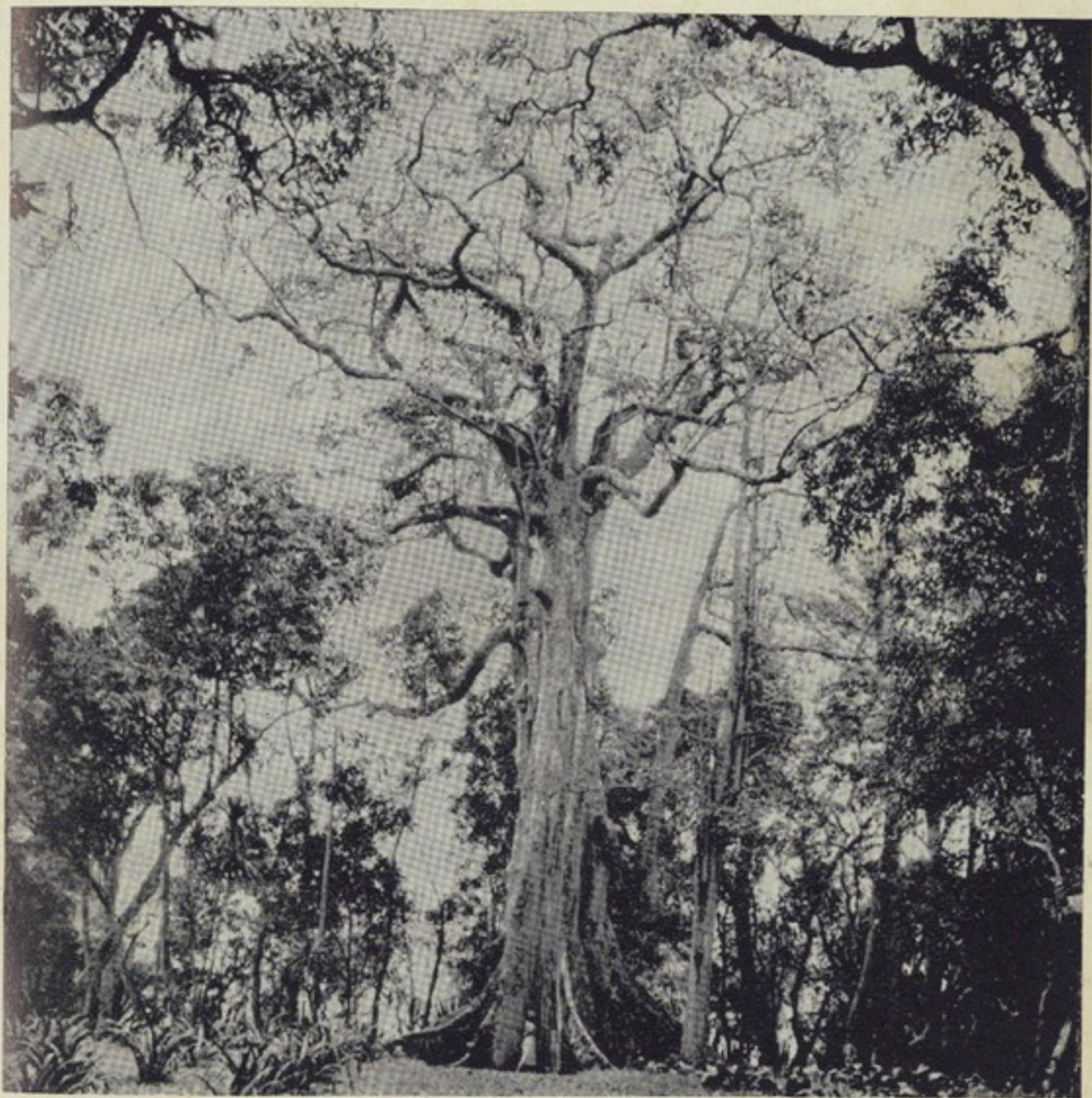
Throughout the centuries the Nakaima, always a Muhima from Ankole, wielded considerable power and was recognised even beyond the borders of Bunyoro-Kitara.¹⁰ Her greatest powers were said to be the prevention and cure of smallpox. She was also consulted by both the highest and the lowest people about fertility and general ills. When distributed by the priestess, the water from the well was believed to have the power of healing smallpox. Sacrifices of cows and sheep were common. On certain occasions the life of a youth was taken. This would be done by attendants on the order of the Nakaima.

The centre thrived unmolested despite the occupation of Buwekula by the Baganda which took place early in the nineteenth century during the reign of Kabaka Kamanya. It is probable this is the 'temple' referred to by Roscoe in his list of deified figures.¹¹ "Ndaula, the god of smallpox, had a female medium. The temple of ndaula was built in the vicinity of the tombs to the southwest of Bunyoro. The Baganda were accustomed to send offerings to the god to propitiate him and to stay a scourge of smallpox in Buganda". Sir Apolo Kagwa has also noted that "Ndaula Kawali had a temple on Mubende Hill in Buwekula".¹²

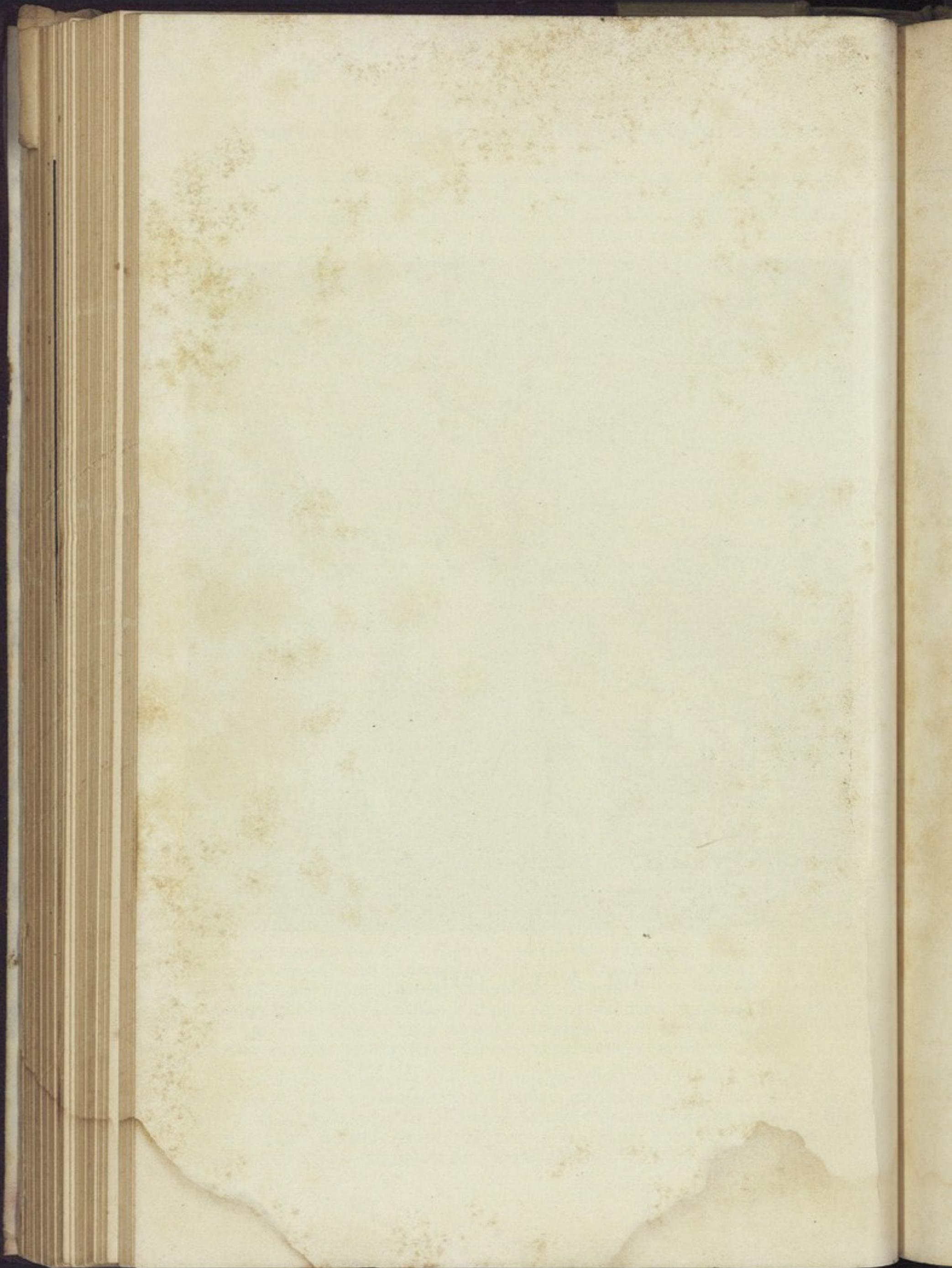
During the religious wars of 1888-89, the sacred centre was destroyed. At the time, Nyanjara, the Nakaima, was away at another dwelling of hers at Bugogo in Toro where she remained until the turbulence was over. Not only were dwellings and spirit huts ransacked and burnt, but the tomb huts of past priestesses buried nearby were also damaged. Whilst certain belongings and regalia were saved¹³ much was lost, including, it has been said, the drums of the priestess, a ceremonial elephant tusk and a drum called Rusama which had previously been kept at the centre of worship at Masaka Hill, thirty miles southwest of Mubende¹⁴. Yet the spirit of Ndaula persisted and with the end of hostilities the Nakaima returned to her hill-top abode.

To the first Europeans visiting the area, this isolated group of hills was naturally of no more interest than a geographical feature. Captain Sitwell, passing in the shadows of the hill on his way to Fort Gerry (Portal) briefly recorded in his diary on 14 May 1896, "Mt. Mubende is as placed on the map, not as Pere Achte put it".¹⁵ High up on the wooded ridge the sacred centre functioned quietly and unobtrusively. In 1899, Omukama Kabarega, ruler of Bunyoro-Kitara, not long before his capture and exile to the Seychelles, went to Mubende Hill to offer sacrifices and gifts to the Nakaima. Amongst these gifts was a particular spear with a package attached which he presented with instructions that the package must not be opened until he returned.

The route from Kampala to Fort Portal passed close to the hill. At the turn of the century the White Fathers had built a mission at Kasenyi south of the eastern limits of the range. In 1902 a collectorate was opened by the protectorate government at Lwekula's (Kakumiro) near to the headquarters of the Luwekula, the Muganda Chief responsible for the administration of the county of Buwe-



THE WITCH TREE



kula. This collectorate was set up to administer the area covered by the ssaza of Buyaga, Bugangazzi and Buwekula, and to be known as Kakumiro District. With this increasing intrusion into areas over which she had been used to have direct control, the Nakaima retired to better seclusion at Bugogo. She died there in 1907. Eventually her body was brought to Mubende and, breaking with custom, was buried not on Mubende Hill itself but in the foothills, north of the sacred grove.¹⁶

At this time the government decided to open a sanatorium on "Mubendi Hill". From this emerged the idea of moving the collectorate from Kakumiro to Mubende.¹⁷ In 1908 the Luwekula offered to build a house on the hill for Sir Hesketh Bell, the Governor. A site was selected by the Luwekula adjacent to where the compound of the priestess had been. The Reverend H. B. Lewin has noted that at this time one of the seven spirit huts was still standing close to the Witch Tree.¹⁸ Government Lodge as it was known, was completed in January 1909 but was first used as a temporary collectorate until the completion of other buildings.¹⁹ By 1911, in which year the name of the district was changed to Mubendi District, all the houses required on the hill had been completed.

There was no true successor to Nyanjara. However, a Hima sorceress visited the Witch Tree on occasions up to 1926. Though the active work of the medium was now over, the importance of the centre epitomised by the giant and grotesque tree hardly declined. In 1936 a girl from Ankole arrived at the tree accompanied by male attendants. She was clad in full regalia and started screeching at the tree at night.²⁰ Offerings have continued to be placed amongst the exposed roots. Frequently these are in the form of coins, generally one cent pieces. Up to the present day Bahima still visit the grove and perhaps come from as far afield as Karagwe.

As a result of the digging of foundations for buildings started in 1908 and the cutting of roads as the government station developed, a mass of man-made material came to be disturbed. Potsherds have been thrown up by builders' excavations and even nowadays litter flower beds and refuse dumps. Sherds also lie scattered in the topsoil where erosion has been strongest. Animal bones and sherds are always to be seen in the banks of a road cutting where it skirts the wooded area which conceals the sacred grove.

The Site

Trial pits revealed occupation debris concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the Witch Tree and extended over 12 acres (Fig. 1).

The main concentration of evidence lies within a wooded area to the south of the house erected by the government during 1937-1938 on the site of Government Lodge. Here, within a clearing in this wood, east of the road which skirts the house, and partly concealed from view by forest and eucalyptus trees, stands the Witch Tree. Its most striking features are the enormous buttresses which, spreading from the thick trunk, form partitions and cavities around the bole from where they disappear amidst an eruption of exposed roots, deep into the earth. Here, over the centuries, it has evidently been the custom for pilgrims to toss offerings, for buried in even the narrowest crannies of the tangled roots lie potsherds, the skeletal remains of birds and animals, and cowrie shells with perforated backs. One glass bead was also recovered. In addition coins have been found in the top layers of humus and on the surface of the ground.

According to eye-witness accounts the huts of the ritual centre stood within the grove at the beginning of the century. Witnesses have related that in addition

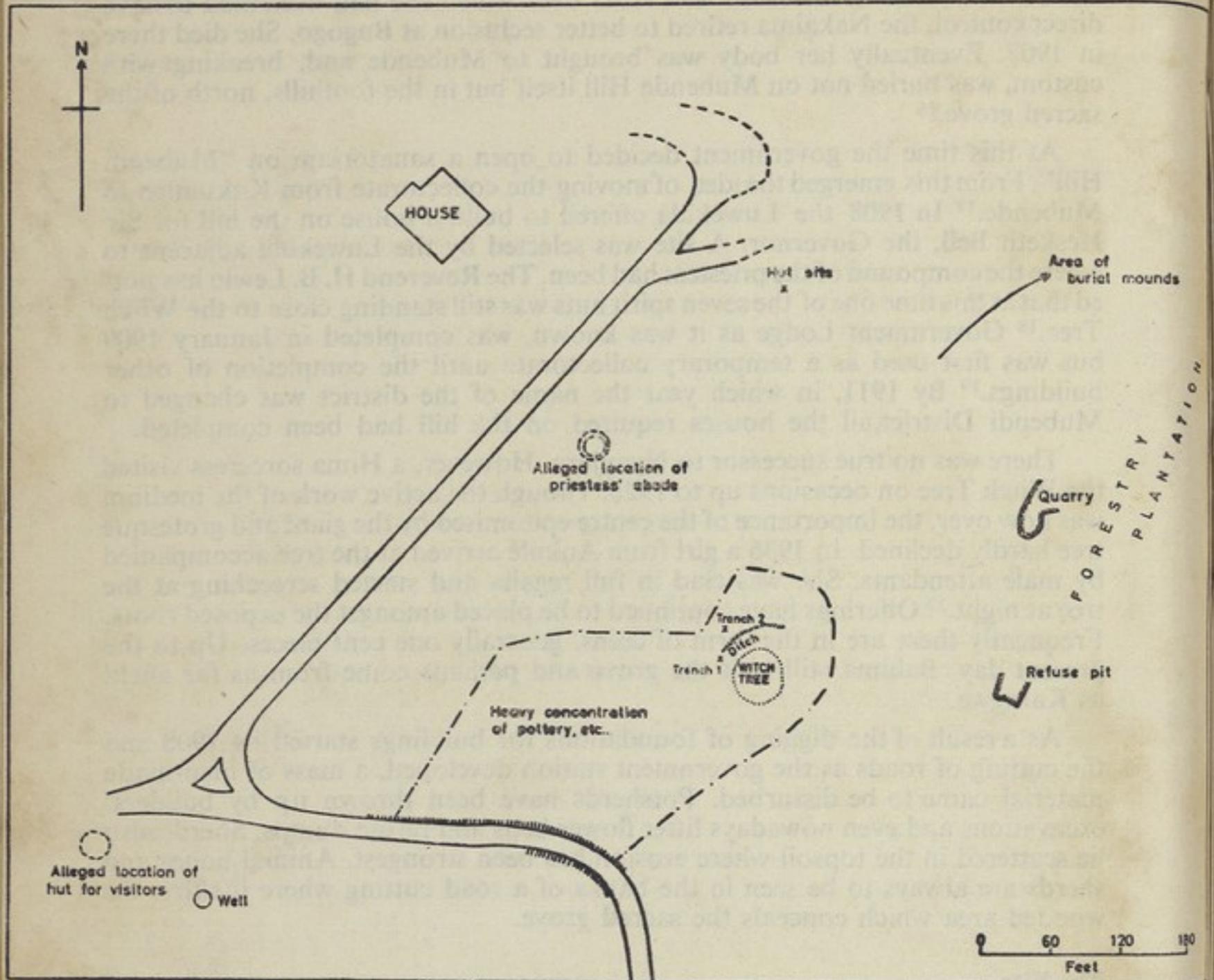


Figure 1. MUBENDE HILL

to the dwelling of the priestess on the edge of the clearing there were huts for the storage of drums and ceremonial spears as well as for the keepers of the regalia and for numerous attendants. South of the grove, beyond the screen of trees and close to a well, stood a hut for the accommodation of visitors. The outline of what was identified by my informants as a well was clearly visible at the time of these investigations.

Northeast of the tree the wooded area is slightly irregular and further away are numerous overgrown mounds. Some are said to cover the remains of past priestesses. After the wanton destruction of 1889, the tomb huts were not re-erected. Giant sugar cane and certain species of barkcloth trees grow in profusion near and around these mounds. In some instances the plants clearly follow the line of a circle, as if deliberately planted in that way. Since it is a Nyoro and Ganda custom to use stakes of these plants for the fences of royal enclosures of all types, the presence of the cane and barkcloth trees supports the supposition that these mounds might be of some historical significance. It is also said that burials of relatives and clan members of the Nakaima took place within this area. Further east beyond the wood and concealed by thick elephant grass lies a small quarry of laterite which has been in use for obtaining road-building materials. In 1954 the adjacent slopes were planted with trees by the Forestry Department. Evidence of occupation has been exposed by both erosion and human activities and also revealed by surface indications such as slight changes in relief, soil colour and vegetation.

The main excavations took place at three sites.

The ditch by the Witch Tree. There is an ancient ditch which, varying from 2 to 3 feet in depth and about 10 feet wide, forms an arc close to the northwest base of the tree. Two excavations were carried out here. The first (trench 1), in the slope of the ditch, 15 feet from the tree, revealed three large pots resting upright in a red compact soil. They stood close to one another, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below ground level, beneath 2 feet of top soil and a 6 inch band of laterite. Two of these vessels were over 2 feet high and each have a maximum circumference of $73\frac{3}{4}$ inches. A finger-tip motif encircled the neck of each vessel. The third was a globular pot 16 inches in height with a maximum circumference of $50\frac{1}{4}$ inches decorated with a roulette design as well as smears of red paint. The vessels contained numerous sherds from other pots, a few cowrie shells, fragments of animal bone and seven small querns.²¹ Potsherds, bases of pots and a single fragment of iron were recovered from the area between this excavation and the outer visible roots of the tree.

A second excavation (trench 2) above the ditch at 30 feet from the tree revealed a concentration of debris including potsherds, both large and small, charred animal bones, bovine teeth, querns, quartz flakes, iron objects and some ornaments from depths of 8 inches to 5 feet.

The quarry or murram pits site. This site consisted of a whole series of very irregularly shaped shallow pits extending over an area of approximately 60 feet by 30 feet, their depth, at the time of investigation, averaging 2 to 3 feet. All the pits were concealed by an abundant covering of elephant grass 6 to 8 feet high. The natural undisturbed sub-surface of the area was bright red laterite with an irregular surface. Quantities of decorated sherds scattered around in these pits first drew my attention to this site. After clearance and examination of the pits the pieces of two beaker-like vessels with flat bases were found in one pit; subsequently these were assembled.²² Nearby, but on the ground surface, a human skull and mandible were recovered.²³

Marshall cleared one surface of the pit in which the beaker sherds had been found in order to obtain a clean section and observe any stratification.²⁴ Whilst doing this, a soft patch was noticed at the foot of the face being cleared which a further excavation proved to be a perfectly circular hole, 4 feet in diameter, cut into the laterite surface, the lip of which slightly overhung. The pit was cleared of loose unstratified brown earth with which it was filled and proved to be 3 feet in depth at the centre, the sides sloping to make it almost hemispherical in section. In the centre of the base a small circular deepening was discovered, 1½ feet at its maximum diameter and 6 inches in depth, making the total depth of the pit from the laterite surface 3½ feet and from existing ground level 6½ feet. The fill of the pit contained a number of large querns (the largest being 2 feet by 1½ feet), rubbers (all of quartzite), a few animal bones and a considerable quantity of potsherds. There is the possibility that part of this excavated area may have been a grave from which the skull had been thrown. In this case the beakers and potsherds discovered around and in the quarry may have belonged to a quantity of grave goods. There is no backing for this supposition since the fill of the excavated area had clearly been disturbed and refilled.

Hut site. A short distance to the east of the house and within the wood, pitting for the disposal of refuse has evidently been in practice for many years. When examined in 1953 the irregularity of the ground near these pits suggested a rough circle. Test holes revealed the presence of a stone floor or stone foundations. Marshall also examined this site.²⁴ The earth which covered these stones showed no clear stratification and was much broken by tree roots. The total depth of deposit was 5 feet, and the stones rested on 1 to 1½ feet of earth above red laterite. Test holes were driven to 3½ feet below the true surface, of which the last 1½ feet were red murrum. Sherds were obtained from each level but the lower part of the murrum level appeared to be barren. Beads were found at foundation level. A great variety of pottery was found on sections of this 'floor' including funnels, cups, pot-stands, looped handles and the bases of small perforated vessels.

The Finds

Pottery. The pottery found on the site comprises a wealth of material from the surface and road cuttings, including complete vessels and pots as well as potsherds recovered from trial trenches. All this ware, mostly in a coarse grey-black or red paste, often gritty with quartz grains and which is both decorated and painted, has been found in association with cowrie shells, quartz crystals, small querns, animal bones and iron objects.²⁵ The rims and necks of this variety of pottery have been decorated with finger nail impressions, incised patterns and rouletted and punched diagonal designs. Some sherds have the flattened lips of the rims nicked which gives the effect of a decorated 'pie-crust' (Fig. 2). This indentation of the lip of rims has been found at a number of sites in the neighbourhood and as far south as the settlement of Ntusi where it occurs in greater profusion.

A red haematite slip has been used to colour both the exteriors and interiors of pots. This decoration occurs most frequently on outer rims and as a red slip, sometimes burnished, on the inner surface. On large vessels finger impressions have been applied in paint to the necks and outer rims. In some cases the colour has deteriorated to a brown. On dark bases the paint appears blue or black. In one instance a small bowl from the quarry site has, in addition to being decorated with a roulette motif, been liberally daubed with red spots.

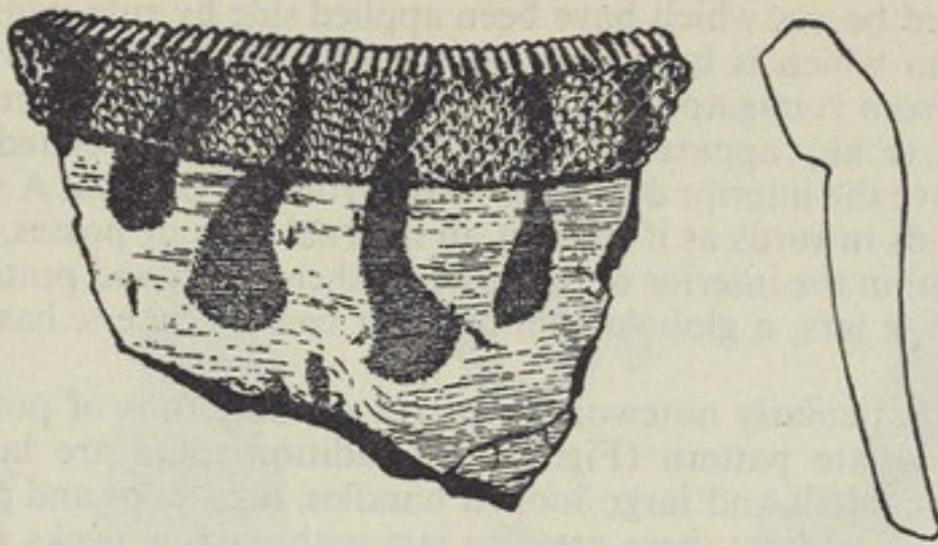


Figure 2. SHERD

1 in.

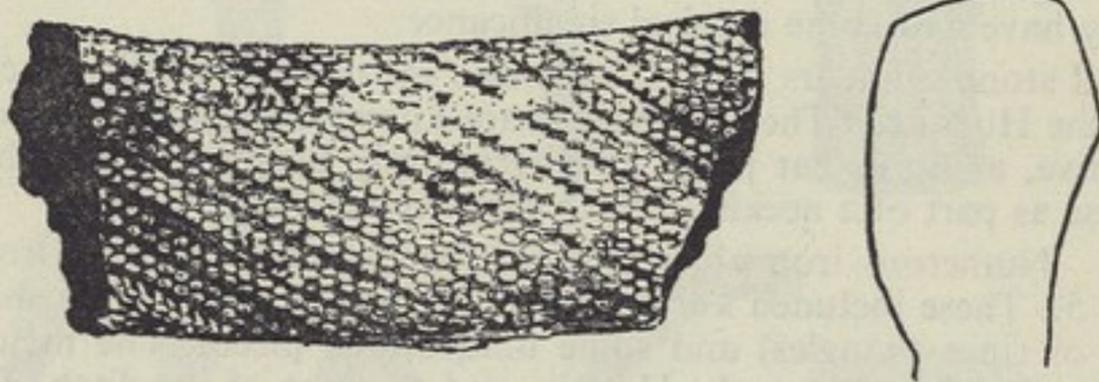


Figure 3. LARGE SHERD

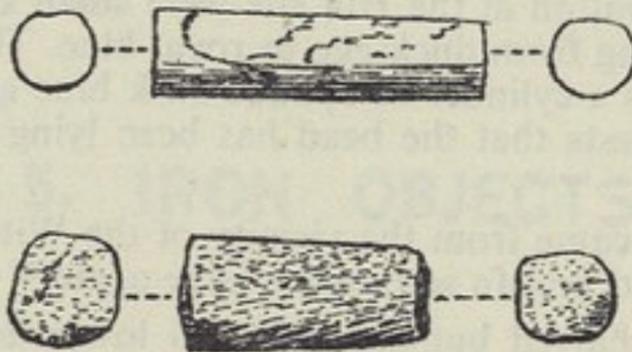


Figure 4. STONE CYLINDERS

A small portion of the rim of a vessel recovered from trench 2 close to the tree, has two moulded bosses which have been applied side by side immediately below the curved rim which is broad and undecorated but painted over with red ochre.²⁶ Apart from fumigators this is the only piece of pottery recovered which appears to have any apparent ritual significance. Three related sherds, from the Hut site, have the interior decorated with a roulette pattern. A similarly decorated boss extends inwards as if to meet an internal boss or posses, so as to provide a support within the interior of the vessel. Other specialised pottery from the site including large jars, a globular pot and flat based beakers, has already described.²⁷

The site is also particularly noteworthy for the massive rims of pots, many decorated with a roulette pattern (Fig. 3). In addition there are large pot-stands or fumigators, small and large looped handles, lugs, cups and pots with perforated bases like strainers; there are also jars with narrow necks up to six inches long and semi-oval pots with a central hole at the base. Much of the smaller specialised ware comes from the Hut site.

Stone objects. Apart from the querns found with the large vessels (trench 1), a smooth red stone was found together with two iron knives and numerous sherds close to a fourth vessel subsequently recovered from the vicinity of trench 1. This stone or pebble has been likened to the pebbles customarily used by potters for smoothing their ware.

At the Hut site a large smooth piece of dolerite was found amongst the stone foundations together with potsherds. Local helpers suggested that a stone of this type may have had some magical significance.

Two small stone cylinders (Fig. 4) were also recovered from the assemblage of stones at the Hut site.²⁸ Their purpose is not known though it may well have been decorative, as lip or ear plugs, or alternatively they could have been intended for use as part of a necklet though they are not pierced.

Iron objects. Numerous iron objects were found at depth varying from 1 to 4½ feet (Fig. 5). These included knives and small blades, needles, the shaft of a spear, parts of rings (bangles) and some unidentified pieces. The majority of these iron objects came from the Hut site and the area of the ditch. The Hut site and stone floor yielded 5 knife blades, 1 spearhead (socketed), 1 awl? (socketed), and an unidentified object with a cuspidate perforated tip. Trench 2 yielded 3 needles, 1 ring, 2 spikes and 2 unidentified pieces.

Beads. Most beads were found at the Hut site. A quantity were found at a depth of 12 inches close to the stone floor, encased haphazardly in large balls of hardened clay. One ball contained 70 beads, another 61 beads. All these beads are glass and vary in colour.²⁹

Another eight beads from distributed earth which had been thrown up during an earlier excavation at the Hut site were small spherical beads of blue glass, the colour varying from duck egg to royal blue. The average diameter is 5 to 8mm. One bead is a cylinder of opaque dark blue glass and the surface is iridescent which suggests that the bead has been lying in the soil for a considerable time.

Three other beads came from the vicinity of the Witch Tree. These were a glass bead, a perforated mwafu seed and a large agate.³⁰

Human remains. A charred human skull and lower jaw bone were retrieved from the ground surface close to the quarry or murrum pits. Evidently these remains had been lying amongst the tall grass which grew to the edge of the quarry. It was only after this grass had been burnt off during a dry period in 1953 that they were found. Although charred, the teeth in the lower mandible

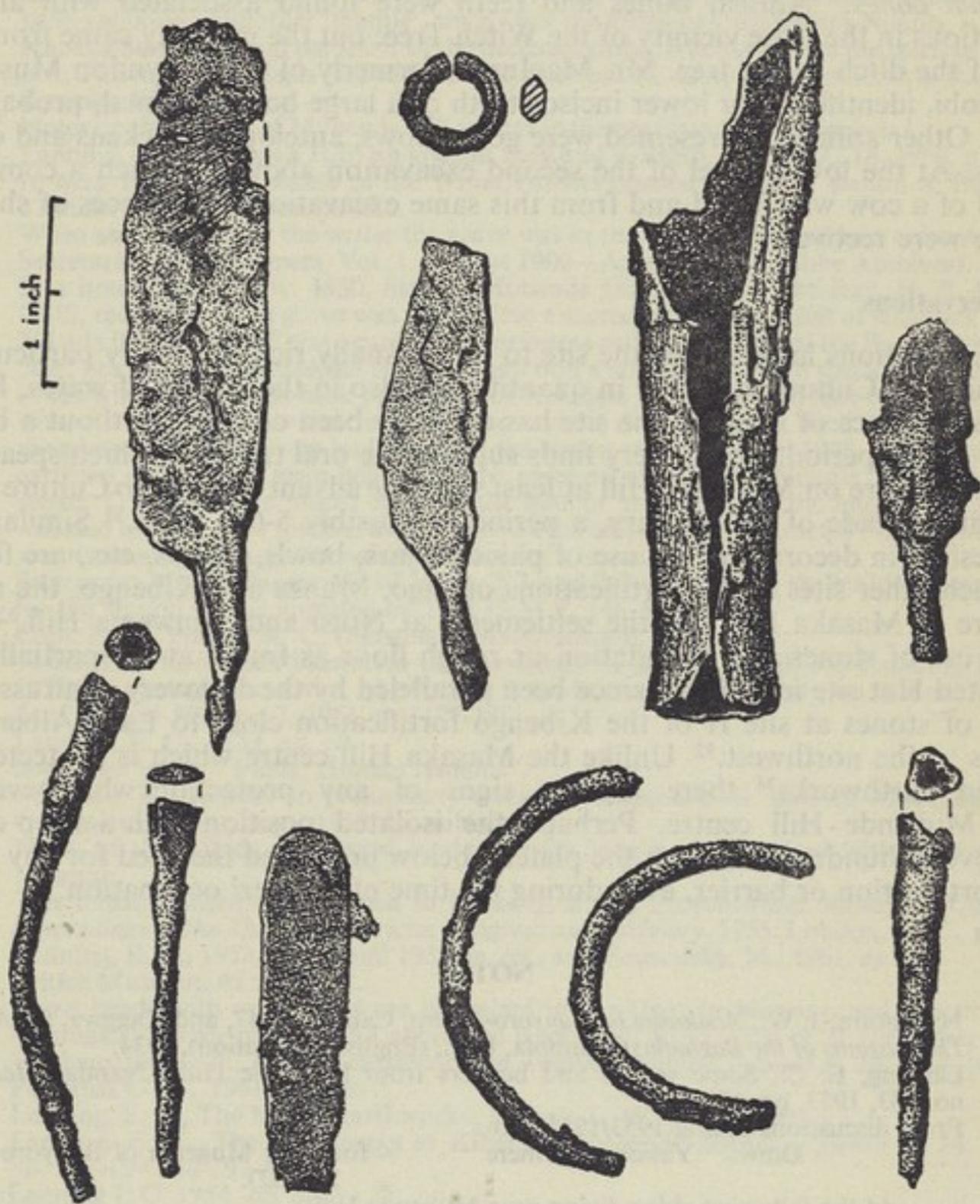


Figure 5. IRON OBJECTS

were in a good state of preservation and appear to have been in good condition. Dr. D. B. Allbrook, Professor of Anatomy at Makerere University College reported that it is certain that the individual was over 20 years of age, but was probably not over 40, and that it is probably male.

Animal bones. Animal bones and teeth were found associated with all excavations in the close vicinity of the Witch Tree, but the majority came from the fill of the ditch by the tree. Mr. MacInnes, formerly of the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi, identified four lower incisor teeth of a large bovine animal, probably a cow. Other animals represented were goats, cows, antelopes, chickens and other birds. At the lowest level of the second excavation above the ditch a complete skull of a cow was found and from this same excavation three pieces of shaped bone were recovered.

Observations

Excavations have shown the site to be unusually rich in pottery particularly of the Bigo Culture, not only in quantity but also in the variety of wares. From the abundance of material the site has certainly been occupied without a break over a long period. The pottery finds support the oral tradition which speaks of a ritual centre on Mubende Hill at least since the advent of the Bigo Culture until the first decade of this century, a period of possibly 5-600 years.³¹ Similarities in design, in decoration, the use of paint on jars, bowls, vessels, etc., are found at such other sites as the fortifications of Bigo, Munsa and Kibengo, the ritual centre of Masaka Hill and the settlements at Ntusi and Semwema Hill.³² The rare use of stones as a foundation or rough floor as found at the partially excavated Hut site in 1953 has since been paralleled by the discovery of an assemblage of stones at site II of the Kibengo fortification close to Lake Albert, 60 miles to the northwest.³³ Unlike the Masaka Hill centre which is protected by raised earthworks³⁴ there are no signs of any protection whatsoever at the Mubende Hill centre. Perhaps the isolated position with a steep climb of several hundred feet from the plateau below precluded the need for any form of fortification or barrier, even during the time of Bacwezi occupation.

NOTES

1. Nyakatura, J. W., *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara*, Canada, 1947, and Kaggwa, Sir Apolo, *The customs of the Baganda*, Columbia, U.P., (English translation), 1934.
2. Lanning, E. C., Some vessels and beakers from Mubende Hill, Uganda, *Man*, 53, no. 283, 1953, pp. 181-182.
3. From discussions during 1953/1955 with:

Omw: Yakobo Byomere	—formerly Mugema of Bunyoro (died 2.12.52).
and the following elders living near Mubende Hill,	
Omw: Alifonsi Aliwali	—during boyhood was a page to Kabaka Kalema; subsequently servant to Bishop Gorju.
Omw: Atansia Zake	} —formerly attendants to Nyanjara, the last Nakaima to hold office.
Omw: Aberi Muwereza	
Omw: Saulo Lubowa	—elder
Omw: Sepiriya Mutabwanya	—Luwekula, 1895-1920 (died 1954)
4. Gorju, J., *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard*, Rennes, 1920, pp. 46-50.
5. Nyakatura, J. W., *op. cit.*
6. *Pterygota* sp. nov. (Sterculiaceae) This tree was estimated by I. R. Dale in 1954 to be from 350-400 years old. (Personal communication from I. R. Dale, Deputy Chief Conservator of Forests).
7. Oliver, R., The traditional histories of Buganda, Bunyoro, and Ankole, *J. of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 85, 1955, pp. 111-117.

8. K. W., The kings of Bunyoro-Kitara, *Uganda J.*, 4, 1936, p. 75. and The procedure in accession to the throne of a nominated king in the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara, *Uganda J.*, 4, 1937, p. 292.
9. Ingham, K., The Amagasani of the Bakama of Bunyoro, *Uganda J.*, 17, 1953, p. 143.
10. Lanning, E. G., Grove of the priestess, *East African Annual 1959-1960*, pp. 98-103.
11. Roscoe, J., *The northern Bantu*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 91. The possibility of confusion over the location of the 'temple' referred to by Roscoe cannot be overlooked. He might have been speaking of another 'temple', since after the death of Omulangira Ndaula, a son of Kabaka Suna, it is said the spirit of the deceased came to be revered as the spirit of smallpox. This man, Ndaula, is said to have been interred at Kaboge near Senkoma in Buganda.
12. Kaggwa, Sir Apolo, *op. cit.*
13. Notes on the regalia of Mubende will appear in the next issue of the *Uganda J.*
14. Lanning, E. C., Masaka Hill; an ancient centre of worship, *Uganda J.*, 18, 1954, p. 28.
15. In May 1894 Father Achte of the White Fathers opened a mission station at Bukumi, 23 miles north of Mubende Hill.
16. When seen in 1953 by the writer the grave was in the open and sealed by a cement cover.
17. Secretariat Minute Papers, Vol. 1, August 1900—April 1902, (Entebbe Archives).
18. In a note dated 6 Nov. 1930, filed at Mubende District HQs' the Rev. H. B. Lewin, CMS, recorded: "The grove was at one time a sacred place. The spirit of smallpox called Ndaula lived there and was guarded by a priestess called Nakaima of the Basazima (snail) clan; her wand of office called Nkinga was a bull's tail, studded with shells and beads and it was when the Ndaula took possession of Nakaima her hands and face became covered with smallpox marks, which remained for a whole day. The spirit lived in the middle of the grove; seven huts were built for him; the largest remained until 1908. They contained earthen pots, which were believed to be renewed monthly by Ndaula, and two brass spears. Offerings were placed either in the huts or at the foot of the biggest tree which was said to have been the first tree to grow on the hill, and have attracted Ndaula when he was wandering through the world looking for a home."
19. Secretariat Minute Papers 464 of 1908; 292 and 298 of 1909. All the buildings required for the station were completed by 1911 (S.M.P. 146 A of 1911).
20. Capt. E. M. Persse, M. C. (Personal communication, 1954).
21. These finds have been illustrated and described in greater detail, see Lanning, E. C., 1953, *op. cit.* and Posnansky, M., Pottery types from archaeological sites in East Africa, *J. of African History*, 2, 1961, pp. 177-198.
22. Lanning, E. C., 1953, *op. cit.*
23. See below under "Finds, Human remains".
24. Marshall, K., Report on preliminary work at archaeological sites on Mubende Hill. Geological Survey Dept. 1953. Unpublished.
25. Many of these finds mentioned in this report have been deposited with the Uganda Museum.
26. This unusual sherd is illustrated in Lanning, E. C., Protohistoric pottery in Uganda, *Proceedings of the Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory*, 1955, London, 1957, p. 314
27. Lanning, E. C., 1953, *op. cit.* and 1957 *op. cit.*, and Posnansky, M., 1961, *op. cit.*
28. British Museum, Af 31, Af 42.
29. These beads with other finds are deposited in the Uganda Museum and described in Geological Survey of Uganda Laboratory Report 17, 502-17, 505 of 21 December 1955.
30. Wachsmann, K. P., Ancient earthworks in western Uganda, *Uganda J.*, 18, 1954, p. 191.
31. Posnansky, M., 1961, *op. cit.*
32. Lanning, E. C., The Munsa earthworks, *Uganda J.*, 19, 1955, p. 181-182.
33. Lanning, E. C., The earthworks at Kibengo, Mubende district, *Uganda J.*, 24, 1960, pp. 187-189 and 193-195.
34. Lanning E.C. 1954. *op. cit.*

Acknowledgements

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KIGEZI OPERATIONS 1914—1917

Edited by H. B. THOMAS, O.B.E.

Introductory Note

At the outbreak of the 1914-18 War Kigezi was a remote region in which, following the Anglo-German-Belgian Boundary Commission of 1911, a civil administration had only recently been established. A helpful guide to the situation at this time will be found in chapters 17 to 19 of Dr. Roger Louis' *Ruanda-Urundi 1884-1919* (Oxford, 1963). The only defence force in the district was a small number of Uganda Police. By contrast the Germans and Belgians to the south maintained sizable units of European-led African troops.

Any thought the Germans may have entertained of mounting an invasion of Uganda by way of Kigezi was soon dismissed as it became clear that the major threat to German territory would come from the direction of the Uganda Railway. But the able and energetic Resident of German Ruanda, Captain Wintgens, did what he could to stir up revolt among the people on the British side of the frontier. The Assistant District Commissioner in charge of Kigezi, C. E. E. Sullivan, showed resource and courage in confronting this unrest with the help of such police as were available. Timely support was forthcoming from the Belgians. Administration was largely suspended, and for some time the Belgians assumed responsibility for southern Kigezi, since it was important to maintain this line of communication between British East Africa and the Belgian authorities in the Congo.

In due course an Anglo-Belgian advance by way of Lutobo, Kamwezi and Kigali (Ruanda) was planned, with Tabora as its objective. This force of Congo troops and Uganda carriers started from Kamwezi on 25 April 1916.¹ At the same time the Uganda Police Service Battalion relieved the Belgians occupying south Kigezi.² Little is on record regarding the recurrent tribal attacks and counter-measures in Kigezi during these years, though Bessell's study of the 'Nyabingi' is relevant.³ He devotes no more than two paragraphs to the period from the beginning of the war to mid-1917, and only the attack on Chahafi early in 1915 is mentioned.

When working in the Entebbe Secretariat archives, Dr. Louis came upon a lengthy report "The Kigezi Operations" which provides a detailed account of some of these incidents. He has kindly furnished a transcript of this report, which is printed in the following pages.⁴ It deals for the most part with police activities and was submitted by Lieut.-Col. Riddick, Commissioner of Police, presumably not later than the latter half of 1917, since it does not refer to the out-break of Ndochibiri's revolt at Nyakishenyi in August 1917.⁵

The activities described are:—

- 1914, September. (?) Operations against Changandusi, west of Lake Bunyonyi.
1914, October. Operations against Nyindo and his Batutsi following near Kigezi Post.

- 1915, January. Attack on British post at Chahafi by Nyindo with German support.
- 1915, February-March. Expedition to disperse Katuleggi's interference with communications near Lake Bunyonyi.
- 1915, March. Expedition to disperse hostile Bahororo around Kyogo, southwest of Kamwezi.
- 1916, May. Surrender of Nyindo and Birahira.⁶
- 1917, January-March. Operations against Ndochibiri near Boundary Pillar 9, south of Lake Chahafi.

It may be noted that whereas this present account speaks of Nyindo⁷ as leader of the clash at Chahafi in January 1915, Bessell, who seems nowhere to mention Nyindo, cites Ndochibiri.⁸ Local historians might be able to establish the facts and what, if any, relations existed between Nyindo and Ndochibiri. There is here an interesting subject for further research, for which Bessell writing nearly thirty years ago made a plea.

THE KIGEZI OPERATIONS

At the beginning of the war in 1914, the duty of keeping open communications between ourselves and the Belgians in the Congo fell on the Police stationed in Kigezi. There were two routes, one via Nyalusanje, Kumba, Ngezi and the Ruanda Plains to Rutchuru, the other was a long devious route via Ruzumbura, round the north side of Mount Nkabwa to Rutchuru.

In the absence of a telegraph line all communications had to pass over the first route, escorted by Police, and it is a matter for satisfaction that, although escorts were frequently attacked by armed natives whilst carrying mails, on no occasion was a mail lost. Police were also employed in guarding the buildings at Kabale and the various food depots which were being formed in the District. During this period the German East Africa border was in a state of turmoil owing to the action of the Batutsi raiding parties, and on account of the mountainous nature of the district, it was impossible with the small force available to prevent their inroads.

On the declaration of war the Batutsi instigated by the Germans commenced a series of predatory raids on the Anglo-Belgian Boundary between Lake Kivu and the south of Kabale. At the same time there was a further outbreak of anti-Europeanism on the part of the local Nyabingi (witches) inflaming the natives of Kigezi with such cries as "We will get rid of the Europeans". One of the principal witches was Changandusi who lived near the dense bamboo forests on the west side of Lake Bunyonyi. To cope with this situation a force of police under Mr. W. J. Reilly, Assistant Superintendent of Police, was despatched from Mbarara to Kigezi.

It was decided as a preliminary measure to deal with Changandusi whose followers were on the alert to prevent her capture by surprise. A force of Mbarara and Kigezi police under Mr. Reilly with Lieut. C. E. Sullivan, Assistant District Commissioner in charge of Kigezi District, left camp at Kigezi and arrived at the centre of the bamboo forest; an advance was made about 3 a.m., and following bypaths, it was possible to surround Changandusi's village without giving the alarm.

At day-break an entry was made into her dwelling and the witch was arrested. The alarm was at once given by the natives, and showers of arrows were fired from the bush. Independent fire however scattered her followers,

and Changandusi was carried off, a strong rear-guard covering the passage through the forest. Mr. Reilly took Changandusi to Mbarara for disposal

In October 1914, General Henry, the Belgian Commander, reached Rutchuru. He undertook to despatch a small Belgian force to maintain the line of communication to Kigezi, and assist in escorting despatches. Shortly before the arrival of the Belgian force, information was received that the rebel chief Nyindo, with the Batutsi, contemplated making a large raid into British Ruanda, and threatened the lives of those chiefs who had remained loyal to us.

Lieutenant Sullivan with the police immediately moved forward to the Kigezi ridge behind which the loyal chiefs were brought in for protection.

On the morning of 10th October whilst Lieut. Sullivan was talking to some natives pointing out that their attitude in following him from hill to hill, blowing horns and shouting abuse, could be hardly expected from a friendly people, and demanding an explanation for this act, an arrow was fired at him from a hut close by. At the same time a Mututsi on a hill top shouted out, "This is now German territory, and Nyindo will fight." This was the signal for blasts on war horns, and some hundred of natives all rushed forward firing arrows; as Lieut. Sullivan had only six police with him he withdrew keeping the attackers at 200 yards distance, and shooting at anyone who came nearer. On reaching the plain an ugly rush forward was made, and as the arrows were coming thick, he fired two volleys, this enabled him to get away, though the Batwa hung about on his flank shooting arrows.

While this was in progress large bodies of natives between 1,000 and 1,500 strong crossed from Mulera, German East Africa, and came close to Kigezi but, on seeing the hill occupied, withdrew to Nyindo's boma. Lieut. Sullivan estimates that he was attacked by at least 300 men.

On the 11th at about 6 a.m. these raiders from German East Africa over 1,200 strong, advanced towards Kigezi in several columns and began setting fire to Musakamba's village below Kigezi, about 1,500 yards from the camp, where they killed three people and wounded others. These people were under Nyindo's personal leadership. The war cry seemed to be Nyindo and the Germans, against Musakamba and the English.

Lieut. Sullivan accompanied by Mr. Harmsworth and 20 police descended the hill, first clearing the Kigezi plain of raiders who were all driven towards the large plain near the boundary, where they set up considerable resistance. The Batwa returning again and again to the attack, firing arrows from every bit of cover; as large reinforcements came up to assist the attackers, Lieutenant Sullivan ordered volleys at 200 yards after which they retired over the border. Owing to instructions Lieut. Sullivan was unable to follow them. These raiders had literally to be forced back, it took over three hours to drive them across the frontier. The Batwa seem to have no respect for rifle fire, and are adept at taking cover, crawling from mound to mound, wriggling like snakes, firing arrows and crawling away again, hence they are difficult to hit. Luckily they do not adopt rush tactics. One constable, Olochi Majan, was wounded, an arrow piercing his leather shoulder strap and entering his chest. The arrow was fired at a distance of over 120 yards, which will give some idea of what skilled bowmen the Batwa are.

On their way back to camp they were attacked by about 300 people of Nyindo and Birahira of British Ruanda. These people were desperate and most persistent in their attack. Had Lieut. Sullivan not been at Kigezi, our loyal natives would have been slaughtered, all their food burnt and stock captured. The lesson

the Batutsi received had a wholesome effect on them.

Lieutenant Sullivan moved from Kigezi to Lake Chahafi, close to the German frontier and took up a strong position on a hill which commands a narrow pass on the road from Lake Bulera to Kigezi. General Henry kindly sent a Belgian Officer and 75 men to reinforce Lieut. Sullivan at Chahafi.

For some days reports had reached us of considerable activity in the German Camp at Mulera south of Kigezi. Reconnoitring parties had been observed on the hills overlooking our position at Chahafi which had been strongly fortified by the Police and was occupied by Belgian troops and 25 Police under Lieutenant Sullivan.

On 30 December the presence was reported in the enemy camp of the rebel Sultan Nyindo and a large number of Batutsi warriors, and it was reported that the enemy intended to attack Chahafi. In the afternoon the arrival was reported of Captain Wintgens, the local German Commander, and a doctor from Kigali, so arrangements were made to prepare for an attack, the Belgians being asked to send a column via Mount Sabinio to take the enemy in the rear.

On the morning of 1 January 1915 at about 5 a.m. our piquets reported the approach of the enemy, and our force took up their positions in the trenches. The bandas on the hill were set alight to make the enemy believe that the place was vacated. The enemy opened independent fire at about 300 yards range and, as no reply was made, they thought the hill vacated and advanced with their flag borne in front. On reaching the dip at the foot they were met by a volley that killed the German standard bearer and wounded certain others of the advance party. This caused a hasty retirement and the enemy took cover behind the lava boulders and opened a heavy fire which was not replied to.

At about 7 a.m. fire was opened by the enemy with two maxims that kept up a continuous fire till about noon, when a bugle blew "cease fire". We now sniped the men resting in the heat of the sun behind the lava and kept them on the jump.

At about 2 p.m. maxim gun fire was again opened by the enemy but we reserved our fire. At about 4 p.m. an attempt was made by the enemy to advance under cover of a very heavy maxim and rifle fire, but their troops lacked that essential dash and after losing several men withdrew under cover of their maxims at sunset.

The enemy probably received word of the advance of the Belgian column and withdrew during the night. It was afterwards ascertained that their losses were one German badly wounded and afterwards died, six native soldiers killed and nine wounded. But far more important was the defeat of the enemy's effort to restore the rebel chief Nyindo which would have caused political unrest among the whole of Kigezi and Ankole, and would also have resulted in the establishment of an enemy post in British Ruanda, and have completely cut off all communications with the Belgians save by a long and devious route to the south of Lake Edward.

Captain Couturieux, the Belgian Officer in Command at Chahafi on this occasion, was later awarded the 'Croix de Guerre' for this defence against an enemy column far superior in numbers, and having forced it to retreat.

During February 1915, the hostile attitude of the natives on the German border between Chahafi and the south of Kabale, many of whom were Batwa pygmies under Chief Katuleggi, so threatened the passage of the military convoys on the lines of communication and, by constantly raiding the villages

of the loyal natives whose women and cattle they captured, caused a state of panic in that area, that the Officer Commanding the Kagera District decided to send an expedition to deal effectively with these outlaws.

One body of these outlaws having seized all the canoes on Lake Bunyoni took up a position on a large island which they used as a base for their operations. The remainder lived temporarily in almost inaccessible mountains and forest areas, stretching from the south of the Lake into the heart of the Batwa country in German East Africa. To deal with those natives on the island it was essential to recover the canoes, and for this purpose a large canoe was to be carried from Lake Chahafi over the mountain road of Kigezi which rises to a height of over 7,000 feet, and thence by a path especially cut through the dense bamboo forest. More than 100 porters were required to transfer this canoe.

On 28 February, an expedition under Major E. H. T. Lawrence consisting of 150 Uganda Police Service Battalion left Ngarama for Kigezi. Sergeant-Major S. F. Taylor who was at Chahafi had been instructed to bring a canoe from Lake Chahafi and place it on Lake Bunyoni. He arrived with the canoe at Lake Bunyoni on 9 March and in it crossed the lake. That night some police were sent out in the canoe to search the islands for canoes, and succeeded in recovering thirteen. On the 10th Lieut. Wagstaff, U.P.S.B., Sergeant-Major Taylor and a detachment of police crossed the lake with orders to work down the west side to a point where Katuleggi had made his headquarters on an island, destroying all villages of the Batwa en route and capturing their cattle. Lieutenant Turpin, U.P.S.B. and Lieutenant N. Moore, Intelligence Department, were ordered to proceed down the east side of the lake to its extremity and then up the two peninsulas; Lieut. Turpin taking one and Lieut. Moore the other. Major Lawrence and Lieut. Sullivan took up a position at night on an island where touch could be kept by means of a heliograph with the three columns operating. The 13 canoes were transferred to the island. On the morning of the 11th the progress of the columns could be traced by the columns of smoke from the villages as they were burnt. On the morning of the 12th Lieutenants Turpin and Moore had arrived at the extremities of the peninsulas. All captured cattle were driven to rendezvous where Major Lawrence joined Lieutenants Turpin and Moore. The captured cattle, following a canoe, swam between two points, a distance of over one mile.

In the meantime Lieutenant Wagstaff had arrived at Katuleggi's stronghold, only to find that he had fled. Lieut. Wagstaff had seized a quantity of cattle which were sent together with those captured by Lieutenants Turpin and Moore to Kabale. This concluded the operations on Lake Bunyoni.

Lieutenants Turpin and Wagstaff were then sent to deal with the Bahororo in Kyogo. These people had adopted a strong pro-German attitude since the outbreak of war. While they kept quiet, this could be overlooked, but they had recently given vent to open rebellion and armed violence.

In December 1914, the representative of the Government had been murdered and messengers from the Assistant District Commissioner had been driven back and had arrows fired at them, and the rebels had declined to allow anyone to pass near their valley. They had on two occasions made attacks in large numbers on the Agent's Boma and had not he, and his followers been armed with guns they would doubtless have been murdered.

On 19 March, Lieutenants Turpin and Wagstaff and a detachment of the U.P.S.B. left Kabale to proceed to Kyogo. On the night of the 20th, the Agent, Swedi Sabadu, joined them near Lutobo, having returned from the southeast

of the district where a local fight had taken place in which nine persons had been killed.

On the 20th a reconnaissance of the Kyogo valley disclosed that the neighbouring valley of Kahondo was also inhabited by the truculent Bahororo. At dawn on the 22nd Lieut. Wagstaff with 20 men descended the Kyogo Valley from the northern slope and while forcing a passage through a barricaded path to capture a local headman, was attacked with spears and arrows, to which he replied with two shots. This alarm soon spread down the valley and hundreds of Bahororo armed with throwing spears and poisoned arrows were observed pouring out of the valley towards the frontier exit, driving stock ahead of them. At 3 a.m. that day Lieut. Turpin had arrived with 41 men and the Agent of the Kyogo frontier. He despatched Sergeant Dusman and 20 men to the Kahondo valley to drive off captured stock to Bukinda. A local headman Drawyi living on the Kyogo frontier with his son Dwanyoso was surprised before dawn and captured with all his stock without a shot being fired. As soon however as we advanced to meet the Bahororo who were descending the valley with their stock, they attacked first with arrows, then spears. The congestion in the frontier end of the valley became greater every minute with the arrival of more armed Bahororo with their stock, and when the situation became too dangerous on account of the number of arrows and spears thrown by between 400 and 500 armed Bahororo Lieutenant Turpin opened fire on them, whereupon they replied with arrows and took cover. All attempts by the Agent and his assistant to make themselves heard by the Bahororo were met with loud jeers and shouts such as, "fight them", and, "there are only a few of them if they wish to fight we are ready". Individual armed natives would dash out and attempt to cut off small numbers of stock from the main herd which by this time had been rounded up, and on several occasions, the Agent's herdsmen were put to flight by them as the police advanced up the valley. Thereupon Lieutenant Turpin ordered his men to clear the slope of all armed Bahororo and while they were skirmishing another local headman named Luanjira was captured. In the meantime Sergeant Dusman advancing up the Kahondo valley with his 20 men also met with armed resistance from the Bagina natives who lined both sides of the valley and resisted his advance by shooting arrows until driven off by rifle fire. At midday on 22 March, Lieut. Turpin was joined by Lieut. Wagstaff who had successfully accomplished his part of the operations, which were now at an end.

The result of the operations on Lake Bunyoni and in Kyogo was the capture of a large quantity of stock and the complete submission of the rebels, who, with the exception of Katuleggi and a few malcontents who escaped into German East Africa, settled down peaceably. 38 natives were killed, there were no casualties among the police. The police column then returned to their headquarters at Ngarama (Isingiro County, Ankole).

In April 1916, the Belgians who had for some time been occupying British territory, were relieved by the Uganda Police Service Battalion. Minor affairs were constantly arising as a result of the hostile attitude of the Batutsi, but eventually, when the Germans were forced to retire before the Belgian advance they were convinced that the best policy was to give in, and on 27 May the rebel Chiefs Nyindo and Birahira surrendered to the police.

The U.P.S.B. were ordered to move to Kagera Camp in June, thus leaving but few police for the protection of the Kigezi district.

A certain native of German East Africa named Ndochibiri gave himself out

as a leader of the anti-European movement which assumed a semi-fanatical aspect, accompanied by a sacred white sheep, which was followed by a large number of natives who were forming themselves into a gang of outlaws, and raided and looted cattle far and wide. Their depredations extended even into the Belgian post of Rutchuru where one Sunday morning shots were fired into the station by some of Ndochibiri's followers. On another occasion a large body of these fanatics charged close up to Chahafi, though we fired on them heavily with two maxims. Punitive measures were frequently taken against the natives but the leader always managed to escape, hiding in inaccessible caves on the sides of Mount Muhavura or the underground caverns of the Ruanda plains.

In April 1916, an incursion of looters under the leadership of Ndochibiri was reported in Kigezi. Ndochibiri escaped and hid in the Kayonza forest. Again in the same month Batutsi raiders under Ndochibiri attacked a loyal Mututsi Chief named Kagumakan, looting his property, driving off some 200 head of cattle and 300 goats, and retiring into Congo territory.

In June Ndochibiri attempted a raid near Ngezi but was driven off by loyal natives.

The Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, (Mr. S. Browning) reported that a considerable part of the inhabitants of Ruanda was still out of control and likely to remain so, until Ndochibiri and his followers were finally dealt with. It was decided in November, to send a police expedition to Kigezi to deal with Ndochibiri, the Belgians agreeing to co-operate with the police on their frontier.

The only police available for this expedition were those of the U.P.S.B. returning to Uganda from German East Africa for demobilization. It was therefore decided that one Company should be detached for this purpose. Lieut.-Colonel Riddick left Kampala for Mwanza on 22 December. On 12 January 1917, he embarked at Mwanza for Bukakata, there disembarking with Mr. Dryden and the men of the Battalion who belonged to the Masaka, Mbarara, Kabale and Toro Units. They marched to Kabale, arriving there on the 30th. The force had been augmented by 25 special constables from Kabale and Mbarara. At Kabale Mr. McDougall, Assistant District Commissioner, was invited to join the expedition, and he was fortunately able to do so for, as Lieut.-Colonel Riddick states in his report, "but for his knowledge of French, and his capabilities in supplying porters, food, spear-men and his local knowledge, it would have been difficult to carry on. Mr. McDougall acted as Intelligence Officer and Interpreter throughout the expedition."

The first information was that Ndochibiri was in Belgian territory from which there are five outlets across the English border. Lieut.-Colonel Riddick then proceeded to Rutchuru, arriving there on 5th February. He left Inspector Wagstaff, who had joined him, and most of the detachment on the frontier.

At Rutchuru, such information as was available, pointed to the fact that Ndochibiri was harboured by Tembero, a chief hostile to the Belgian Government, about two days journey away. We started off on 7 February together with the Belgian chef-de-poste, one Lieutenant and 40 rank and file, arriving at Tembero's at 4 p.m. on the 8th. We found the place abandoned evidently in a hurry, with food, being left behind. We stayed at Tembero's three days, during which the Belgians endeavoured to locate Ndochibiri, but all information turned out to be inaccurate. Our Government Agent, Abdulla, brought in news on the 11th that Ndochibiri was near our Boundary Pillar No. 9, two days away. Lieut.-Colonel Riddick arranged with the Belgians that they should block the country into Mulera while he proceeded to surround the pillar No. 9. On

11 February after some very hard going the police camped in a banana swamp. One sergeant and 25 men were sent at midnight with the Agent to surround Ndochibiri's stronghold and surprise it at dawn. This they did but it was found that Ndochibiri had bolted some days before, leaving quantities of food, all of which was seized. The police arrived at the outskirts of Ndochibiri's on the 14th. The next day they proceeded to his headquarters, but could get no information. Lieut.-Colonel Riddick destroyed all Ndochibiri's huts on our side of the boundary and left for Mulingi in our territory, having captured four who had assisted Ndochibiri to raid; these were handed over to Mr. McDougall for disposal. Lieut.-Colonel Riddick returned to Kigezi on the 26th.

On 3 March, Lieut.-Colonel Riddick received a letter from the Belgians saying that they would cut off the retreat of Kanyaruanda, another rebel, if possible. On 6 March, Lieut.-Colonel Riddick met Captain Weyemberg with 1 Lieutenant and 2 Companies on the border. Captain Weyemberg informed Lieut.-Colonel Riddick that he had Kanyaruanda's son with him, and that it was only a matter of time before Kanyaruanda, who was hiding in the forest, would surrender. He asked Lieut.-Colonel Riddick to withdraw his men as their presence was preventing the surrender of Kanyaruanda. Lieut.-Colonel Riddick returned to Kabale on 8 March.

Information was afterwards received that Kanyaruanda had been arrested by the Belgians. Ndochibiri has not since been heard of in our territory.⁹

Some Brief Biographical Notes

- COUTURIEAUX, Commandant A.C. J-B. (1886-1926). 1913 Congo Belge Force Publique: 1926, 17 March died Pigna (Ituri).
- DRYDEN, J. W. (c. 1883-1951). 1907 Uganda Police: 1928 retired as Superintendent of Police: 1951, 2 October died.
- HARMSWORTH, J. S., M.C. (c.1887-1962). 1913 Agricultural Department, Uganda: 1914 Intelligence Department, Lieutenant Uganda Field Force (later to Buganda Rifles): 1916, 18 February successful defence of Kachumbi Fort, Buddu, against German attacks for which awarded M.C.: 1932 retired as Plantation Manager, Uganda: 1962, 23 December died.
- HENRY, E. J. M. (1862-1930). 1905 Inspector, Belgian Congo service: 1916-21 Governor-General: 1930, 27 December died Brussels. To be distinguished from Commandant (later Lieut.-General) Josué Henry (1869-1957) who arrested Charles Stokes in Congo Belge in 1895, was engaged against the Congolese mutineers in 1897 (*Uganda J.* 17, 1963, p. 21) and who was associated with Capt. M. F. Gage and Dr. A. D. Milne (Uganda Service) in their steam-launch journey from Lado to Khartoum in 1899-1900.
- LAWRENCE, Major E. H. T., O.B.E. (c.1878-1963). 5th Connaught Rangers. 1907 Uganda Police: 1914 appointed Major O/C Defence, Uganda: 1922 Commissioner of Police: 1930 retired: 1963, 11 April died Hove
- McDOUGALL, J. H. G. (1889-). 1911 Asst. District Commissioner Uganda: 1921 to Tanganyika: 1931 Puisne Judge: 1935 retired from Tanganyika: 1942-6 Chief Justice Gibraltar.
- MOORE, N. (). 1911 Asst. District Commissioner Uganda: 1914 Intelligence Dept. Lieutenant Uganda Field Force: 1918 resigned from Uganda Govt. Service,

- REILLY, W. J. (-1932). 1905 East Africa Police: 1911 Uganda Police: 1921 Tanganyika Police: 1926 retired as District Superintendent of Police: 1932, 7 July died.
- RIDDICK, Lieut.-Col. C, (-1962). 1894-1906 Police service in British Guiana, Sierra Leone, Southern Nigeria: 1906 Deputy Inspector-General, East Africa Police: 1908 Commissioner of Police, Uganda: 1922 retired: 1962, 26 May died.
- SULLIVAN, C. E. E. (c.1883-1951). 1909 Asst. District Commissioner, Uganda: 1914 Intelligence Dept. Lieutenant Uganda Field Force: 1928 Provincial Commissioner: 1930 retired: 1951, 28 December died Tangier.
- TAYLOR, S. F. (1887-1951). 1913 Uganda Police: 1919 Assistant Finger Print Officer, Kenya: 1931 retired: 1951, 29 November died.
- TURPIN, C. A. (c.1881-1957). 1911 Uganda Police: 1916 in Karamoja (*Uganda J.* 12, 1948, pp. 161-165): 1922 Superintendent of Police: 1930 to Kenya Police: 1933 retired: 1957, 16 March died.
- WAGSTAFF, C. S., I.S.O., (c.1884-1944). 1912 Uganda Police: 1932 Superintendent of Police: 1937 retired: 1944, 16 May died.
- WINTGENS, Capt. 1909 German Political Service in Ruanda: 1913 succeeded Dr. Kandt as Resident of Ruanda: 1915, May, withdrew from Ruanda: one of General von Lettow's most resourceful column commanders: 1917, 23 May, stricken by typhus and surrendered to Belgians south of Tabora after ordering his column to make for Kilimanjaro under Naumann (who was captured 1 October 1917).

NOTES

1. This march is described by Ezera Kabali in *Uganda J.*, 27, 1963, p. 223.
2. The personnel of the Uganda Police employed on military duty was organised as the Uganda Police Service Battalion as from 1 August 1915. This was demobilized in January 1917 when members returned to their civil duties.
3. Bessell, M. J., Nyabingi, *Uganda J.*, 6, 1938, pp. 73-86 especially p. 82.
4. Unfortunately the precise archival reference is not available.
5. Bessell, *idem*, p. 82.
6. Louis, R., *Ruanda-Urundi 1884-1919*, Oxford, 1963, p. 196, note 7.
7. Nyindo was the half-brother of Mwami Musinga of Ruanda and, subject to a honey tribute, held sway in southern Kigezi. (See Philipps, J. E. T., *The Nyabingi, Congo*, 1928, pp. 310-321).
8. Bessell, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
9. Ndochibiri was killed at the end of June 1919 when planning an attack on Kabale (See Bessell, *op. cit.* p. 83).

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Keith Brown is Forest Entomologist in the Department of Forests, Uganda Government and an organiser of the Natural History Branch of the Uganda Society.

Lewis Clark has worked in Karamoja as a geologist with the Geological Survey and Mines Department of the Uganda Government.

Martin Doornbos is a social science research scholar from the Netherlands attached to the East African Institute of Social Research and currently working on the political structure of Ankole and Kigezi.

Brian Fagan is director of the Bantu Origins Project of the British Institute of History and Archaeology for East Africa, Nairobi.

Sydney Higgins has taught for nearly two years at Sir Samuel Baker School, Gulu, during which time he has made a collection of Acholi craft work and observed the customs of the Acholi including those ceremonies described in this essay.

James King is on the staff of the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, but had spent most of 1962 in Uganda doing research into the Nile transport system for which he obtained a Ph.D. of Northwestern University.

Matia Kiwanuka is a graduate of Makerere University College and the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London where he obtained his Ph.D, from part of which thesis the essay presented here is derived. He is at present a lecturer in history at Makerere.

Eric Lanning served in the Uganda Administration from 1948-1958, and spent many years at Mubende. During these years he did extensive archaeological work in western Uganda and has provided many articles and notes for the *Uganda Journal*.

Laurel Lofgren as a student of Berkeley, University of California, has worked with the Bantu Origins Project of the British Institute of History and Archaeology for East Africa.

T. P. O'Brien is the author of a standard reference work on the prehistory of Uganda which he completed as a result of research visits to Uganda in the late 1930s.

Peter Rigby is a lecturer in sociology of Makerere University College and an authority on the Gogo of central Tanzania.

A. G. Shaper has worked for ten years at the Makerere Medical School and is an authority on many aspects of medicine, though he is specialising on heart diseases, in respect of which he is currently the W.H.O. Research Professor in Cardiovascular Disease.

J. Sykes was President of the Uganda Society in 1938-39 and is a former editor of the *Uganda Journal*. From 1925-1939 he was Vice-Principal of Makerere College and from 1939-1947 was Deputy Director of Education, and twice during this period served as acting director.

ACHOLI BIRTH CUSTOMS

By S. HIGGINS

The Acholi recognise two distinct types of birth, the normal birth and *jok anywala*, the godly birth.

The Normal Birth

Among the Acholi there is no segregation before confinement, and a pregnant woman carries on with her normal household duties until this is prevented by severe labour pains. If the woman is aware of when the baby is due, she and her husband are unlikely to go on a long journey away from home if this can be avoided; but very few special preparations are made for the birth, and there is no fixed place for the delivery. Indeed special names are given to the children born away from home.

At the onset of the pains before birth, the midwife, called *lacola*,¹ is sent for. She is normally an elderly woman with considerable experience. I could find no evidence that she was necessarily, as Girling stated, the wife of the husband's elder brother or the husband's senior wife. Should the *lacola* not be available, one or two of the many women who gather around will assist at the birth, which frequently takes place in the open-air. To deliver the child the expectant mother squats with her buttocks on her heels and her thighs apart. If the birth is taking place inside a hut, the mother may grasp the centre post. In either case a woman supports her from behind. The *lacola* kneels in front of the woman in labour and, if it is a straightforward birth, she receives the baby in her outstretched hands. The new-born baby is then washed with cold water.

The *lacola* cuts the umbilical cord. The instrument used seems to depend more on what is available than on clan ritual.² I have heard of knives, spears, arrows, bamboo, slices of sugarcane and sharpened stones being used. The cord is likewise tied with what is available; such as banana fibre or the fibre from various trees and roots. In modern times a piece of cotton or material is more usual. The placenta may be buried in a variety of places; outside the home, under the woman's granary, in the bush or by a river. The important thing is that it should be put out of reach of anyone who might wish the baby harm, and who could, by possessing it, exert an evil influence on the child.

Among many clans the *lacola* may not touch the ground with her hands while they still have the blood of the placenta on them, in the belief that if this is done the mother will cease to be fertile. Having washed her hands and generally tidied up, the *lacola* removes the mother and child into a house, which in the case of a woman who has given birth for the first time, may have been specially built for her. Payment for the *lacola* varies. In some cases she is not paid, but the usual payment seems to be a sheep. The *awara me lakwany wino* (the food or beer that is not completely prepared because of the child's birth) belongs to the midwife³.

If the expectant mother has difficulty in producing the baby, the *won yat*, a person who possesses herb medicines, is asked to give treatment. The medicine

given is usually the ground roots of some plant, such as *lacer* (*Clerodendrum sp.*), mixed with water. The *won yat* kneels in front of the woman and gives her the drink in a small calabash. She then slowly rubs the belly and back and says such words as:—

Ah, an amiyo yat mera en do.
 Ah, I give you my medicine here, oh.
In latin ni, kadi in latin lee,
 You child, even if you are in the form of an animal
Kati woko yot labongo ayela-mo.
 Do come out quickly without any trouble.

A child who lives after his mother has been given medicine to induce the labour is often called *Oyat*, if a boy, or *Layat*, if a girl.

If the trouble is serious the diviner, *ajwaka*, is consulted. She will then give some treatment which may be the insertion of a stick of bamboo into the vagina. A chicken may be held by the legs and fluttered around the expectant mother's head, while a prayer is said. To please the *jok*⁴, the *ajwaka* may order the woman to bury the umbilical cord of the baby in a specific place. If this is done, the child is given a special name according to the place of the burial, as in the following table:—

Boy's Name	Girl's Name	Place where the umbilical cord is buried
<i>Olwedo</i>	<i>Lalwedo</i>	under an <i>olwedo</i> tree (<i>Lonchocarpus laxiflorus</i>)
<i>Olam</i>	<i>Lalam</i>	„ „ <i>olam</i> tree (<i>Ficus gnaphalocarpa</i>)
<i>Oryang</i>	<i>Laryang</i>	„ „ <i>oryang</i> tree (<i>Dombeya quinquiseta</i>)
<i>Odwong</i>	<i>Ladwong</i>	„ „ <i>odwong</i> tree (<i>Gardenia jovis-tonantis</i>)
<i>Okutu</i>	<i>Lakutu</i>	„ „ <i>okutu</i> tree (<i>Acacia holstii</i>)
<i>Opobo</i>	<i>Lapobo</i>	„ „ <i>opobo</i> tree (<i>Grewia mollis</i>)
<i>Obwolo</i>	<i>Labwolo</i>	„ „ <i>obwolo</i> tree (<i>Annona chrysophylla</i>)
<i>Odur</i>	<i>Ladur</i>	Where the rubbish is kept

Once inside the house after the birth, the mother and child have to remain there for three days if it is a boy, or four days if it is a girl. The mother is permitted to leave only to use the toilet or to bathe behind the house. The child may be taken outside for washing. The reasons given for the observation of this period of separation vary from clan to clan. Some clans believe that if a person who has eaten salt touches the child during this time the baby will go blind. Other clans believe that if the child's genitals are touched the baby will grow up to be infertile. The result of the observance is that the relatives and neighbours who would otherwise want to hold and nurse the child are kept away during the first few days of the infant's life.

During this period the mother's food is cooked and brought to her by a chosen person, who is normally a young female relative. The food must be cooked without salt, and it is believed that if this is not done the baby's eyes will be affected. The main food of the mother is a form of porridge. The mother must not speak to anyone, except her husband, during the three or four days after the birth.⁵ Only the person who prepares the food is allowed into the house which is cut off from the rest of the huts. This is done by surrounding the house by a strong fence, long poles or a symbolic barrier of rope.

The mother will also fulfil her clan's observances.⁶ Some women will not look at the sky because they fear that this will make the child impotent. A more general practice is that alcoholic drink is not allowed into the hut. Indeed most

Acholi mothers abstain from drinking alcohol while they are both carrying and feeding their child. The reasons for not allowing alcohol in the hut vary. Some believe that its presence would make the child die; others believe that the child would grow up to be a drunkard,

The ceremonies that follow a normal birth vary considerably from clan to clan and even village to village.⁷ Despite these differences two ceremonies seem to be common throughout Acholi. They are the ending of the taboos that the woman has observed since the birth and the naming of the child.

As the mother does not normally eat salt during her three or four day stay in the hut, the ceremony of *gwelo kado* (touching with salt) is performed before the mother leaves the hut, to mark the end of her separation from the clan. The *lakwer*, an elderly woman who may be the *lacola* or the husband's mother or the oldest inhabitant of the village, takes a bowl of *olel* (soup mixed with ground simsim) to the mother of the baby. She takes a piece of millet bread, dips it into the *olel*, which contains salt, and plays with it in front of the mother's face until she drops it into the mother's open mouth. In some cases the mother spits out the bread. This is done three times if the child is a boy and four times if a girl. After this ceremony the new mother is allowed to eat with the other people.

On the third or fourth day the child is named. Inside the hut are the mother and child and some close relatives. To the door come a group of people, including relatives of the new father and mother, led by the elderly woman who conducted the ceremony of *gwelo kado*. She carries an *odero* (a winnowing-tray made out of basket-work) in one hand, while in the other she holds an *ogwec* (a knobbed stick used for stirring ground simsim into cooked food) and an *oloto kwon* (a ladle used for stirring millet bread). With the food stirrers she knocks on the door and as she does so she suggests a name for the child. There is no exact formula to decide which name is chosen. Normally the mother's choice is the name the child carries. The name she selects may tell something about the actual circumstances of the birth or about the state of the family at the time of the birth.

Boy's Name	Girl's Name	Meaning
<i>Olum</i>	<i>Alum</i>	Born in the grass, <i>lum</i> .
<i>Otim</i>	<i>Atim</i>	Born in the bush, <i>tim</i> .
<i>Odwar</i>	<i>Adwar</i>	Born during a hunt, <i>dwar</i> .
<i>Owot</i>	<i>Awot</i>	Born during a journey, <i>wot</i> .
<i>Okumu</i>	<i>Akumu</i>	Born before the mother has menstruated. ⁸
<i>Okot</i>	<i>Akot</i>	Bubbles in the afterbirth.
<i>Otoo</i>	<i>Atoo</i>	Many brothers and sisters have died.
<i>Odongo</i>	<i>Adongo</i>	Born after the father's death.
<i>Okec(h)</i>	<i>Akec(h)</i>	Born during a famine, <i>kec</i> .
<i>Banya</i>	<i>Abanya</i>	Dowry or <i>luk</i> money not promptly paid.
<i>Obal</i>	<i>Abalo</i>	Man who wasted his wealth, <i>balo</i> , on an idle woman. ⁹
<i>Okel(l)o</i>	<i>Akel(l)o</i>	First born after twins.
<i>Odong</i>	<i>Adong</i>	Second born after twins.
<i>Bongomin</i>		Without brothers.
<i>Olok</i>	<i>Alok</i>	Mother is talkative.
<i>Ocira</i>	<i>Acira</i>	I have endured bad treatment.
<i>Odoki</i>	<i>Adok</i>	Mother threatened to go back to her parents.
<i>Oryem</i>	<i>Aryemo</i>	They wanted to drive away the mother.

<i>Olanya</i>	<i>Alanyo</i>	Mother feels abandoned by her husband.
<i>Ongom</i>	<i>Angom</i>	After previous children have died.
<i>Ocan</i>	<i>Acan</i>	Misfortune.

Although the name given by the mother is the one the child normally adopts, the wishes of relatives can be taken into consideration, and it is quite usual for a child to have as many as four names. It is not the custom for a child to be given the same name as his father if he is alive, but subsequently if the father dies the mother may wish her eldest son to adopt his deceased father's name. Children may be named after their paternal grandparents. The accepted name is known as either *nying ma maa ocake kwede*, the name first given by the mother, or *nying ma giyokko ki doggola*, the name with which the door was knocked.¹⁰

After the birth ceremonies are completed the wife takes up her household duties. If it is her first child she ceases to wear her unmarried girl's belt, *cip-langee*, and wears the wife's *cip-ceno*¹¹ She will be known by the name of her eldest child, such as *Min Olam*, the mother of *Olam*. It is at this point that the woman becomes fully accepted into her husband's clan.

This ends the ritual after a birth, except that in some clans the husband will not eat food cooked by the new mother for several months after the birth. It is a more common practice for the mother to refrain from having sexual intercourse until she has ceased to breast-feed the child.

A. C. A. Wright in his account of the ceremony of *Kwer Min Lanyoro*, performed by the *Patiko Kaka Kal* after the birth of a child, states, "A point, which is rather interesting, is that none of this sympathetic magic that is employed in *Kwer Min Lanyoro* appears to have any connection with the ordinary Acholi objects of worship like *Jok*, or *Abila* (God, Spirits or Ancestors)."¹² The ceremonies connected with the normal birth are not addresses to the *jok*. Instead the ceremonies have a social significance for they mark the acceptance of the new-born child and the mother into the clan of the father. The *jok* is called upon only if the birth is difficult or if, as in the case of the godly birth, there is something unusual about the baby when it is born.

Jok Anywala (Godly Birth)

There are three types of *jok anywala*. Twins are the commonest and they are given the following names:—

	<i>First Born</i>	<i>Second Born</i>
Two boys	<i>Opiyo</i>	<i>Ocen</i>
One boy, one girl	<i>Opiyo</i>	<i>Acen</i>
One girl, one boy	<i>Apiyo</i>	<i>Ocen</i>
Two girls	<i>Apiyo</i>	<i>Acen</i>

A second type of godly birth consists of children who have minor physical deformities, such as those born with teeth, with a hare-lip, with short arms or with partial paralysis. Such a deformity is considered to be a sign from the *jok* that the child is his gift. The names *Ojok* (for a boy) and *Ajok* (for a girl) are given to these children.¹³ The third type includes all the unusual deformities. Some of these are given special names, such as *Ijara* (male) or *Lajara* (female) for a child born with six or more toes or fingers on one foot or hand. Other deformities include hermaphrodites, children born with no toes or fingers, with limbs missing, with very large heads or with severe paralysis. In the past if the mother was convinced that the deformities of her child were so great that it would be unable to live a useful life, she took it on her back to the river and

dropped it into the water pretending that this was done accidentally.¹⁴ Custom decreed that she must search for the child. As soon as she touched it she would take it from the water. If the child was dead, it would be buried; if it was still alive it would be allowed to live.

In the past, therefore, many of the deformed *jok anywala* were either destroyed or died of natural causes in infancy. Today it is possible for some of the lesser deformities to be cured, but the belief persists even among many educated Acholi that it is wrong to interfere with the will of the *jok*. The idea of regarding deformed children and twins as manifestations of the *jok* has protected such children. They are not abused or despised, because such an action would invoke the wrath of the *jok*. When someone laughs at a cripple he is told, *Wek nyerro Wilobo*, Stop laughing at (the works) of Wilobo.¹⁵

Various ceremonies are conducted after twins have been born. These ceremonies are religious ones addressed to the *jok*, and like all such ceremonies are becoming quite rare in Acholi. The first one described may be used, with suitable alterations, after any godly birth.

The First Ceremony—*Bolo Jok*¹⁶ takes place around the *abila*, the family spirit shrine,¹⁷ which usually stands under or near an *olwedo* and an *okango* tree. After the twins have been born, the umbilical cords are put into a baked-clay bowl (*laum*) which has a plate-shaped cover. On the morning of the ceremony the *laum* is placed by the *abila*, together with the other objects that are going to be used.¹⁸

The people who are present, including the mother and the twins, have pieces of *bomo* (a creeping plant) tied round their wrists, waists and sometimes their necks. When all is prepared the mother sits with her back to the *abila* with her legs outstretched on a skin. The first born of the twins sits on her legs nearest to her while the second born sits on her knees. The other people stand in line, arranged according to their age, in front of the mother and facing the *abila*. Should there be a large number taking part they may almost encircle the *abila*; though this is unlikely because the ceremony is usually restricted to the immediate family of the father of the twins.

The oldest person present takes some cooked peas (*laputa*), a piece of millet bread (*kwon bel magic*) and a few seeds (*peke*) and throws them gently at the *abila*. While this is being done he chants words similar to the following:—

Wamito latin omak oceke maber,
We pray you to let the children suck milk well,
Kum dano ducu obed ma yot,
We ask you to let us be in good health,
Wamito cam o ceki, lee oto, nyodo onen

Let our crops grow well, let us kill animals, have more children. After he has finished, each person in the line gently tosses food at the *abila*, at the same time asking the *jok* for some special thing he or she wants to receive. Next the leader of the ceremony picks up the *kirubu* (a pot with two mouths), which contains beer, and sips from one opening of the *kirubu* and then the other. He then spits the beer onto the *abila*, and pours some of the beer into a small calabash which he places by the *abila*. The other people sip and spit the beer. When this has been completed, the leader of the ceremony takes hold of a white cock and allows it to shake its wings violently over the mother and twins. As he does this he repeats a phrase of the original prayer, such as *Wamito latin omak oceke maber*. This action is repeated in turn by all those taking part. Any of the cock's feathers that fly out are stuck in the ground beneath the *abila* or the *okango* tree. Next a white hen is caught and is used in the same way as the

cock. Each person takes a turn and prays. The *laputa* and *peke* are then eaten. One by one the people dip their hands in a calabash of water which they sprinkle over the mother and children. They also anoint the necks and belly of the mother and twins with *moo yaa* (the oil from the *yaa* tree, *Butyrospermum parkii*) and powdered ashes.

With this, the morning's ceremony is over. The white cock and hen are killed with a spear, and the neck of a goat is cut with a knife. The meat of these animals is put into the pots around the *abila* and the fires are lit. In the evening the meat that has been cooking most of the day is eaten. Small pieces of the meat are placed around the *abila* as an offering to the *jok*. After this the mother and twins take up their positions in front of the *abila* and the others dance in a circle around them and the *abila* led by the oldest man who beats with a stick upon a small calabash floating in water in a larger calabash. Songs, such as the following may be sung:—

Min bangi, ye min (Opiyo, Ocen, Apiyo, Acen) nen dero bel.

Mother of twins, mother of (*Opiyo, Ocen, Apiyo, Acen*) show your millet granary.¹⁹

Min bangi, buto ataro.

Mother of twins, lie down on your back.

Min bangi, ginen dero bel.

Mother of twins, show your millet granary.

When the dancing stops, the mother with the twins still on her lap is lifted up in the skin on which she has been sitting and is carried into the hut. As this is being done another song is sung:—

Bangi ye, eh, eh, eh ya.

Twins ye, eh, eh, eh, ya.

Rut ye, Ocen ki kwed Opiyo.

Twins ye, *Ocen* and *Opiyo*.

Uh, uh, uh, lulmaro, rut ye.

Uh, uh, uh, beloved, do, twins ye.

Eh, eh, eh, ya.

After the people have entered the room and the mother is seated on the floor still on the skin, the other women present go through the motions of making love to the father of the twins. As they do so they make ribald jokes, suggesting that they too would like to be the mother of twins. After this light-hearted interlude the people go outside to drink and dance.

Later there is a second ceremony, *Ngwelo Jok*.²⁰ There is no special time for the performance of this ceremony. Because a large number of people is involved, *Ngwelo Jok* is usually arranged for a date when most people will be able to attend. Families who find it difficult to meet the expense involved may delay the ceremony for many months. The arrangement of the *abila* and the part of this ceremony that takes place around it are similar to the second part of the first ceremony, but the preparatory stages for *Ngwelo Jok* are very different and much more elaborate. On the day of the ceremony the father of the twins kills a ram which is then cut up and cooked for the evening feast.²¹ Around the waists and ankles of the twins are tied strings of beads made of small pieces of *koo* (bamboo, *Oxythenanthera abyssinica*), or *toro* (a grass with stiff stems.). A *canga* (a string of small disks cut from ostrich eggs) is put around the twins' necks. The mother and the twins have their hair cut for the first time since the birth of the babies. They are then anointed with *pala* (red ochre.) The mother wears a new *ceno*, made from the fibre of the *oryang* tree (*Acacia holstii*).

From the time of the twins' birth till the performance of the second ceremony, the family of the mother has not been allowed to carry or even touch the twins, and the mother has been forbidden to eat food that has been cooked with salt. Both these prohibitions are ended at this time in the following way. In the morning of the second ceremony the mother goes with the twins and her husband's mother, or another married woman from the village, to the home of her parents. When they arrive, all the family assemble in front of the home of the twins' maternal grandmother. *Olel* (soup mixed with ground simsim) is brought which has been cooked with salt. To this is added salt which the twins' mother has brought with her. Thus the salt of the two families is mixed together in the *olel*. The woman who came with the mother takes a piece of millet bread in each hand, dips them in the *olel*, and teases the twins' mother with them before dropping them into the mother's open mouth. This is done three times if the twins are boys; and four times if they are girls, or one of them is a girl. The teasing with the millet bread is repeated, and then the woman picks up the twins and hands them to the mother's family, who are then allowed to carry the children for the first time. After this the people settle down and eat together.

Afterwards the family of the twins' mother go with her to her husband's home, taking with them a female sheep. The party stops outside the compound. The family of the husband have put a winnowing-tray filled with seeds under, or onto, the *abila*. The mother's family try to take the seeds so that they will be blessed with good crops; but the father's family, who do not want to lose their fertility try to prevent the seeds being stolen. Sometimes the mother's family will pretend to steal the twins. When the friendly rivalry has concluded the two families assemble before the *abila* in the same way as for the *bolo jok*. They then settle down to eat the ram that was killed much earlier that day, and drink the beer that has been brewed by both families. In the evening the twins' mother sits with the twins on her lap in front of the *abila* in the same way as for the second part of the first ceremony, and after singing and dancing she is carried into the house. The two families continue drinking and dancing until late into the night. The bones of the animals that have been eaten are kept away from the village dogs. The day after the ceremony these bones are taken far away into the bush and thrown away.

It is expected that those who come to the ceremony should bring presents, which are normally ornaments made from iron, wood or shells, such as *canga* and *atego* (a ring or armband made out of metal). The sheep that was brought by the wife's family is not eaten, but is allowed to reproduce. Later the brother of the wife will come and take away all the lambs that it has had, apart from one male and one female.

NOTES

1. This is the name I found used throughout most of Acholi. It is listed by J. P. Crazzolaro, *A study of the Acholi language*, Oxford, 2nd Impression (Revised) 1955, p. 204. F. K. Girling uses *lakwer* in *The Acholi of Uganda*, London, 1960, p. 22. *Lakwer* is the name given to the person who conducts the ceremonies after a normal birth. Although this may be the same woman who has acted as the *lacola*, it is more likely that the *lakwer* and the *lacola* will be different people. A. C. A. Wright uses *dayo* (lit. grandmother) for midwife in, Some notes on Acholi religious ceremonies, *Uganda J.*, 3, 1936, pp. 175-202. As the *lacola* has to be an experienced woman she is usually a grandmother. This presumably is why Wright used *dayo*.
2. A. C. A. Wright, *ibid*, states that the *Patiko Kaka Kal* use a sliver of bamboo called *toro* to cut the umbilical cord of a boy, and *ra* to cut that of a girl. It may be that in the past clans kept to the same instruments to cut the umbilical cord, but I could find no evidence of this happening now.

3. Crazzolaro J. P., *op. cit.*, p. 185.
4. For an account of the *jok* see Okot p'Bitek, The concept of *jok* among the Acholi and Lango, *Uganda J.*, 27, 1963, pp. 15-29.
5. In some clans the girl who prepares the food is forbidden to speak to anyone except the parents of the child.
6. For other clan observances see E. T. N. Grove, Customs of the Acholi, *Sudan Notes and Records*, 2, 1919, p. 157.
7. A. C. A. Wright gives an account of the ceremony performed by the *Patiko Kaka Kal*, *op. cit.* Because of the considerable differences observed in the ceremonies following the birth of a normal child I have given only a brief outline of the ceremonies.
8. In this case a large sum of money is collected by the relatives of the girl from the husband. It is not returnable in the event of a divorce. See J. P. Crazzolaro, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
9. This name is usually given by the grandparents.
10. Girling F. K., *op. cit.*, p. 23.
11. Girling F. K., *op. cit.*, p. 24.
12. Wright, A. C. A., *op. cit.*, p. 193.
13. Should for some reason one of these children not be given the name *Ojok* or *Ajok* and some disaster strikes the parents or the child, the *ajwaka* will normally order the child to be given the name *Ojok* or *Ajok* so that the *jok* will know that the parents acknowledge his gift. In such cases the child and mother will have to re-enact the ceremonies that take place after a child is born. They will stay together in a hut for the necessary three or four days and at the end of this period the ceremony of naming the child will take place.
14. The mother pretends that the drowning of the child is accidental so that this will be believed by the child, who will then not return in the form of *jok* to trouble the family.
15. Crazzolaro J. P., *op. cit.*, p. 417. For an explanation of *Wilobo* see Okot p'Bitek, Acholi concept of fate, *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, pp. 85-93.
16. *Bolo* means throwing, and the ceremony is so named because during it food is gently thrown at the *abila*.
17. For an account of the *abila* see Rev. Fr. A. Malandra, The ancestral shrine of the Acholi, *Uganda J.*, 7, 1937, pp. 27-43. As some families may not have an *abila* when twins are born it will be necessary then to build a new spirit shrine. This will mean an additional ceremony for dedicating the new *abila*.
18. These are the *kirubu* (a pot with more than one mouth) which has a creeping plant (*bomo*) tied round its necks and which contains *kongo angaci* (a beer that has not been filtered); a calabash containing *kwon bel mangic* (cold millet bread); *nying nyim* (simsim seeds) *nying bel* (millet grains) *okwer* (the seeds of a wild cucumber) and *ngor* (wild pea seeds); a second calabash containing *laputa* (cooked peas without salt); an *odero* (a winnowing-tray) in which an *ogwec* (a knobbed stick) and an *oloto kwon* (a ladle) have been placed; and an *opoko* (a small calabash). Groups of stones are also arranged around the *abila* so that fires can be lit to cook the meat.
19. *Dero bel* (millet granary) is frequently used by the Acholi to refer to the anus. This is because the food from the granary eventually passes through the anus. The point of the song is that the Acholi believe that as the mother has given birth to two children she must be empty inside and will need a lot to eat. This song is not a reference to the woman's fertility, because the twins are the gifts of the *jok*, and to praise the woman for her fertility would anger the *jok*.
20. Literally to take hold of, to kill. During this ceremony a ram is killed.
21. Later when the skin has been dried, it is cut in two from the neck to the tail. Bark is cut from the *oryang* tree and is sown inside the two halves of the ram's skin. Thus are made two carriers, called *obeno*, which the mother will use, one at a time, for carrying the twins on her back. Great care is taken to ensure that the *obeno* made for each of the twins is identical, because the Acholi believe that favouring one of the twins will cause the death of the other.

STUDIES IN HEART DISEASE IN UGANDA

By A. G. SHAPER

In a country in which so much illness is caused by malaria and other parasitic diseases, where tuberculosis is highly endemic and in which malnutrition in children is still a formidable problem, one might well ask why a considerable amount of attention should be paid by so many medical investigators to problems of heart disease. We are repeatedly told in general terms that "Africans don't get heart disease" so that it seems reasonable to enquire why time and money should be devoted to studying heart diseases here and why the World Health Organisation, normally a fairly responsible body, should set up a research and training centre for cardiovascular diseases in a place like Kampala. The answers are reasonably straightforward and in giving them I will present a bird's-eye view of the situation regarding heart disease in Uganda. What I have to say is derived from work carried out over the past two decades by a large number of workers at the Makerere Medical School and Mulago Hospital.

Heart disease is a common problem at Mulago Hospital and accounts for some 10 per cent of admissions to the general medical wards. The pattern of heart diseases varies considerably from that seen in more developed countries. There are some conditions which are frequently seen here but occur rarely in Europe and America, whereas some of the commonest problems of Europe and America are hardly seen here at all.

Rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease are common enough problems in Europe and rheumatic heart disease is also widespread throughout the African continent. A small proportion of people who get sore throats due to an organism called the *streptococcus*, develop rheumatic fever with swollen painful joints, sweating and fever. The heart can be affected by this process and a small proportion of those who get rheumatic fever get irreversible damage to the valves of their hearts. This is called rheumatic heart disease. This is a condition which predominantly affects the lower income groups and those living in crowded social conditions. It is a commonly seen disorder in Mulago Hospital and some few suitable cases are even offered the benefits of heart surgery in an attempt to improve their condition. The disease here differs a little from that seen in Europe in that its chronic established form is seen almost ten years earlier than it is in Europe and it is probably a more rapidly fatal condition than it is elsewhere.

Another form of heart disease and one which is hardly ever seen outside the tropical areas of the world is *endomyocardial fibrosis (E.M.F.)*. This is a disease in which the surface lining of the heart chambers, particularly the muscular ventricles, becomes covered with a thick fibrous scar which may extend into the muscle of the heart. This process can obliterate the normal chambers of the heart and is a progressive disease which affects young adults in particular.

Having mentioned these two disorders, rheumatic heart disease and endomyocardial fibrosis, let me point to an interesting phenomenon regarding them. Rheumatic heart disease occurs predominantly in Baganda subjects; while people originating from Ruanda, Ankole and Kigezi are affected far less frequently than expected, even though these latter subjects belong to the socio-economic group in whom we would expect to find the highest incidence of rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease. Endomyocardial fibrosis, on the other hand, is a disease almost entirely restricted to subjects originating from Ruanda, Ankole and Kigezi and it is quite exceptional to encounter this disorder in a Muganda. When one plots on a map of Buganda, the homes of the patients with rheumatic heart disease and E.M.F. we find that this tendency for E.M.F. to affect the Ruandans and rheumatic heart disease to affect the Baganda, can be seen even at a county level, so that this difference cannot be ascribed to differences in *where* people live, in the broad sense, but may of course depend in part on *how* they live.

Our present hypothesis and one which clearly will require a great deal of further study, is that endomyocardial fibrosis may be a peculiar reaction to streptococcal infection in the Ruandans, while the Baganda with streptococcal infection tend to develop the classical rheumatic heart disease. Studies in progress in this field may well throw light on several of the mysteries which still surround the whole story of rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease. For certain reasons it has been suggested that a diet of bananas (matoke) might be an important factor in producing endomyocardial fibrosis. While a great deal of work has been carried out in animals and in human subjects in an attempt to incriminate bananas, there is at present no convincing evidence that a staple diet of bananas will lead to the development of any form of heart disease whatsoever.

I want now to consider another heart complaint, *High Blood Pressure* or *Hypertension*. Any person from the English-speaking countries of the world is aware of the concept of blood pressure and there must be very few of us who have not heard friends or relatives complain of their blood pressure. Sometimes they have been told it is too high and often they have been told it is too low. Thousands of genteel ladies all over the world have nursed their concept of 'low blood pressure' well on into their eighties and nineties. While there is a great deal of argument in the scientific world as to what is normal in terms of blood pressure, there comes a time when the level of the blood pressure has been raised for sufficiently long for it to affect the heart and we then say that the person has *hypertensive heart disease*. In a national heart survey in U.S.A in 1961-2 this was the commonest form of heart disease in the apparently healthy population, occurring in about 10 per cent of men and women. It is interesting to note that in no East African language is there a term for blood pressure and no real way of expressing the concept. However among cardiovascular disorders it is the commonest cause for admission to Mulago Hospital, comprising 37 per cent of all cardiovascular disorders and two-thirds of these subjects have chronic disease of the kidneys. We are not always completely sure of the nature of the kidney disease which produces such severe high blood pressure in relatively young people (mostly under 40 years of age) but probably in half of the cases it is due to infection in the urinary tract. In theory this kind of problem is ultimately preventable, for urinary infections can be readily recognised by examining the urine and looking for the offending organisms.

In practice, however, urinary infections are often associated with very few severe symptoms and so the patients may only be seen in the very late stages when the condition cannot be reversed.

There is a concept that high blood pressure is a disease of civilisation, found only in earnest business-men wondering where their next million is coming from. In studies carried out in the nomadic cattle and camel herding tribesmen of Northern Kenya (the Samburu and Rendille), we have shown that the blood pressure need not rise with increasing age, as is the case in western countries and which is accepted as the normal pattern of blood pressure behaviour. In these lean active people the blood pressure remains the same at all ages through to the eighties, and in many hundreds of men examined we have only found one person with high blood pressure, a government-paid chief with obesity, diabetes, a very large herd of cattle and three wives. On the other hand, in the community living at Kasangati some 20 miles from Kampala, blood pressure levels follow the English and American patterns remarkably closely and symptomless high blood pressure is a very common finding in the older age groups with an incidence similar to that seen in London or New York.

The natural history of high blood pressure in Uganda is quite unknown and there is a tremendous field for research into the causes of high blood pressure, its effects on different peoples and the incidence of the various complications of high blood pressure such as heart failure, kidney disease and strokes.

From a disease which occurs as frequently in Uganda as in western countries let us turn to a disorder which is worthy of study by reason of its virtual absence; namely *Coronary Heart Disease*, *coronary thrombosis*, or "heart attacks". In doing so I will define some of the terms and concepts I am going to use.

The heart is a muscular pump, which forces blood into the aorta and the other main arteries, so that it circulates to all parts of the body and back again. To do this, with 70 strokes per minute producing a gallon each minute, 60 gallons per hour, 1500 gallons per day, day in and day out for three score years and ten, the heart muscle needs a constant supply of energy and nourishment. This it gets from the oxygen and other nutrients carried in the blood, not from the blood being pumped through its chambers, but from blood which is specially channelled to it through its own network of arteries, the coronary arteries. Two main coronary arteries arise from the aorta and then branch and re-branch over the surface of the heart reaching down into the depths of the muscular substance of the heart. These are the life-lines to the heart and since the heart is forever contracting, it is little wonder then that these vessels sometimes show signs of wear and tear. Perhaps the real wonder is that in many people they may show so little damage in a long lifetime.

The pathologist who examines the heart in someone who has had a "heart attack" finds abnormal amounts of damage in the coronary arteries in a somewhat patchy manner—*atheroma*—which leads not only to a hardening of these vessels, but more important to a narrowing and irregularity of the internal diameter very much like a drain pipe which is encrusted with fat or dirt (*atherosclerosis*). These patches of *atheroma* may ulcerate and there may be bleeding from the surface and this bleeding can lead to a clot being formed which may cause further narrowing of the artery or even blockage. If blockage occurs—*thrombosis*—then there is a sudden stoppage of blood flow to some part of the heart muscle and the heart muscle dies. The heart may stop altogether and

the person dies, or recovery may gradually occur and the damage is healed, leaving a scar in the heart. This we call a "heart attack" or *coronary thrombosis* or *myocardial infarction*. With only a narrowing of the artery, the blood supply to the heart muscle may be sufficient when the person is at rest, but when he exercises, even walking up stairs, the heart muscle requires more oxygen and nutrients than can be supplied by the diminished blood flow and this results in a severe pain in the heart muscle which we call *angina*.

Cardiovascular diseases compete with cancer as the leading causes of death among the adult populations of developed countries. Coronary heart disease and high blood pressure are the most important cardiovascular diseases even at relatively young ages. In 1958, in U.S.A., U.K., Canada, Australia, 37 per cent of all male deaths aged 50-54 years were due to coronary heart disease while in Japan the figure was 7 per cent, in Formosa 1 per cent. In Uganda the figures are not readily available but coronary heart disease is virtually unknown in the African community. In the Asian community, any male over the age of 40 years has a 40 per cent chance of dying of coronary heart disease. The available figures suggest that the highly developed and industrialised nations are experiencing a persisting "epidemic" of coronary heart disease associated with a high mortality, particularly among males in the most productive period of life.

Research into the causes and development of coronary heart disease is being pursued in many countries and very considerable funds are sometimes available for such research. Nevertheless the progress in the understanding of this disease is slow and uncertain. The striking variations between the incidence in different countries, and in the same country but between different groups, suggests that comparative studies either on a regional basis or on an international basis may be useful and it is felt that this disease needs to be investigated in people living in different ecological situations and presenting natural experimental conditions. From this point of view Uganda has a rare opportunity in that it has at least two distinct populations from a coronary heart disease point of view and probably many intermediate-type groups.

Not long ago coronary heart disease was held to be a phenomenon of aging and survival was thought to depend largely on inherited factors within the coronary arteries i.e. different racial groups were thought to have different patterns of coronary arteries on a hereditary basis. There was much in favour of this view as there was a familial incidence, it was a disease common in people derived principally from Anglo-Saxon stock and it was a frequent complication of other hereditary disorders such as *diabetes mellitus*. A great deal of attention was also paid to body-build and it was claimed that short stocky individuals were more susceptible than long, thin ones in a given community. However, members of a family or of a given population group are usually subjected to similar environmental influence and body-build may be influenced in part by factors other than the genetic make-up. So, although susceptibility to coronary heart disease may in part be genetically determined, attention has been focussed on the contribution made by factors in the environment and of these the modern sophisticated diet of western nations is at present the most suspect.

During the 1939-1945 war there was a sharp fall in the death rate from coronary heart disease in many European countries and also a fall in the incidence of severe atherosclerosis. While this was accompanied by a fall in the consumption of butter, milk, cheese and eggs, there were of course other environmental changes taking place as well. In England the disease was found

to be nearly twice as common in the professional and executive classes as in the labouring classes and prosperity appeared to be the background to these social class differences. Studies were then initiated in many racial and national groups in areas with wide differences in the prevalence of coronary heart disease and it was shown that in areas where the percentage calories consumed as fat was about 40%, severe atherosclerosis and coronary heart disease was common, and the blood cholesterol rose sharply with age. In groups eating little fat, severe atherosclerosis was rare, coronary heart disease virtually unknown, blood cholesterol levels were much lower and there was no rise in blood cholesterol with age. At birth African, European and Asian babies in Kampala have the same blood cholesterol levels despite marked differences in their mothers' blood cholesterol levels but by the age of ten years striking differences are already evident and this applied not only between races but between income classes within each racial group. Clearly these trends cannot be explained on genetic grounds. Also the incidence of severe atherosclerosis is different in the same race living under different environmental conditions e.g. Japanese in Japan, Hawaii and California, and early and recent immigrant Yemenite Jews in Israel.

In all the studies carried out, the susceptibility to severe atherosclerosis and coronary heart disease appears to be determined largely by environmental factors and of the many studied, only one has remained constantly significant throughout i.e. dietary fat intake, and the triangular relationship between diet, serum cholesterol and coronary heart disease seems to be a strong one.

Not all fats behave in the same way and it was soon shown that animal fats such as butter, lard and eggs led to a rapid rise in blood cholesterol whereas vegetable oils such as corn oil, olive oil, peanut oil, sunflower oil and safflower oil lowered them. If these oils are hardened (hydrogenated) they lose their ability to lower blood cholesterol. Also, many tropical oils such as coconut oil and palm oil behave like animal fats while marine oils, unless hardened, lower blood cholesterol.

If a high fat diet in the environment of a modern society predisposes to coronary heart disease, it would obviously be of great interest to study people who have a high intake of fat but who are physically very active, to see if they develop coronary heart disease. The low blood pressure levels in the nomadic tribesmen of Northern Kenya, the Samburu and the Rendille, have already been referred to. These two groups are physically very active and live almost entirely on milk, meat and blood. Despite this diet, their levels of blood cholesterol are low and they do not appear to suffer from coronary heart disease. A possible explanation for this finding is the combination of physical activity, and a marked seasonal variation in food supply, for although there are brief periods of plenty, these nomads usually live at subsistence level.

There are many theories which attempt to explain how the blood cholesterol produces atherosclerosis.

(a) *Filtration theory*: Fat becomes encrusted and infiltrates into the arterial wall and produces a fibrous (scar) tissue reaction. The principal constituent of the atheroma plaque is cholesterol.

(b) *Blood clotting theory*: It is suggested that the first damage to the artery wall consists of a thin layer of blood clot (fibrin) which soon becomes part of the wall and this irregular patch increases in size by further blood clots on the surface and so on until the fully developed picture of atherosclerosis

develops. There is an enzyme system in the body which is responsible for the breakdown of fibrin and it is thought that this process—fibrinolysis—is a normal occurrence with fibrin constantly being laid down and dissolved.

No matter what theory is propounded two main phenomena seem to exist. Firstly a long continued process which leads to damage to the arteries and secondly a more acute process which leads to blockage of these damaged arteries or may even lead to blockage in relatively undamaged vessels. The first of these is almost certainly associated in some way with a long continued excess of dietary fat with its influence on the blood cholesterol system. This process may proceed from infancy onwards. The second of these, the more acute process, may be just another, but more severe, aspect of the first phenomenon i.e. high fat diets, or it may be associated with any of the many so-called risk factors i.e. those factors which increase the chances of coronary heart disease in those communities prone to the disease.

These *risk factors* may be analysed as follows :—

Age: Some deaths occur at less than 35 years of age but the mortality increases appreciably with age, being almost five times as high in the 45-54 age group as in the 35-44 age group.

Sex: Below the menopausal age, females suffer very little from coronary heart disease and even in the 50-54 year old age group in U.S.A. and U.K. the percentage of all deaths due to coronary heart disease is 15 per cent in the females as opposed to 57 per cent in the males. It is only after the age of 60 years that sex differences in the susceptibility to coronary heart disease tend to disappear and blood cholesterol levels rise to male levels. Clearly the female hormones, which fall in level when the ovaries cease functioning at the menopause, have some effect on atherosclerosis.

Blood pressure: Atherosclerosis is definitely accelerated and aggravated by a high blood pressure; the higher the blood pressure the greater the risk of developing coronary heart disease.

Overweight: Obesity is associated with a slightly higher incidence of coronary heart disease possibly because people who are fat often have high blood cholesterol levels and a high blood pressure.

Smoking: There is an increased risk of coronary heart disease in excessive cigarette smokers.

Emotional Stress: This is difficult to define and although we strongly suspect that psychogenic stress is potentially important in coronary heart disease, its precise role is uncertain.

Physical Activity: Sedentary occupations certainly constitute a hazard in communities prone to atherosclerosis.

Diabetes Mellitus: There is a greatly increased tendency to coronary heart disease in people with this condition.

The position of coronary heart disease in Uganda may be summarised thus:—

(a) The African community have a low fat intake, low serum cholesterol levels, a high degree of physical activity and a low incidence of coronary heart disease. They also tend to smoke very little.

(b) The Asian community have a high fat intake, high serum cholesterol levels, sedentary occupations and a high incidence of coronary heart disease. There is a greater tendency to moderate or heavy cigarette smoking.

(c) The European community in Uganda also have a high fat intake, high serum cholesterol levels and occupations varying from sedentary to very

active. As most are of expatriate status, they tend to leave Uganda well before the age of maximum incidence of coronary heart disease and one must assume that they go "home" to have their heart attacks.

All groups suffer from obesity, high blood pressure and diabetes mellitus. Our studies are based on the hypothesis that the effects of high blood pressure, obesity, smoking, emotional stress, diabetes or a sedentary life will not produce coronary heart disease unless there is a background of a high fat diet which is also high in calories in relation to energy requirements.

Pathologists are able to study the blood vessels of the body (aorta, coronary, cerebral etc.) of subjects dying in Kampala and can compare them with similar material from America and Europe in groups ranging from birth to old age. In the laboratory we can study the many ways in which the blood can be affected by diet, physical activity and all the risk factors mentioned above. In particular, we have shown that there is a striking difference between middle-aged African and Asian men in their ability to break down their blood clots. When the blood clots obtained from African men are observed in the laboratory they tend to break down under the influence of enzymes (i.e. fibrinolysis) in about five hours while in the Asian men the same process takes about 25 hours. This is a striking phenomenon and may well help to explain the striking difference in vascular disease seen in these two communities.

In conclusion, it is clear that heart disease is a problem in Uganda and that it is a problem worthy of a certain expenditure in time and money. Work in this field is not just of importance to Kampala or even to East Africa, it might be important in a more international sense providing basic information on such vital problems as high blood pressure, rheumatic heart disease and atherosclerosis and its complications. Work in this field does not have the same emotional impact as studies on malnourished children, but I would like to think that it is of equal importance in the long run.

SOCIETY NOTES

The Annual Report of the Uganda Society for 1965 was prepared for its Annual General Meeting in April 1966. The membership of the Uganda Society rose in 1965 to 669 members, from 623 the previous year. This nevertheless is considerably below the peak of 833 in 1956. Nearly half of the members reside outside Uganda. In the hopes of increasing its total membership, and in particular of extending its membership within Uganda an attractive brochure has been prepared. During 1965 the library underwent a considerable re-organisation and was expanded by the incorporation of the library of the Uganda Museum. In addition to producing two issues of the *Uganda Journal* a new edition of Dr. Greenwood's *Fishes of Uganda* has also been published. The Uganda Society has also been active in organising meetings and excursions: many of the latter under the auspices of the Natural History Branch of the Society. The excursions have proved popular, but attendance at lectures, though showing considerable fluctuations, has on the whole been disappointing. The programme for 1965 is set out overleaf.

Photographs of the new Uganda Society room in the Uganda Museum
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Programue of the Uganda Society 1965

- 20th January. "Railways and development in East Africa"—Dr. A. O'Connor.
27th January. "Zambia rediscovered: the how, why and when of archaeological research"—Mr. J. H. Chaplin.
- 12th February. "Barrows, beaches and booming rocks—a preliminary report of the Makerere University College Scientific and Cultural Survey of Lolui Island"—Dr. M. Posnansky, Mr. P. H. Temple, Mr. G. Jackson, Mr. J. H. Chaplin, Miss L. Anderson.
- 24th February. Four ethnographical films were introduced by Mr. D. Moore: "Barkcloth making in Angola", "Pot making in Somalia and Morocco", "Tribes of the Southern Sudan" and "The Bahima of Ankole".
Excursion to places of historical interest in Jinja led by Dr. M. Posnansky.
- 7th March. "Archaeology in Zambia, past, present and future"—Dr. Brian Fagan
- 10th March. "Public policy in independent Uganda"—Professor C. T. Leys.
17th March. Joint meeting of the East African Academy (Uganda Branch) and the Uganda Society.
25th March. 31st Annual General Meeting followed by a film "Uganda, Cradle of the Nile".
- 7th April. "Library development"—Mr. A. J. Loveday.
21st April. Film show: "Explorer's Nile" & "Elephants have right of way"—Mr. W. Cowen.
27th April. Natural History field excursion to three islands in Lake Victoria.
- 16th May. "Living Fossils—alive or dead!" Dr. W. W. Bishop.
25th May. "Memories of early days in Uganda"—Mr. D. G. Tomblings.
9th June. "Kabarega"—Mr. A. R. Dunbar.
16th June. "Pearls, Crayfish and Crocs: the need for a revolution in the fishing industry"—Mr. S. N. Semakula.
22nd June. Natural History field excursion to Bulingugwe Island.
- 18th July. "What Uganda's forests have to offer the naturalist"—Mr. K. W. Brown.
27th July. "Age set systems in some East African peoples"—Dr. P. H. Gulliver.
28th July. "The forest: good or evil?"—Dr. Colin Turnbull.
18th August. "Thoughts on Asians in East Africa and South Africa"—Dr. Hilda Kuper.
25th August. Natural History field day at Maligitu Forest Station in the Mabira Forest.
- 29th August. "Agriculture and the economic development of Uganda"—Mr. Y. Kyesimira.
- 15th September. "The peripatetic parabola, or how to make tape recordings of bird and animal noises"—Mr. M. A. Prentice.
28th September. "The work of the Commission for the Preservation of Natural & Historic Monuments & Relics, Zambia, during the past 12 months"—Mr. D. W. Phillipson.
- 13th October. "Lake Tanganyika: a zoological wonder"—Professor L. C. Beadle.
19th October. "Engaruka, lost city of Tanzania?"—Mr. H. Sassoon. (In conjunction with African Studies Programme, Makerere).
3rd November. "Hunting and cultivating Orchids in Uganda"—Mr. C. L. A. Leakey.
16th November. "Breeding behaviour among Weaver Birds"—Mr. J. Hall.
7th December. Afternoon visit to Kajansi Fish Farm.
11th December. Tea and an informal meeting with members of the Seminar on the Techniques of Collecting and Recording Local History. The meeting was addressed by Father J. P. Crazzolaro.
15th December.

The Society in conjunction with the British Council also arranged a series of lectures for the post School-Certificate pupils of schools and training colleges in and near Kampala. These lectures were given in the National Theatre on the general theme "Uganda looks ahead". The programme was as follows:—

- 15th February. "Town planning"—Mr. A. F. Luba.
22nd February. "Economic trends in present-day Uganda"—Mr. J. W. B. Waddimba.
1st March. "The future of music in Uganda"—Mr. S. Mbabi-Katana.
8th March. "Current trends in Ugandan art"—Mr. G. Maloba.
15th March. "The future of education in Uganda"—Mr. W. Senteza Kajubi.
22nd March. "Architecture in developing Africa"—Mr. T. Watson, A.R.I.B.A.

THE DIARIES OF EMIN PASHA—EXTRACTS XI

Edited by SIR JOHN GRAY

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

XI THE GATHERING STORM IN EQUATORIA

27 May to 20 August 1888

Introductory Note

These extracts cover the period from Stanley's return to the Congo to collect his main body and rear-guard to the time when Emin and Mounteney-Jephson returned from their journey into northern parts of the Equatorial Province to Dufile, where they found that many of the troops were on the brink of active rebellion against Emin's authority. During those three months Emin and Jephson had been engaged in explaining to the people in the northern parts the Khedive's orders for the evacuation of the Province and the arrangements which were to be made for the return to Egypt of those who so wished.

The Khedive's instructions to Emin and Stanley's proclamation to Emin's soldiers have already been set out in full in Appendixes B and C to Extracts X (*Uganda J.* 29, 1965, pp. 212-3.)

In editing Vol. IV of the *Tagebücher* Stuhlmann has abstained from comment on the contents of Emin's diary, but has referred readers for purposes of comparison to the published accounts of contemporary events in the works of Schweitzer, Casati, Vita Hassan and Mounteney-Jephson. It is proposed in the present translation of Stuhlmann's work to adopt, as far as possible, the same course as that adopted by Stuhlmann.

The works in question are:—

(a) Schweitzer, Georg (as translated into English by R. W. Felkin, *Emin Pasha*, 1898 chapter XXIII, pp. 285-7). As the number of pages devoted to this period indicates, the references to the events of these three months are very scrappy. No reference is made therein to any passages from Emin's Diary.

(b) Casati, Gaetano, *Ten Years in Ekuatoria*, (English translation by Mrs. J. Randolph Clay, Vol. 2, 1891, chapters IX and X.) It has to be remembered that the author and Emin eventually quarrelled, and that the author was out to justify and to extol his own conduct. His statements must accordingly be accepted with some measure of caution.

(c) Vita Hassan, *Die Wahrheit uber Emin Pascha*, vol. 2, 1893, pp. 140-53. The author's references to this period are very meagre.

(d) Mounteney-Jephson, A. J., *Emin Pasha and the Rebellion at the Equator*, 1890, chapters II to VI. The author has to a large extent relied upon the contents of his contemporary diary, which is shortly to be published *in extenso* by the Hakluyt Society as edited by Mrs Dorothy Middleton. Like Emin himself and Samuel Pepys of much earlier days, he did not always write daily in his diary, but brought it up to date after intervals of several days. From time to time there are gaps in it, but, taken by and large, it is an invaluable commentary on Emin's diary. Here, I must acknowledge my gratitude to Mrs Middleton for supplying me with certain passages in the diary which do not appear in Jephson's book.

It will be noted that Stuhlmann says that certain leaves are missing from Emin's diary. In some instances the explanation may well be that these leaves have become loose and fallen out of the book, but surrounding evidence tends to show that the leaf covering the period from 30 May to 3 June 1888 has been intentionally removed. The contents of this missing leaf and the reasons for its removal are dealt with in the Appendix. I make no attempt to solve the enigma as to why Emin gave orders for Kibiro to be bombarded at the end of May 1888. If he had given that order very shortly after Casati had been rescued, the reasons would have been intelligible. It was, however, given some three and a half months after that event and for me there is "not to know the reason why". That "Some one had blundered" is most certainly true and that some one, as he later realised, was Emin himself. Some critics would be disposed to call Emin's order by a harder name than blunder. Perhaps one ought to say, as did a French writer when commenting on Napoleon's order for the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, "it was worse than a crime, it was a blunder" with far reaching ill consequences to many people.

Extracts from Emin's Diaries

May 27, 1888, Sunday (Emin and Jephson set off from Nsabe with the *Khedive* and *Nyanza* for Mswa. *Khedive* towed a lifeboat left by Stanley, and the *Nyanza* two other boats. Stopped for the night at Magungu to take in fuel).

May 28, Monday (Mabruki, one of Stanley's Zanzibari porters, who had been left behind after being badly gored by a buffalo, died during the night. Vessels reached Mswa at 10.49 a.m.).

May 29, Tuesday (Rain all day).

(After the entry for 29 May Stuhlmann inserts the following note:—

"One leaf is missing here from the diary containing the notes from 30 May to 3 June. During those days the punitive expedition against Kibiro took place, which came back with much booty." See Jephson, p. 36, Vita Hassan, ii. Casati, ii, pp. 164-5. Further particulars of this expedition are given in the Appendix).

June 3 (Emin arrived at Tunguru "with a gloomy countenance" (Casati, ii, p. 167), accompanied by Jephson).

June 5, Tuesday (Emin gives a long account of complaints made to Stanley against himself by Adjutant-Major Abdul Wahab Effendi and a clerk named

Ahmed Effendi Mahmud. Stanley had told them to make their complaints to the Khedive on their return to Egypt. They had then made trouble at Mswa spreading false reports about Emin and Stanley. Emin learnt of their activities on his return to Mswa. The clerk was sent down in chains on the steamer to Dufile to be detained there till Stanley's return. The Adjutant-Major and two other officers, who had joined in their conspiracy, were reduced in rank and placed under house arrest).

June 6, Wednesday. Today, I have had a most unfriendly dispute with Casati in the presence of Vita. He came early in the morning (to suggest the unwisdom of Emin's severity). I somewhat lost my temper, and recalled that less than two months ago he had said to me in my own house "I was like an imbecile to agree to the mission concerning Kabarega", and when I heard his irritating voice I said, "This is enough and I do not need a schoolmaster". After hearing me say this, the gentlemen withdrew. I am sorry I was not more patient, but with all my troubles since my arrival, Casati should have waited for a better opportunity to try to persuade me.

June 8, Friday (Jephson is down with fever).

June 9, Saturday Casati has shut himself up in his house and stays there, an angry Achilles. I am pained to see him thus after our very long and friendly association.

June 11, Monday. Today is the feast of Bairam at the end of the month of fasting. Today Suleiman Aga has arrived here safely (from collecting grain tax etc. in the district) after having been attacked on the way by the people of Areja, his bloodbrother! He was twice attacked in strength. Areja himself has just stood by. If Suleiman Aga had not been watchful, probably not a soldier would have come back alive. In any event it is quite clear that Boki, who is now in prison here with Songa, has been the go-between betwixt Kabarega and the local chiefs and also that he was fully informed of the conspiracy against Suleiman Aga, but kept silent in order to get his property put in a safe place. Boki's people have with him taken an active share in the attack on Suleiman Aga. I will now set up in Boki's place his son, named Okello, and place a military post near him.

June 12, Tuesday. In the afternoon there came a hasty letter from Kodi Aga at Wadelai. The Madi who mostly live on an island about three hours' distance from the station, have attacked it at night without any reason. They set fire to an outlying house of Amara and burnt one of his wives whom they found there and have wounded several of his people, but were driven off by the soldiers. Kodi Aga is setting out to punish them.

Towards evening Jephson had a long talk with Suleiman. I myself kept out of the way. (Jephson *op. cit.* p. 45 says Suleiman Aga told him "Where our Pasha goes, my soldiers and I follow". He put his hands together so as to form a circle and said, indicating his hands, "These are my soldiers, and the Pasha goes in the middle. That is the way we will travel, by whatever road the Pasha wishes").

June 13, Wednesday (Much sickness in the station). "I specially thank Mr. Mackay (of C.M.S.) for medicines as well as other supplies".

June 15 (sic.), Thursday. When Kodi Aga left here on June 7, I sent with him two women from Kibiro, whom Boki had ferried over. They were bearers of a letter to Kabarega, the contents of which were as follows:—

"Up till now I have waited for an explanation of your treatment of Casati, but have not received it. If within fourteen days nobody comes here from you, look out for us".

Today eight days have now passed, but I think no answer will come.

(The letter may or may not have reached Kabarega. In any event there is no record of any reply thereto having been received).

June 15, Friday. All my people are ill. Also Jephson.

June 17, Sunday. Post from Wadelai. Kodi Aga has driven away the Madi, who attacked the station and confiscated their herds. A chief, who lived about two hours from Wadelai, has gone to the mutineers on Nurvira Mountain. That is a bad sign.

June 19, Tuesday. Today Jephson went out hunting. I am now waiting for the steamer to go to Wadelai, where I will stop several days and then go to Dufile.

June 20, Wednesday. Post from Wadelai-Dufile. Two soldiers were upset and drowned in their boat in the river when attacked by a hippopotamus which destroyed the boat. Naturally both their guns were lost, I am sorry about the soldiers. One of them was my only travelling escort on my first journey to Buganda. From Dufile the news is that all the chiefs there following the advice of the mutinous Egyptian officers have refused to obey orders and do not come to the station. I have replied that I myself will come there.

June 22, Friday. Today Jephson mustered all my people and caused to be read to them my translation into Arabic of the Viceroy's and Nubar Pasha's orders and Stanley's proclamation. But Binsa, Junker's former servant, acted as interpreter and proved incompetent. I therefore had to intervene and explain again what was meant. Then many of the crowd declared that "where the Pasha goes, there will we also go". In order to make this clear, in agreement with Jephson, I ordered the people to think over the matter this evening and early tomorrow morning officers, under-officers, civilian servants etc. should go direct to Mr. Jephson and inform as to what their decision was. In this way any shadow of influence would be excluded. I do not think the people who have so readily agreed to the project of going to Egypt will turn away from it. It will again be said "We follow the Pasha".

June 23, Saturday. All the wood has been cut and all goes well. We will go early on Monday from here. Jephson has today received the people and heard their answer. He tells me they all declare they will follow me. As he himself remarks, I have not yet given my decision and may possibly turn away from the project of going to Egypt, they will likewise go with me. A little later six under-officers came to me to tell me that as for themselves I may in all events rely upon them.

June 25, Monday to June 27, Wednesday. (Emin and Jephson proceeded overland from Tunguru to Wadelai, sending their loads etc. by the *Khedive* to the latter destination. They reached Wadelai on 27 June¹. The journey is described in Jephson's book pp.53-9.)

June 27, Wednesday. In the course of the evening there came a post from Dufile by land. Hamed Aga, Major of the First Battalion writes to me on 26 June saying that according to my order he is on the way here with Captain Feraj Aga Adjok and Lieutenant Abd-el-Bein Aga. But was Abd-el-Bein Aga a captain also? What does this new phase mean? I have at once written to Dufile that the *Nyanza* should bring them here.

June 28, Thursday to July 1, Sunday inclusive. (On 29 June a letter came from Dufile with the information that Hamed Aga escorting the above named officers and the priest Sheik Murjan, "another teacher of rebellion," reached Dufile on 26 June).

July 7. Early today the *Nyanza* arrived here bringing Hamed Aga, Feraj Aga², Abd-el-Bein Aga, Sheik Murjan and two under-officers from Rejaf.

They came to call on me but I received them very coldly. Later on I spoke to them in a not very flattering manner. They made, as I expected, all sorts of excuses. They were ignorant and had been led astray by others. They wanted me to be their father and they hoped that I would not reject them. I cut all this short and told them I would not give them a handshake. They had been invited here to listen to Jephson and for no other purpose. Asked if I would come to Rejaf, I said that I would not. They said they would come to hear me at Kiri.

I know quite well that severity is of no use with these people and that in the end I must show mercy to them. They have been led astray and are not rebels. I have promised the people that I will not desert them. I will not do so, but they must leave me alone and let me make my own stipulations.

The people have paid a visit to Mr. Jephson and have shown themselves to be very contrite with respect to what has recently occurred. Naturally they are urging some of the local people to clear them from all guilt. Naturally all this talk is worth nothing. I have decided not to be troubled by their stupidity, but simply to get hold of their instigators.

Today, July 9, I had a long conversation with Major Hamed Aga of Rejaf. In the course thereof he assured me, as I fully expected, that he will in all circumstances stand by me. Furthermore, he does not want to go to Egypt, where he has no place of abode, and he thinks the greater part of the officers and people will likewise object to going to Egypt. He asks me to leave him where he is, as I once earlier promised him. I cannot answer this request until I have been to Rejaf and Mr. Jephson has spoken to the people. Then I will unfold my plans and I hope all the people will be on my side.

July 10. (No entry in the diary)³.

July 11. Mr. Jephson today read the order of the Viceroy etc. The people discussed the matter amongst themselves and said they would bring their reply early tomorrow.

July 12. The officers, under-officers and remainder of the people have been today to Mr. Jephson and, as he tells me, have unanimously voted that they will always go wheresoever I go. This proceeding is not very pleasant for me. If the whole plan for the future falls on my shoulders, and if I then decide to go to Kavirondo and stay there, all the Egyptians and a number of others will exclaim that it is treachery.

July 14. (Steamer left Wadelai 6.a.m. and reached Dufile 1.10 p.m.). Mr. Jephson is pleased with the station and garden, and all the more so because it yields a lot of fruit. Nevertheless, he does not eat prickly figs (*stachelfeigen*) and finds them nauseating⁴.

July 16, Monday to July 22, Sunday (inclusive). The Major of the 1st Battalion has assured me that he will at once send his family from Rejaf to Wadelai and will come himself and I believe him. Also Feraj Aga, Baker's man, similarly assures me and appears ashamed of himself. But I do not trust him, because I am afraid that, having reached Rejaf he will be influenced by his companions.

July 17. (Emin and Jephson set out northwards for Rejaf. Proceeding by way of Labore and Mugi they arrived at Kiri on 20 July).

July 25. Mail from Dufile where the *Nyanza* has arrived from Wadelai and the Lake. A letter from Suleiman Aga gives the following information. Kabarega has collected over five hundred men armed with guns and also a lot of Lango to attack Tunguru and to destroy it. In order to surmount the difficulty of boat transport he has divided his army into two parties. Over five hundred have been sent to the south to cut off Mr. Stanley's people and the rest have gone to Nur-

viva mountain to attack, under Belule's leadership, our station at Pabbo. As soon as he got this information, he took the *Nyanza* and crossed over to the east, where he attacked and destroyed Rokara and Amara's towns and took several prisoners, from whom he heard that the Baganda are at the River Kafu and are going to advance on Kibirio, which they want to settle. If this is true, Kabarega naturally cannot send any people to attack Pabbo.

July 29. (Emin received a letter from Hamed Aga at Rejaf. It is set out in full in the *Tagebucher* p. 145 and there is an English translation in Jephson, p. 106. It was to the effect that there was a plot to seize Emin on his arrival at Rejaf and convey him to Gondokoro and thence to Khartum where they believed that the Egyptian government still existed).

July 31. (Emin and Jephson decided to return southwards, and left Kiri at 5.30 a.m. They reached Labore on 12 August. Pages 150 and 151 covering the period 5-12 August are missing from the *Tagebucher*).

August 13. (Insubordination of Labore garrison).

August 14. (Emin and Jephson moved to Khor Ayu).

August 17. At 9.30 p.m. an interpreter came from Dufile with an unofficial letter from Hawash Effendi. It says "At midday today quite suddenly Captain Fadl-el-Mula Aga and Ahmed Aga Dinkawi and also Lieutenant Abdulla Aga arrived here, and without coming to see me, went at once to the soldiers' quarters, mustered them and gave them their instructions, and then they treated me badly. Please come as quickly as possible, and if you come, be patient with the people".

This is the worst thing which could have happened and from now onwards I am practically a prisoner.

I have at once written to Selim Aga in Labore and ordered him to come here and to accompany me to Dufile. I must leave my things behind, if there are no porters to be found here.

August 18. Selim Aga has not come. It is raining like a flood. At 7 a.m. another note in Hawash Effendi's handwriting. He no longer has any doubt. "What is happening here is astounding. Please do not be angry. At any price keep on good terms with Surur Aga and the other officers and come at once here with them. If you come here, be patient. The officers from Pabbo have set free all the prisoners and ordered us to remain in our houses. Come quickly yourself leaving your things behind. The porters, whom I wanted to send, have now been sent back to their villages and we are all imprisoned".

With difficulty I have collected sixteen porters. At 11 a.m. Selim Aga came and at once declared himself ready to go with me to Dufile. His delay is explained by the fact that the bearer of the letter which I sent to him early yesterday was delayed by the rain. It is too late now to set out and we must wait till the morning. Surur Aga, to whom I have written, has not arrived this evening. It has been a curious first day of the feast (sc. of Id al-Hajj).

August 20. (Emin and Jephson re-entered Dufile, where they were detained by mutineers).

APPENDIX

The attack on Kibiro

Emin with the *Khedive* had rescued Casati from Bunyoro on 16 January 1888 (see Extracts IX, *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, p. 77). Casati (vol. ii, p. 146) informs us that on 12 February Emin asked him by letter "to go to Mswa to hold a consultation with him about the intended attack on the salt-pits of Kibiro, in order to destroy the source of wealth of that country; but the fever from which I was suffering compelled me to decline the invitation. . . . On 18 March, yielding to Emin's urgent request, I went to Mswa. He still adhered to the project of attacking Kibiro.

However I succeeded in persuading him, if not to give it up, at least to postpone the execution. I vividly remembered the hospitality and protection bestowed upon me by the chief, Kagoro, and the thought of the evil that might befall him grieved me."

In his book Jephson tells us at pp. 35-6 that "On arriving at Mswa, (sc. 28 May) Emin told me he intended organising an attack on Kibiro in Bunyoro, where the people had looted Casati's house, tied him up, and expelled him from the country by Kabarega's orders. Emin thought that, if this was allowed to pass without punishment, it would prove only the commencement of a long series of attacks on his people by Kabarega".

According to Casati, (Vol. ii, 164), the steamers set out for this purpose on 30 May at night and arrived at Kibiro before dawn next day, when the troops landed, massacred the inhabitants and set fire to the place. After that they made similar depredations along the lake shore as far as Magungu.

Unfortunately, there is a gap in Jephson's diary after 28 May, when he ran out of paper, and 5 June, when he obtained writing materials from Emin. I am indebted to Mrs. Middleton for the following particulars entered by Jephson on this latter date. They read as follows:

"Some two or three days ago Emin Pasha sent his soldiers in the two steamers to make a raid and burn Kibiro, the place in Kabarega's country from which Capt. Casati had been expelled. This was as a sort of punishment for his treatment of Casati. . . . The steamers started off in the middle of the night and reached Kibiro before daybreak the next day. During the day we could see clouds of smoke rising from the other side of the Lake in the direction in which Kibiro lay. Yesterday the steamers returned. They brought some hundreds of packages of salt, 600 goats, innumerable chickens, and some 30 women and children besides a quantity of other things. They had met with great resistance from the people and had killed a large number and captured a gun of English make. There was so much salt that they could not load up the steamers with it and were obliged to burn a great amount. This will be a great blow to Kabarega for this salt which they took, being there in such large quantities, shows it was the supply for the rainy season, which had not yet been broached. Natives will give anything for salt and this will be a severe punishment and loss to Kabarega who will not be able to trade in salt for many months. Some of the soldiers brought me some rather pretty neck ornaments and a very handsome shield shaped like a crusader's with a spike in the middle".

Casati (*loc. cit.*) writes with strong disapproval of the whole affair. As he and Emin were latterly not on good terms, his evidence must naturally be received with some measure of caution. As Casati realised that he may have owed his life to the intervention at an opportune moment of Kagoro, the chief of Kibiro, he naturally did not want him to suffer for the treatment which he himself had received at the hands of the Banyoro. He goes into harrowing details about the attack on Kibiro and the adjacent lake shore, but concludes his account by saying that Emin told the commander of the expedition that "I do not thank you for the zeal you have displayed and the cruelty you have committed".

Whatever may have been the instructions issued by Emin to the leaders of the expedition, they clearly exceeded them. All the same, responsibility for the attack on Kibiro must rest fairly and squarely on Emin's shoulders. Under the date 14 June he records in his diary that three days after the return of the expedition to Mswa he had sent a message to Kabarega by two of the women captured at Kibiro demanding in fourteen days' time any explanations of his treatment of Casati.

On this evidence it would appear that Emin had perpetrated a form of Jeddart justice according to which it was commonly said that the practice was to hang a man first and to try him afterwards. In this particular case it was a rather worse form of justice in as much as the people of Kibiro were not the culprits, but the innocent servants of Kabarega, the man whom Emin deemed to be the prime culprit.

The first question is "Who cut the relevant page out of Emin's diary?" It might have been Emin's nephew and biographer Georg Schweitzer or it might have been Emin himself. In the absence of any evidence tending to incriminate the nephew one feels that it must have been Emin himself, who, as Casati says, was ashamed at what had been done by those whom he had entrusted with orders regarding the punitive expedition. He fully realised the inconsistency of his conduct on 6 June with the orders issued by him on 30 May and must have decided to consign the entries between 30 May and 4 June to oblivion.

According to Casati (*loc. cit.*) Kagoro, the chief of Kibiro, had been summoned a few days before to Kabarega on business and so escaped the massacre on 31 May,

Under the date 4 June Emin merely sets out the state of the weather. He makes no mention of the return of the expedition from Kibiro.

NOTES

1. "Emin rode a donkey and I an Abyssinian mule, which was lent to me by the apothecary, Vita Hassan. . . . Emin, whilst riding, took observations every few minutes with a prismatic compass. He was anxious to lay down the road between Tunguru and Wadelai, and so completed a survey of all the roads connecting his stations" (Jephson, pp. 53-4). "Just before we started, Boki's favourite wife came and presented herself before the Pasha and begged him to release her husband who was in prison at Tunguru. . . . In answer to her request Emin promised that her husband should be released. He was much too soft hearted to be able to withstand the prayers of a weeping woman" (Jephson, pp. 55-6). There is no mention of this incident in Emin's diary. Jephson, p. 59, tells us that near Wadelai, they found the chief Wadelai "waiting for us in front of one of the villages with some of the chiefs. He was an enormously fat old man, with a good-natured face, dressed in a long dirty robe like a night gown; I have never before seen a native so fat. Ordinarily in their own countries they are thin".

On Emin and Jephson's arrival at Wadelai, "Signor Marco, a Greek merchant, who had formerly come into the Province to trade, but was now an enforced resident, as all the roads to the coast were closed, came to see us. He looked after the Pasha's house and transacted his private business for him whilst he was away. He now came in to make his report, and brought Emin's little girl Farida with him. Some years before the Pasha had married an Abyssinian lady, and by this marriage there were two children, a boy and a girl. The boy died soon after he was born, and his mother died shortly after Farida's birth of some internal complaint". (Jephson, p. 61).

2. Feraj Aga Adjok had been one of Baker's "Forty Thieves". He had deserted at an early stage of Baker's expedition before it had reached Gondokoro, but had been recaptured, whereupon Baker ordered him to be shot. He says "I had never intended to shoot the man. I had merely arranged an impressive scene as a *coup de theatre* that I trusted might benefit the *morale* of the men". Accordingly in front of the firing party he remitted the punishment and ordered the culprit to be flogged and kept in irons. Baker adds that "it was satisfactory to me that this young man who was pardoned and punished as described, became one of the best and most thoroughly trustworthy soldiers of my body-guard; and having at length been raised to the rank of corporal, he was at the close of the expedition promoted to that of sergeant" (*Ismailia* (1895 Edition), pp. 39-40).

On his arrival at Wadelai Jephson up braided Feraj, asking him what would Sir Samuel and Lady Baker say when he told them that Feraj had joined the mutineers in rebellion against his Governor. "The tears started from his eyes, and he wrung his hands with a gesture of shame and regret. This was evidently his vulnerable point, for he seemed quite overcome at the thought of the Bakers hearing that he had joined the rebellion. He told me that he joined the mutiny and put his hand to the insulting letters which had been sent to the Governor. . . . because he had weakly allowed himself to be led on by the others, and had not sufficient moral courage to refuse to join them. He made profuse promises of amendment for the future, and implored me not to tell Baker Pasha what he had done." (Jephson, pp. 70-1).

3. Nothing is entered in Emin's diary on 10 July. Mrs Middleton has very kindly supplied me with the following entry in Jephson's diary on that date:

"The Pasha has been very seedy all day and has been now for a good many days. It is his heart. He is, as he says, utterly worn out with the work and anxiety of thirteen years in the country, particularly the last five years since he has been abandoned and left to his own resources. He is very low about himself and says he has but few years more to live unless he can have rest in a cooler climate. I have been into the storehouses to see the ivory. There are some tons of magnificent tusks. It will be a great pity to be obliged to leave them, and this is only a small portion of the ivory in the country".

4. On p. 82 of Jephson's book there is a plan of the station.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA TO EXTRACTS X

The editors apologise for the confusion which has arisen in Appendix A of Extracts X, *Uganda J.* 29, 1965 p. 202. In order to clarify the situation it will help to reprint that portion of the original text which has caused the most trouble. The entry for April 23 1888 should conclude in the following manner:-

At eight o'clock a messenger has come from Mswa with another letter.:

"Instead of Stanley another Englishman has arrived here with some soldiers and Dr. Junker's former servant, Binza. The stranger is called Jephson. Stanley himself with his soldiers are at Angali's, the brother of Mpigwa. He is waiting for the steamer to come and transport him and his soldiers and stores. We are all waiting for you. Enclosed is an English letter for you."

And now for the English letter. (This letter is incorporated in the diary. For its contents see Appendix A (1)).

The entry for April 24 1888 should then follow on immediately from the preceding:—

April 24, Tuesday. Nobody has slept and today is full of rejoicing. I have sent an officer by land to Mswa (with a letter for Mr. Jephson). (This letter is set out in Appendix A (2)).

The entry for April 26 should have as its penultimate line:—

(Here follows a letter from Jephson to Emin. This letter is set out in Appendix A (3)).

Then on page 209 the entry for May 22 should finish with a reference to Note 7, and on page 212 a reference to Note 9 should be inserted at the end of letter Appendix A (5).

Finally, as already noted in *Uganda J.* 30, 1966, p. 80 Letters 6. 7. 8 and 9 of Appendix A were omitted from page 212. These letters form part of the correspondence between Emin and members of the Stanley expedition. Letters 7 and 9 are incorporated in the diary, letters 6 and 8 are from Stanley's *In Darkest Africa*.

(6)

Emin to Stanley. 5 a.m. 25 May 1888, Nsabe Camp. (*In Darkest Africa*, i. 407-8)

I should not need to tell you how distressed I have been when I hear of the misfortune happened by the desertion of our Madi people. I at once sent out different searching parties but I am sorry to state that up to noon their efforts were of no avail, although Shukri Aga and his party, who went yesterday to Kahanama have not returned.

By a mere chance it happened that, when Dr. Parke came, a boat from Mswa station had arrived bringing me intelligence of the arrival there of 120 porters from Dufile. I therefore started immediately the *Khedive* steamer to bring them here, and expect her back this very night, when, at her arrival, I shall start the whole gang, accompanied by a detachment of my people.

Allow me to be the first to congratulate you on your splendid discovery of a snow clad mountain. We will take it as a good omen for further directions on our road to Victoria. I propose to go out today or tomorrow just to have a look at this giant.

In expectance of two words of you this morning I venture to offer you my best wishes for the future. I always shall remember with pride and joy the few days I was permitted to consort with you.

(7)

Stanley to Emin. 25 May 1888, Badzwa Village.

The Doctor and party arrived here about 11 a.m. bringing to me your very kind note and latest gifts of eggs and vegetables. It is quite providential the arrival of so many carriers at Mswa, and as you have been so kind as to send for them I will await their arrival here but I

hope you will send them bound in hide ropes, putting them in gangs of four or five or six according to the number of men of your detachment. They shall remain bound, while we are in the vicinity of the Lake and neighbouring hills.

Kavalli passed by me last evening with 400 armed men and this morning 40 more of his following, bound for your camp according to your request.

I send 10 of my men to accompany your people. They will better aid your escort by night. The arms of your Madis should be made into bundles and brought along with them. When freed from bond, their weapons will be restored to them.

Dr. Parke says that he could not see the snow Mountain this morning as it is rather hazy S.S.W. On laying down the direction of the new discovery, I find it to be a little West of Gordon Bennett Mt. and about 50 geographical miles distant from us. Considering its enormous altitude I wonder Baker did not discover it. The reason we did not see it on our first journey may be due to our being near the W. plateau wall. As we were yesterday at least 6 geographical miles north of our camp in December we attained a longer view behind the W. Plateau wall and consequently the great Mass loomed into view. Mason ought to have seen it from the Lake and you also in your journeys south. But as it is at such a great distance a peculiar clearness of the atmosphere is necessary. Yesterday the Unyoro-Plateau wall appeared singularly indistinct, and to the S. West it was very clear. On your journey north by steamer, examine S. Westerly and S.S. West and get your men to help you. Let them cast their eyes far over the S. West knolls on the plateau, between Ajif and the west plateau and they may very probably help you. There are three great patches of snow near the summit of the Central and higher Mass.

Many, many thanks once more for all your goodness. We will do our very best for you and yours, and meantime God be with you.

(8)

Emin to Stanley. 2.30 a.m. 26 May 1888, Nsabe Camp. (*In Darkest Africa*, i, 408).

Your very welcome and most interesting note of yesterday has reached me at the hands of your men. The steamer has come in this very instant, but she brought only eighty two carriers, the rest having run away on the road between Tunguru and Mswa. I send therefore these few men, accompanied by twenty five soldiers and an officer, hoping they may be of some use to you. Their arms have been collected. I handed them over to the officer from whom you will kindly receive them. We heard yesterday that your runaways had worked their way to Muganga telling the people they were sent by me.

The ten men you kindly sent here accompanying the carriers as well as Kavalli and his men. Having caught yesterday a spy of Rwabudongo in Katonzi's camp I told this latter he would better retire and he acted on this advice. I have acquainted Kavali with my reasons for not interfering just now with Rwabudongo and have asked him to return to you. He readily assented and starts now with the courier. He entreats me further to beg you to send some of your men to take hold of his brother Kadongo, who stays, says he, with the Babito somewhere near to his residence.

I shall try hard to get a glimpse of the new snow mountain as well from here as from some other points I propose to visit. It is wonderful to think how, wherever you go, you distance (sic) your predecessors by your discoveries.

And now, as this, for some time at least, is probably the last word I will be able to address you, let me another time thank you for the generous exertions you have made, and you are to make for us. Let me another time thank you for the kindness and forbearance you have shown me in our mutual relations. If I cannot find adequate words to express what moves me in this instant, you will forgive me. I (have) lived too long in Africa for not becoming somewhat negrofied.

God speed you on your course and bless your work!

(9)

Stanley to Emin, 8 a.m. 26 May, 1888, Badza Village.

Your soldiers have reached me with 82 natives. They will start for your camp about an hour hence, and at 3 p.m. we will begin the ascent of the plateau slope and hope to reach the summit about sunset.

Kavalli and I propose to settle the business of Kadongo tomorrow morning before day-break, and on the 28th I set out for Gavira and on the 1st of June we shall probably be across the Ituri River. You may rest assured that the strictest guard will be kept over these wild natives until we shall have put such a distance of forest between us and the Nyanza that escape will be hopeless except to the most incorrigible.

Now a last good-bye to you and Mr. Jephson for some months. We shall press on with the hope that all is well with all our friends at the fort and with the rear column.

NOTES

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES ON THE NILE-CHObI CONFLUENCE

By B. M. FAGAN AND L. LOFGREN

On October 12 and 13 1965, the members of the Bantu Studies Project visited a group of archaeological sites in the Murchison Falls National Park, Uganda (Fig. 1). These sites, which were first noted by Mr. George Jackson of Makerere in 1963, are located on the north bank of the Victoria Nile on either side of the confluence of the Chobi River with the Nile, about ten miles downstream from the Karuma Falls. While our time in the area was unfortunately limited—only two of the three sites reported by Jackson were visited—we believe that the area merits systematic archaeological investigation, which, owing to the rate at which soil erosion is cutting back the river bank, should be undertaken in the near future. Abundant Middle Stone Age, Late Stone Age, and Iron Age artifacts in a geologically stratified sequence were present on both sites. At least the Late Stone Age and the Iron Age materials are in primary archaeological context.

Jackson's first site (A) extends downstream from the Nile-Chobi confluence for about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. The second (B) lies between the confluence and the site of the new safari hotel, about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile upstream. Both sites were about 50 ft. above the present river level, on the top of a steeply sloping bluff. The area is one of woodland savanna which supports abundant wildlife.

Since there was not time for a detailed survey of the area, the material collected will not be distinguished as to the site from which it came. Site A had the remains of an Iron Age village with patches of comminuted mud hut floors, concentrations of iron slag, and much broken pottery in the rapidly eroding topsoil. Also on the top of the bluff, here was a very dense and extensive Late Stone Age scatter. While the relation between the Iron Age settlement and the Late Stone Age deposit was not entirely clear, it appeared that the Late Stone Age materials came from a layer of ferricrete gravels, which had been exposed and somewhat disturbed by subsequent soil erosion, immediately below the topsoil. Below this were a fine gravel bed and a partial ferricrete seal above a gravel containing Middle Stone Age flakes and tools. This gravel was exposed in the side of the bluff. Site B was substantially the same as site A, but slightly less rich in Late Stone Age and Iron Age material.

Middle Stone Age

With the exception of a bifacial chalcedony point, all of the Middle Stone Age artifacts are made from large quartz river pebbles (Fig. 2a). Most common are large flakes, and pebbles from which one or two large flakes have been removed on one edge. These pebble tools show varying degrees of utilization as picks, choppers, or bashing stones. Other Middle Stone Age artifacts include polyhedrals, one of which was severely battered and subsequently split, and large cores. Several of the cores are disc shaped, about 2.5 inches in diameter, and might

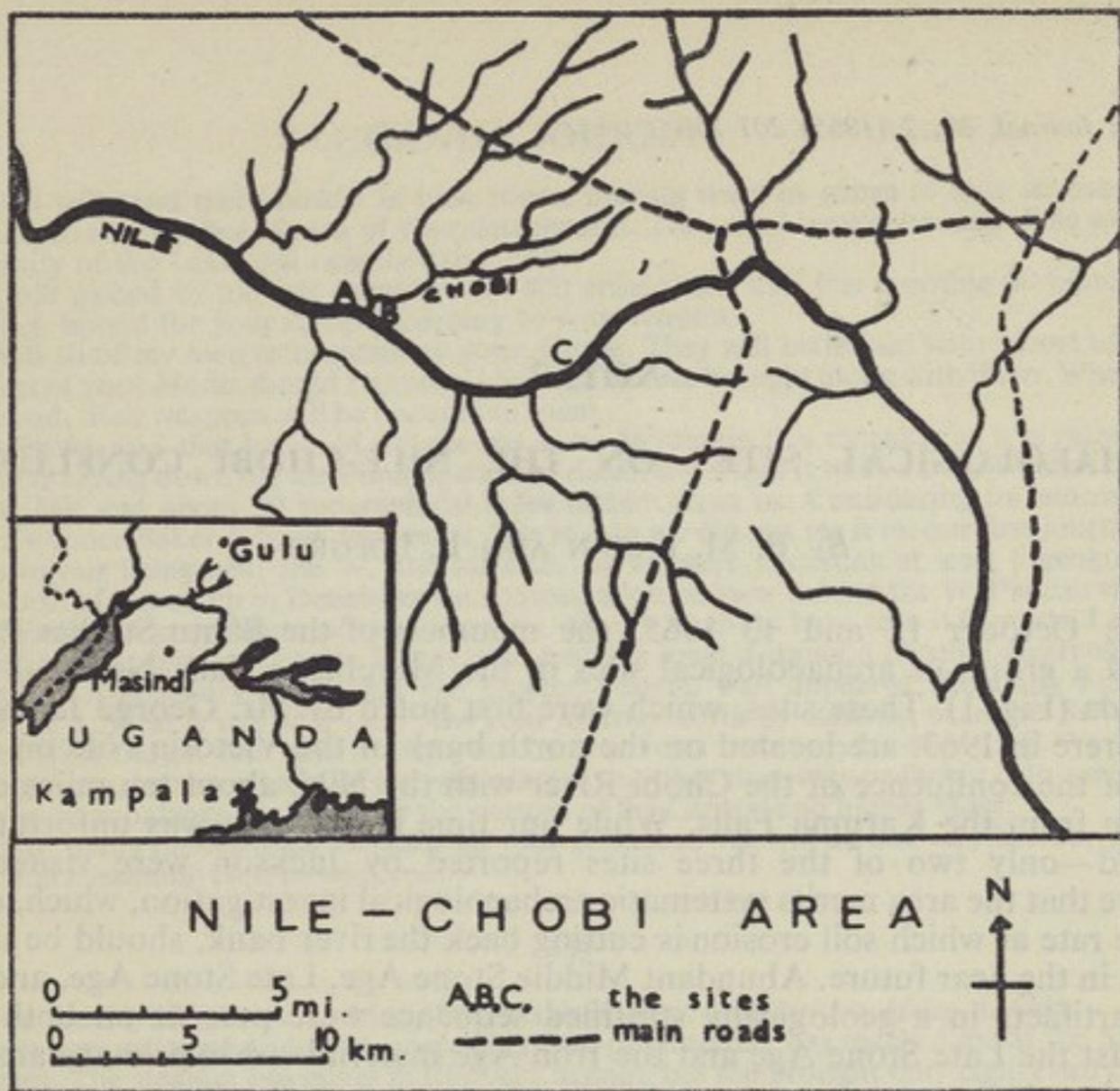


Figure 1

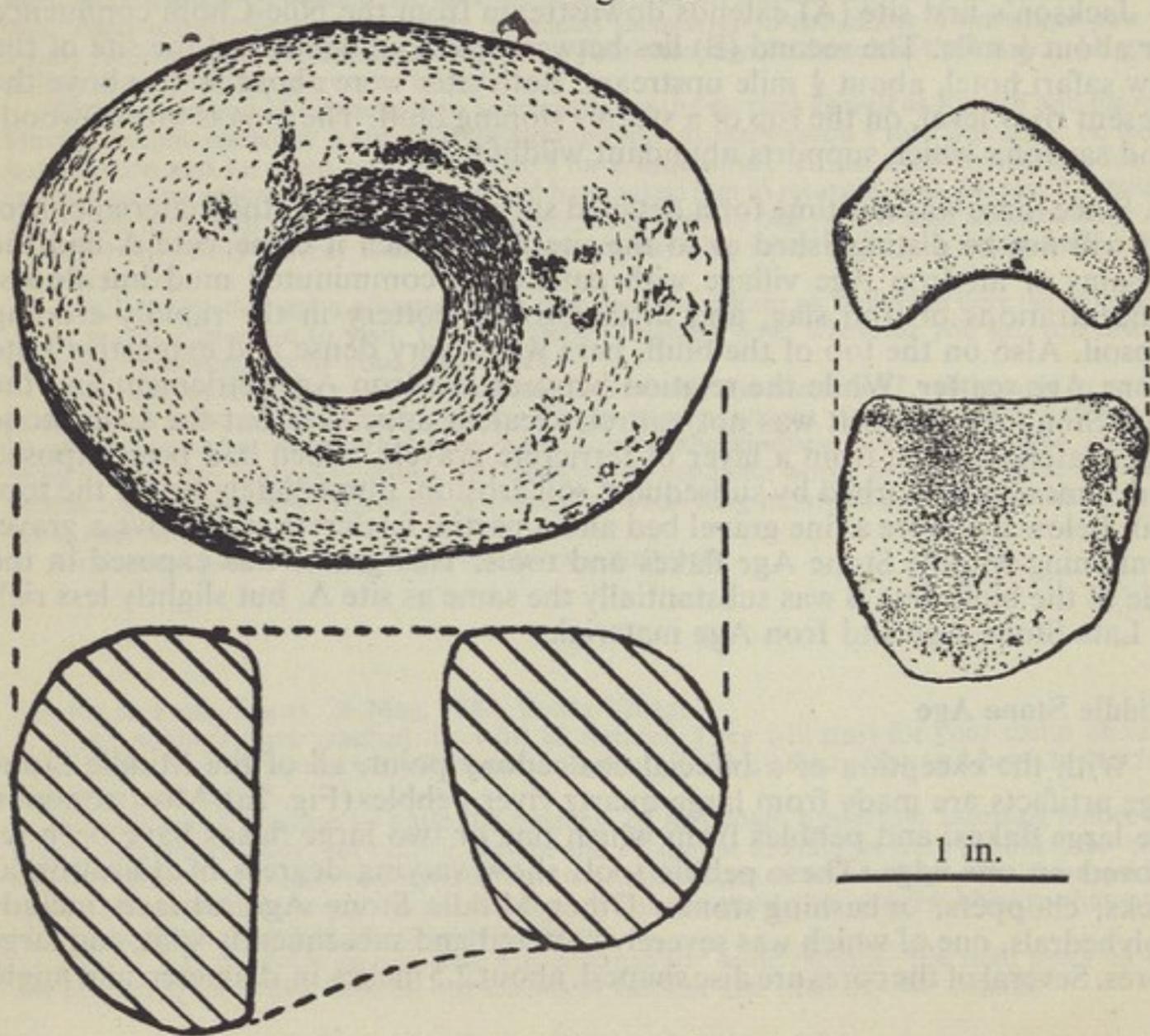


Figure 3 BORED STONES

belong either to the Middle or the Late Stone Age. Since artifacts were picked up on the surface and in gullies, it was not always possible to tell from which layer they derived. No excavation was undertaken. A number of Sangoan implements were also found. These include three picks, of 3.5, 4.5 and 6 inches maximum length, a push plane, and an ovate hand axe with an S-twist edge (Figs. 2b, 2c, 2d). In contrast to the later industries, most of the Middle Stone Age artifacts are slightly rolled and water polished. Another industry, which might be either Middle Stone Age or earlier, was represented by large oval or nearly circular flakes. These were found in the same gravel bed with the Middle Stone Age artifacts, but were very heavily rolled and polished.

Late Stone Age

Particularly at site A the quantity of Late Stone Age material was impressive. For about a quarter of a square mile or more the ground was almost paved with quartz chips, flakes, and cores. In places there appeared to be concentrations of debitage as if floors were represented. Most of the Late Stone Age artifacts were made from small quartz river pebbles. Tool types included roughly notched flakes, core scrapers, straight and convex side scrapers or flakes, a few *lamé écaillés*, and one crescent. There were also a number of oval quartz pebbles about 2.5 inches long, battered on both ends, that had been used as pestles or small hammer stones. The small number of finished tools, about one per cent of the total Late Stone Age collection, their poor quality, and the large number of exhausted cores, over one-third of the collection, suggest that the area was a Late Stone Age factory site. Quartz gravel is abundant in the river bed. Of great interest are the bored stones found on the sites. Along with the querns and grinding slabs, which probably belong to the Iron Age, these are almost the only non-quartz stone artifacts found in the area. The six bored stones include three complete discs and three fragments. The largest has an external diameter of 3 inches, the smallest is less than 2 inches. (Fig. 3a). One of the broken discs was ground and polished after it was broken (Fig. 3b). The bored stones from Chobi are of a similar type to others reported from Uganda.¹ Since very few of the Late Stone Age artifacts show any signs of water polishing or other disturbance, it is possible that excavation in the area will uncover undisturbed living floors.

Iron Age

The Iron Age is represented by the remains of one, or more likely several, large village sites. Besides the roughly circular patches of comminuted daga and the concentrations of iron slag which have already been mentioned, a wide variety of objects testifies to the prosperity of this Iron Age settlement. Objects collected include thirteen iron rings and bracelets, a hoe, a hatchet blade, one spear point, one spear butt, three arrowheads, a knife blade, miscellaneous iron fragments, and a tuyère. Numerous grinding slabs and rubbing and pounding stones, one with a pecked dimple suggest that the local economy depended on vegetable foods as well as on the abundant fish and wild game. Another curious object is a ground quartz cylinder, 1.5 inches long, tapered at one end, which might have been a lip or ear plug. A single cowrie shell gives evidence of long distance trade. Two hand-cast lead bullets may be contemporaneous with the settlement or later.

Much of the pottery was found in or near the house remains; and there were many concentrations of sherds representing whole or nearly whole vessels. Jackson found a burial partially exposed by erosion at his site "C", which we were unable to visit. The great variety of styles of decoration and types of vessels

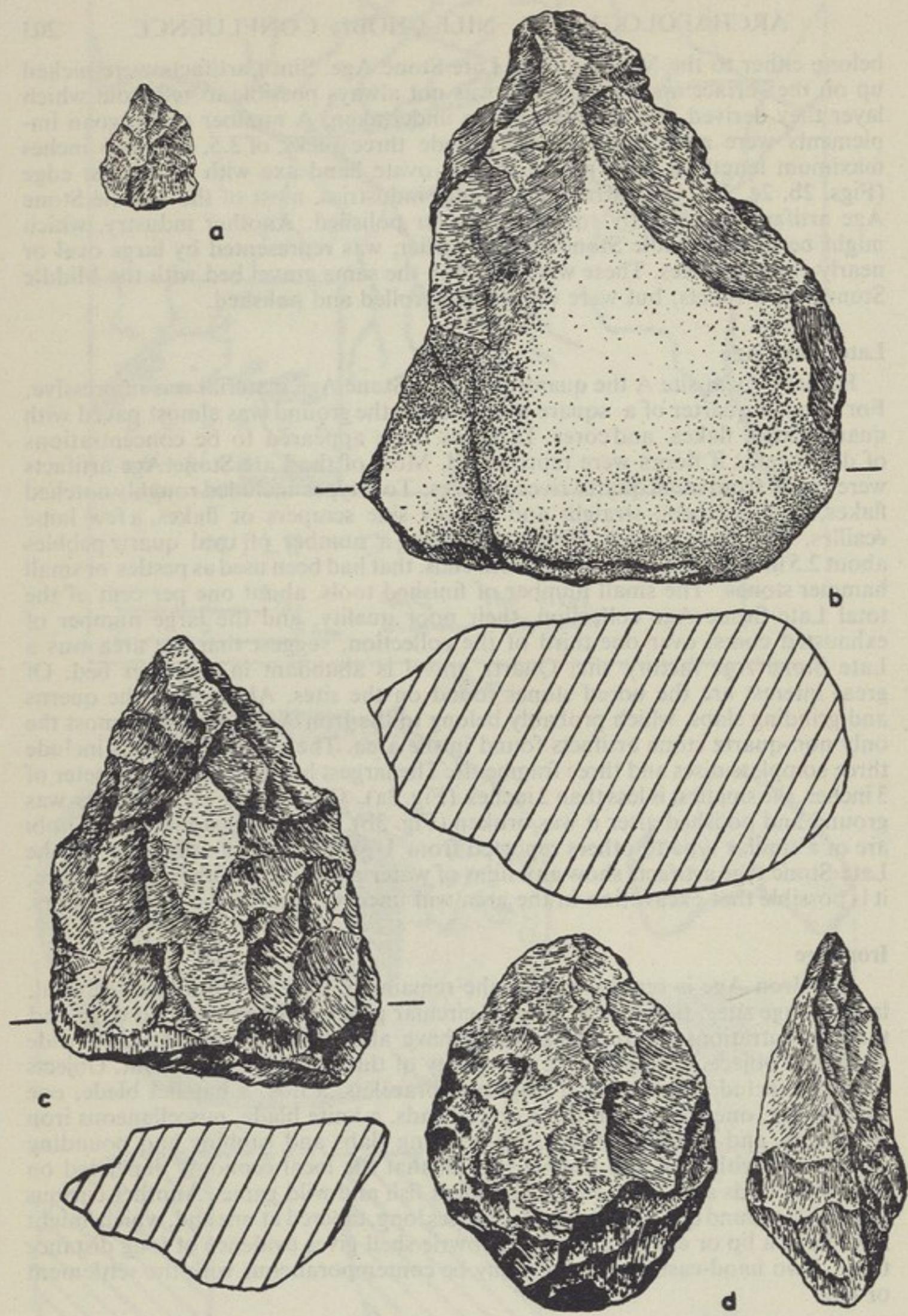


Figure 2. MIDDLE STONE AGE ARTIFACTS

a Bifacial chalcedony point
 b Sangoan pick

c Sangoan pick
 d Ovate hand axe

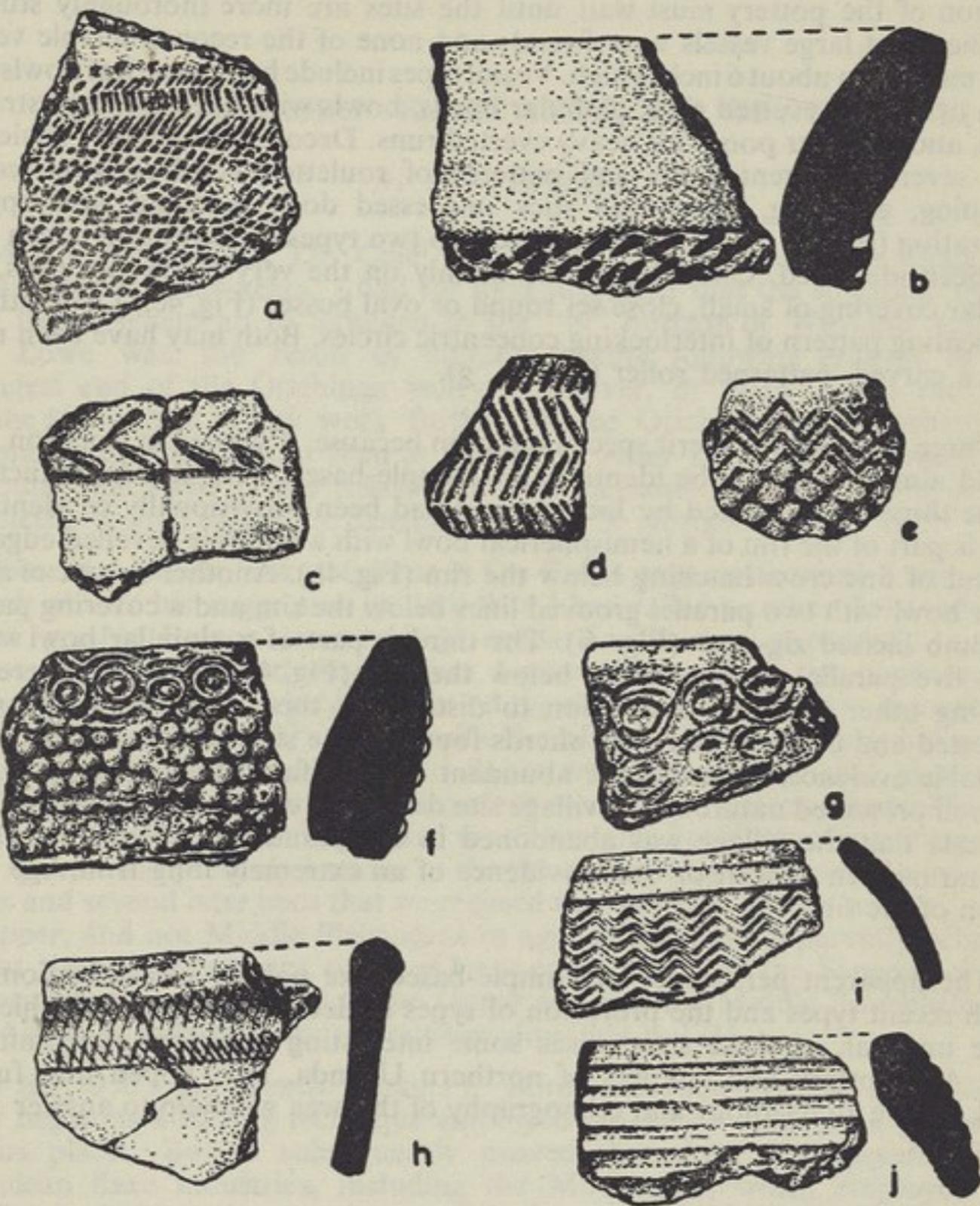


Figure 4 POTTERY

½ SIZE

is noteworthy; and the presence of one or two unusually fine pieces suggests that not all of the pottery may have been locally made. However, a complete description of the pottery must wait until the sites are more thoroughly studied. No sherds of large vessels were found; and none of the reconstructable vessels were more than about 6 inches high. Vessel types include hemispherical bowls with plain or slightly everted rims, globular bowls, bowls with flat bases and straight sides, and globular pots with heavy everted rims. Decoration includes rouletting with several different kinds and patterns of roulettes, comb-incision, comb-stamping, grooving, finger and stick impressed dots, pinching, and applied decoration (Fig. 4a, b, c, d). There were also two types of decoration which have not been identified. One type, found mainly on the very heavy pot rims, is a regular covering of small, close set round or oval bosses (Fig. 4e, f). The other is a repeating pattern of interlocking concentric circles. Both may have been made with a carved, patterned roller (Fig. 4f, g).

Three other sherds merit special mention because, if viewed in isolation, they would almost certainly be identified as Dimple-based ware sherds. In fact, one of the three was collected by Jackson and had been provisionally so identified. This is part of the rim of a hemispherical bowl with a multiple bevelled edge and a band of fine cross hatching below the rim (Fig. 4h). Another is part of a globular bowl with two parallel grooved lines below the rim and a covering pattern of comb incised zig-zags (Fig. 4i). The third is part of a globular bowl with at least five parallel grooved lines below the rim (Fig. 4j). However, there was nothing other than the decoration to distinguish these three from the many rouletted and other more recent sherds found at the sites. Furthermore, all the available evidence, including the abundant iron artifacts, the cowrie shell, and the well preserved nature of the village site despite its exposure to wind and rain, suggests that the village was abandoned in comparatively recent times. There was no midden deposit or other evidence of an extremely long Iron Age habitation of the site.

The apparent persistence of Dimple-based like pottery in association with much recent types and the profusion of types of decoration, some of which are quite unusual, at these sites raises some interesting questions concerning the Iron Age pottery and cultures of northern Uganda. It is hoped that further work on the archaeology and ethnography of the area will help to answer these questions.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Dr. Merrick Posnansky for informing us of the sites and for making Mr. Jackson's collections available to us; Mr. F. X. Katete, Director of Uganda National Parks, gave us valuable assistance in connection with our visit to the Murchson Falls Park. The research described in this article was supported by the Astor Foundation and the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa.

Reference

1. Posnansky, M. and Sekibengo, J. W. Ground stone axes and bored stones in Uganda. *Uganda J.* 23, 1959, pp. 179-181.

THE LEVALLOISIAN FLAKE INDUSTRY OF NSONGEZI

By T. P. O'BRIEN

May I congratulate Dr. Cole¹ for having solved a problem which has plagued us for many years; I had for long suspected that the so-called 'transition' from Acheulean to Sangoan in the "N" horizon of Wayland and van Riet Lowe was the result of cultural mixing following erosion at the Nsongezi end of the Orichinga valley. However, in 1935, I had the good fortune to do most of my work further up the Orichinga valley, where the sequence was much clearer than at Nsongezi. After Dr. Solomon joined me, we found that some of the post-M Horizon deposits had been more or less completely eroded *before* the Sangoan-bearing N Horizon was formed.

There is, however, one statement in Dr. Cole's paper with which I am not in accord; this is his suggestion (p. 156) that I had called a certain flake industry in the pre-N Horizon cross-bedded sands *Levalloisian*, apparently simply because it was a flake industry. In fact, I gave these artifacts this name for the good reason that they largely conformed typologically to what was regarded in those days (up to the 1950's) as a specific 'Levalloisian' culture whose hallmarks were the so-called tortoise cores and flakes with prepared striking platforms. I made it clear in my *Prehistory of Uganda Protectorate*, 1939 (pp.60 and 170-73), that the pre-N Horizon cross-bedded sands contained artifacts of just this particular type; it was precisely because of the presence of this characteristic industry in this and several later beds that we realised that this part of the "terrace" must be Upper, and not Middle Pleistocene in age, as Wayland apparently believed at that time. It also meant, so far as I was concerned, that the Sangoan of the N Horizon at least belonged to the Upper and not the Middle Palaeolithic of East Africa, in spite of its considerable crudity (*ibid*, p. 171).

In the 1950's the French worker, F. Bordes, showed that the Levalloisian really began as a flaking technique employed by certain Acheulean groups in various places. Bordes subsequently proved that there were several post-Acheulean flake industries, including the Mousterian, which employed the Levallois technique; the same is true of the Levant and, I believe, many parts of Africa.

The point is, that though the Levalloisian may have started as an Acheulean flaking technique, it was a technique that eventually formed the most characteristic feature of many flake industries—call them 'Levalloisian', or 'Mousterian', or 'Middle Stone Age', or what you will. Today, my own term for them would be *Levalloisoid*, but in 1939 one could hardly have done otherwise than refer to the flake industry in the pre-N cross-bedded sands as Levalloisian.

NOTE

1. Cole, G. H. Recent archaeological work in Southern Uganda, *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, pp. 149—161.

GROUND STONE AXE, LOITOME, KARAMOJA

By L. CLARK

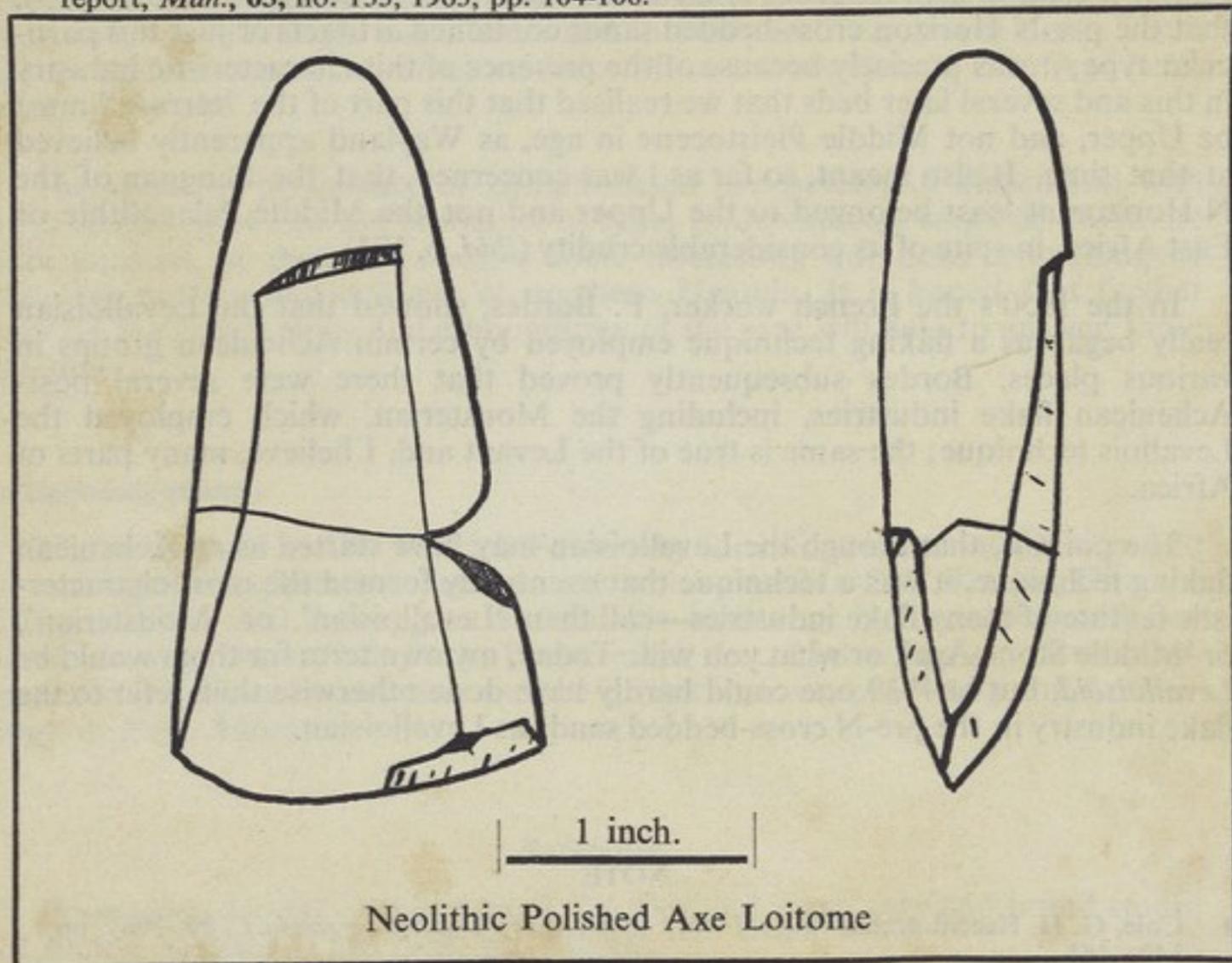
In 1964, during the geological survey of the Kenya quarter degree sheet North A—36/E—IV—SW, a ground stone axe was found near Loitome hill. The axe was found lying on the hard red soil surface one mile south of Loitome about four yards west of the main Loyoro-Moroto security track (34° 30' 37" East, 3° 00' 29" North).

The axe is 7.2 cms. long, 3.7 cms. wide and 2.1 cms. thick (Figure 1). The ground part of the axe is smooth and regular in shape, but the blade which has been crudely flaked, is irregular. Dr. M. Posnansky (personal communication) suggests that the axe is part of a larger ground axe which has been broken and the end reflaked. The present shattered appearance of the specimen is due to a blow by an enthusiastic geological assistant. The specimen is composed of a fine grained dark green basic volcanic rock, possibly a tuff but probably a lava. It has a thin skin of iron staining over a pale green patina about 0.5 mm. thick.

The stone axe was found only five miles north of the Magosi site where numerous stone implements have been found¹ including a ground stone axe.² The ground stone axe was found in the upper two feet of the excavation at Magosi, in layers containing a typical Wilton industry. The absolute age of the Wilton horizon obtained by C.14 dating is 4100 B.C. The Magosi sites occur as shelters under overhangs in a rocky inselberg. The Loitome specimen was found close to a similar inselberg. The Loitome inselberg may repay examination by an archaeologist.

NOTES

1. Wayland, E. J., and C. Burkitt, The Magosian culture of Uganda. *J. Royal Anthropological Institute*, 62, 1932, pp. 369-390.
2. Posnansky, M. and Cole, G. H., Recent excavations at Magosi, Uganda; A preliminary report, *Man.*, 63, no. 133, 1963, pp. 104-106.



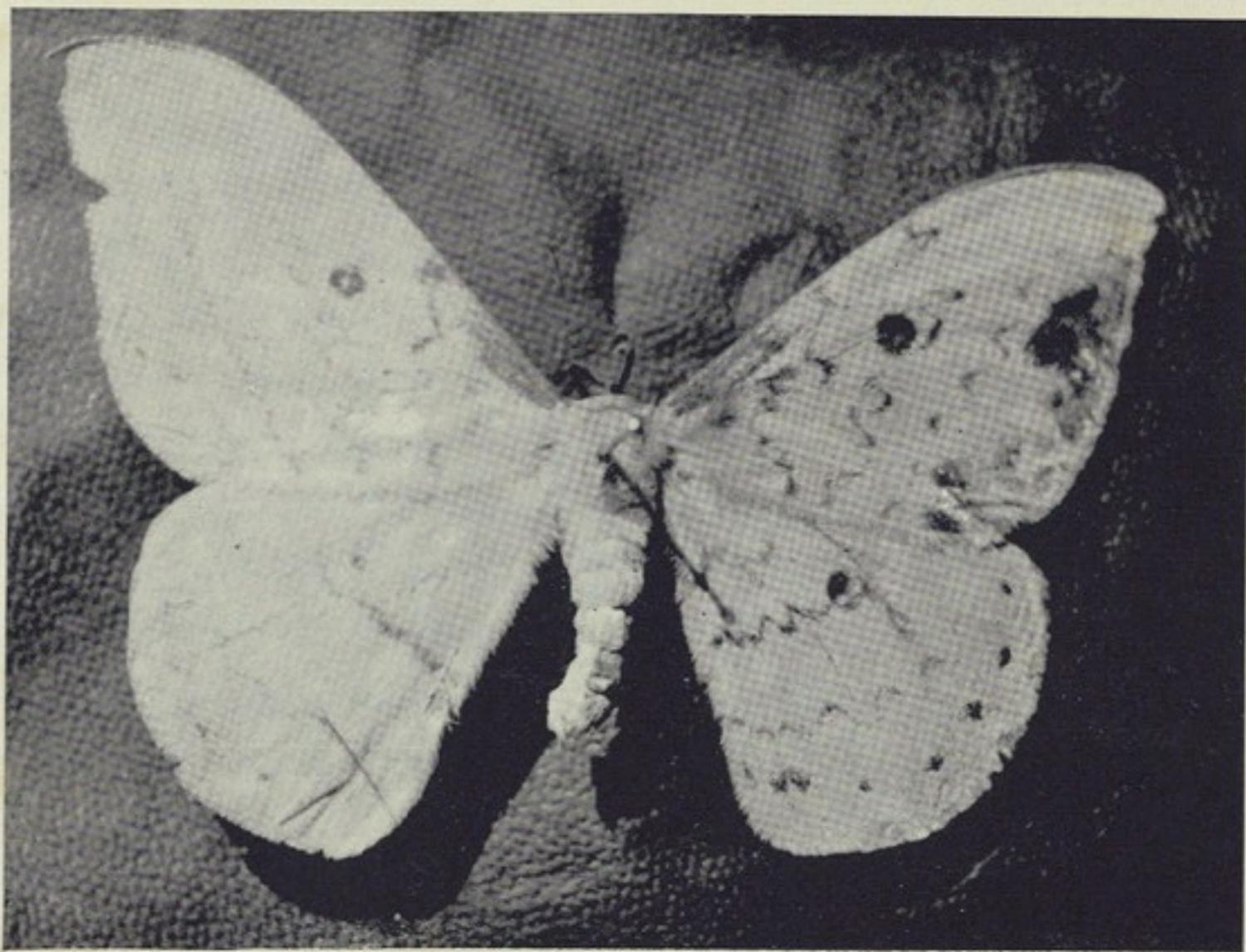
Neolithic Polished Axe Loitome

AN INTERESTING GYNANDROMORPH

By K. W. BROWN

This specimen of *Tagoropsis songeana* Strand, taken at night at Nakawa in April, 1965, is a good example of a bilateral gynandromorph, the left side showing male characteristics and the right being predominantly female. The tip of the left forewing is less falcate than in most males of this species but otherwise both wings on this side are typically male, being light yellow with rather indistinct brownish markings. Both the right wings are darker yellow, with more and heavier dark brown markings, and are slightly smaller; these are all female characteristics but the upperside of the forewing and the underside of both wings also include small patches of the pale yellow male coloration. The body is predominantly male with the darker female colour being restricted to small patches on the right side of the abdomen and thorax.

Although this is the first gynandrous Emperor Moth that I have personally collected they probably occur quite often; within the last year I have heard of gynandromorphs of *Lobobunaea phaedusa* and *Epiphora albida*, both originating from Uganda, and undoubtedly many go unnoticed.





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STANLEY'S BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD IN ANKOLE

By M. DOORNBOS

The interesting account of "H. M. Stanley's Journey through Ankole in 1889" by the Ntare School History Society in Vol 29, part 2 of the *Uganda Journal* has touched again on the old question whether the blood-brotherhood which Stanley made in Ankole with Prince Buchunku was binding or not. No doubt the procedure which was followed differed from the traditional way, as has been aptly described by the Ntare School History Society. But it does not follow that the pact was therefore not binding, as it has been argued earlier by F. Lukyn-Williams.¹

There are various interpretations of the motives for following another procedure. On the matter of drinking the other's blood, the Ntare School History Society writes, "The customary method was deliberately disregarded by Buchunku to avoid swallowing a stranger's blood."² In spite of the fact that anyone with whom one enters into a blood-brother relationship and who necessarily is not from one's own clan, must by definition be a 'stranger'. Stanley himself, however, is also quoted as expressing his joy that no blood had to be drunk. F. Lukyn-Williams writes: "It is noticeable that no blood was drunk. Stanley expressed pleasure that 'the ceremony was thus relieved of the repulsiveness which accompanies it'.³

What is more important, Lukyn-Williams has argued that Stanley's blood-brotherhood was not a valid one, and this would in large part be so because he did not drink the other's blood:

"There is no doubt.....that the ceremony was not binding and that the Banyankole never looked on it as binding..... (The) Banyankole distrusted a man who never completed the ceremony and would not have been surprised to see him return later to devastate their country."⁴

It would seem that too much has been read into the omission of the drinking of blood. There is no evidence whatsoever that the Banyankole suspected Stanley's motives. Apart from this, however, Lukyn-Williams' statement has been based on the more general argument that what is not conducted in accordance with prescribed formal rules is consequently legally void. This poses the old jurisprudential question as to whether it is form or spirit which establishes the validity of an act. Though often it is 'form' that wins, in this case it is undoubtedly the 'spirit' that has prevailed to make Stanley and Buchunku's blood-brotherhood a valid one. An interesting piece of evidence that the Banyankole did indeed regard the blood-brotherhood as binding has come from no one less than Prince Buchunku himself.

In 1902, thirteen years after the blood-brotherhood was made, Buchunku, who was then a saza chief of Nabuseke and who meanwhile had become a signatory of the Ankole Agreement of 1901, asked the missionary J. J. Willis to write a letter for him to Stanley. He addressed Stanley as his 'friend' and said "I made friends with you long ago....." It would be interesting to know what

word Buchunku used in Runyankore before it was translated by Willis into 'friend'. It seems most likely, however, that the Runyankore equivalents for 'blood-brother' and 'made blood-brotherhood' got substituted by 'friend' and 'made friends' in Willis' translation. It is unreasonable to suppose that Buchunku made a subtle distinction between 'blood-brother' and 'friend' in order to avoid confirmation that a pact had been concluded between them. In any case it is probable that no such exact transposition from Runyankore into English was possible in 1902. Furthermore Buchunku made reference to one of the main customary obligations evolving from blood-brotherhood, i.e. helping one's blood-brother in case he needs anything: "If you shall be wanting anything, send to me, and I will send it to you." We therefore seem to be on safe ground in concluding that at least Buchunku considered the pact to be binding. And if Buchunku did, what grounds could be left to assume that other Banyankole did not see it that way?

It will be of interest to quote in full the relevant paragraph in Willis' diary, the more so because he makes a revealing side-remark at Stanley's proficiency in Runyankore. It is to be hoped that some day the Runyankore version of Buchunku's letter may still be found among Stanley's papers.

The Rt. Rev. J. J. Willis' Journal:⁵

"Mbarara, Ankole, Oct. 24, 1902.

..... A few days ago I had to write a letter, in Lunyankole (with translation) to Sir H. M. Stanley. A Chief here, "Bucunku" made "blood brotherhood" with him, years ago, when he passed through Ankole (See "In Darkest Africa": I think he calls Bucunku "Vichunku"). (It is a remarkable fact that people in authority somehow *never* manage to hear any name right—probably because they never learn the language of the people in these parts). The translation of the letter may interest you.

"To my friend, Bwana Stanley, I am still alive: I am not yet dead.

I made friends with you long ago, when I was a boy. Now I am a wasaza and I am a grown man. Our King, Kahaya, is my relation. He gave me cows, land and many things. If you shall be wanting anything, send to me, and I shall send it to you. I rejoice very much in my heart to write you this letter. Now I am reading the Gospel, and many of our men. And our King Kahaya, and many men, are reading to be baptized. God is wonderful, to bring me to this (time) and you to this (time), that we have not died—to know one another, you to be still alive, and I. And God is wonderful to make His word reach to us, and to make us know the name of Jesus Christ, May God keep you all your life. Goodbye. I am, Bucunku."

NOTES

1. F. Lukyn-Williams, Blood-brotherhood in Ankole, *Uganda J.*, 2, 1934.
2. Ntare School History Society, H. M. Stanley's journey through Ankole in 1889, *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, p. 191.
3. Lukyn-Williams, p. 40.
4. Lukyn-Williams, pp. 40-41.
5. Unpublished; a photocopy of this diary is in the Makerere University College Library. All brackets in the quotation are from Willis, presumably for editing purposes.

CASSAVA IN UGANDA 1860-1920

By B. W. LANGLANDS

The preceding numbers of the *Uganda Journal* have included notes on changes in the distribution of maize and bananas in Uganda in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century.¹ These few notes are intended to throw further light upon the spread of cassava in Uganda in that same period. The outline of the history of cassava in Uganda is presented by W. O. Jones in *Manioc in Africa*. In this book it is recognised that cassava was probably introduced into west Africa by the Portuguese in the seventeenth century; but that its introduction to the East African coast must have been later and that it did not penetrate into the interior of East Africa until after 1800.² Jones poses the possibility that cassava may not have entered Uganda or Tanzania from the forested area of the Congo basin because of the presence of open land occupied by Hima herdsman on a wide front from Tanzania to Lake Albert,³ though he later accepted the possibility that cassava may have reached Lake Tanganyika from the west.⁴

Jones stated that when Speke travelled through Uganda in 1862 he "specifically remarks upon its absence along the northwest shore of Lake Victoria and does not mention it between Bagamoyo and Lake Victoria".⁵ In the list of plants collected by Capt. Grant and presented as an appendix to Speke's *Journal*, *Manihot utlissima*, was recorded thus, " 'Mahogo', the staple food of Zanzibar people, where some kinds can be eaten raw, boiled, fried, roasted or in flower; not met with between the Equator and 15°N., 4°18'S., etc"⁶ Jones then accepted the view of Nye and Jameson⁷ that cassava was almost certainly introduced into Uganda by Arab traders sometime after Speke's visit in 1862 and before 1875; for when Stanley visited in that year cassava was already being grown in gardens and was supplied to him by Kabaka Mutesa.⁸ Apart from a few scattered references to cassava Stanley included it in a long list of crops grown in Buganda "among the chief vegetable productions are the papaw, banana, plantain, yams, sweet potatoes, vegetable marrows, manioc and tomatoes. Of grains, there are to be found in the neighbourhood of the capital wheat, rice, maize, sesamum, millets and vetches."⁹

The expansion of cassava into western and central Uganda was assumed by Nye and Jameson to have taken place from Buganda; "Its first spread was probably into Bunyoro and Busoga, but it seems to have reached Teso and Lango only with the advent of European administration. Its introduction in West Nile has been very recent, and there it has proved useful in preventing minor famines and food shortages since 1931. In Lango the crop is not popular, and it forms part of the native diet only round the shores of Lake Kioga".¹⁰ As Jones reported, the spread of cassava into north Uganda was largely encouraged as an anti-famine and anti-locust measure and in some places the planting of a legal minimum of land under cassava was enforced. By the 1950s cassava had become a major food staple in the western parts of Uganda where from 30-36% of

the cultivated land was under cassava. This focus of cassava cultivation in Toro, Bunyoro and the West Nile in 1958 was further examined by McMaster,¹¹ who recognised also a second area of importance in the interior plateau area surrounding Lake Kyoga. As a part explanation of the popularity of cassava in western Uganda, Jones offered the suggestion that it was possible it was attributable to proximity of the area to a part of the Congo where cassava production was already well established.¹²

A detailed examination of the literature of this period does not reveal any significant disagreement with the history of cassava as presented in this summary but these notes may add a few worthwhile points to help fill some of the gaps.

Buganda

It has already been seen that cassava was probably absent in Buganda in 1862, but that it was certainly present by 1875. When the first Protestant missionaries arrived in 1877, they reported also on the presence of cassava as a food supplementing the staples of bananas and sweet potatoes. Wilson clearly stated that cassava was a crop grown by the local people for their own consumption, and followed this statement with the information that "Besides these native fruits and vegetables, the Arab traders from Zanzibar grow wheat and rice; onions, tomatoes, guavas, pomegranates and papaws have also been introduced by them and are gradually spreading through the country; while from Egypt have come radishes and the *Hibiscus esculenta* (Arabic baumian)."¹³ If it is correct to believe that the cassava was introduced by Arabs shortly before 1875, it would seem to have become well-established in a short time. It would also appear unusual that its introduction by the Arabs had been so soon forgotten and that it should no longer be grown specifically in the vicinity of the Arab settlement at Natete, even though it must have been in demand as a food for the caravans. However, if cassava was not specifically associated with the Arab settlement in 1877; it did become associated with the Protestant settlement; for Wilson also recorded that "I sowed a quantity of wheat and onions, which both did very well, and planted cassava and sugar cane; and later on, when the rains began, I cleared a piece of swamp at the bottom of my garden and sowed it with rice, which throve astonishingly".¹⁴

It is also of interest that later that same year, in December 1877, Emin Pasha entered Buganda from the north, and for a point north of Rubaga gave a description of the crops being cultivated which included bananas, sweet potatoes, tobacco, groundnuts, maize and sorghum, but which made no mention of cassava.¹⁵ Presumably by then the spread of cassava had not gone far in a northward direction from the area of the capital.

There were few other references to cassava in Buganda in the nineteenth century which shed any light upon its distribution. Lugard in 1891 regarded cassava, together with bananas and sweet potatoes as the staple food of Buganda, and found it less important as he approached Bunyoro on a journey through Singo.¹⁶ Cassava was listed among the crops grown in Buganda in 1893 by Declé.¹⁷ In 1894 Moffat also considered that in Buganda "the staple is bananas with a little manioc and sweet potatoes".¹⁸ In the same year Ansorge reported that cassava flour could be bought in the Sudanese market in Kampala.¹⁹

Nevertheless, in spite of these positive records of cassava in Buganda, other writers such as Johnston and Roscoe omitted any mention of cassava in their descriptions of agriculture in Buganda. Although cassava was undoubtedly present in Buganda in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was probably of little importance.

Bunyoro

It has already been seen that Nye and Jameson supposed that cassava soon spread to Bunyoro from Buganda; but that in 1891 there was, according to Lugard, less cassava in Bunyoro than in Buganda. On his route from the north in 1877 which went through much of north Bunyoro Emin Pasha recorded a list of crops which did not include cassava but he did note that in Bunyoro, "manioc is eaten only in the south,"²⁰ and that "manioc, (*Manihot utilissima*) is only to be found in the south of the country and has been introduced from the other side of the Equator."²¹ By south Bunyoro, Emin could have meant the area to the south of the Kafu river in what later became a part of Buganda, or he could have meant the area around Mparo (Hoima) as distinct from the north Bunyoro of the Nile vicinity. The statement that the cassava had come from the south of the Equator could imply an independent introduction to Bunyoro by Arabs, or it could imply an introduction from Buganda. In either case it is unusual that Emin was not more specific; however, a subsequent reference in Emin to be quoted later substantiates the origin from Buganda.

Ten years later, in 1887, Casati reported on the agricultural produce of Bunyoro and included cassava with bananas, maize and eleusine.²² In 1904 Cunningham produced a similar list of crops grown in Bunyoro and likewise included cassava,²³ but generally the references to cassava in Bunyoro in these years were few.

Ankole

In some other areas of western Uganda, cassava had already been introduced by the late 1880s; for both Stanley and Casati mentioned it on their journey through Ankole in 1889 on the Emin Pasha relief expedition. Stanley referred to it at Mabona in the Oruchinga valley of south Ankole near to the Kagera valley; "the settlement of Mavona produced abundantly quite a variety of garden produce, such as peas, beans, tomatoes, potatoes, manioc, cucumbers, banigalls, bananas, and plantain".²⁴ Casati provided a more general comment upon agriculture in Ankole "narrow gorges, rocks, difficult paths, mountain pastures, want of water and trees, give a wild aspect to the country, which, only in the farthest slopes and in the valleys is brightened by the cultivation of Indian millet, sweet potatoes, peas, manioc and banana groves".²⁵ Early in the twentieth century manioc was reported by Delmé-Radcliffe as a standard crop of Buddu, Ngarama and Rwampara and that by Rwampara in southwest Ankole "the plants chiefly cultivated were sweet potatoes, manioc, a small grain called talabun, or wimbi, and castor oil".²⁶

The extent to which cassava had become established in south Ankole by 1889 and 1904 seems surprising since the contacts between Ankole and the outside world before 1889 had been slight, though some Arabs would have passed through on their way from Karagwe to Bunyoro. The seemingly greater concentration in Rwampara by 1900 leads one to wonder whether the crop had been introduced from somewhere other than Buganda.

Busoga

Nye and Jameson have placed the introduction of cassava from Buganda to Busoga as a late nineteenth century event. In fact there are very few references to cassava in Busoga in the early literature for the district. There were significantly few comments, if any, from the travellers accounts of the 1890s, and only Cunningham for 1904 gave it any status at all: "Busoga is a country of great fertility. In addition to the vast area under banana cultivation, the inhabitants grow

millet, Indian corn, cassava root, sugar cane, groundnuts, beans, sweet potatoes semsem and 'numbu.' " 27

North Uganda

The absence of cassava from north Uganda as observed by Speke, was confirmed in the writing of later travellers. Baker made no reference to cassava in either of his accounts for north Uganda and Emin Pasha specifically commented upon its absence in 1883. Thus speaking of the Iddio group of the Azande people who had come north to the south Sudan from position in the west-southwest he stated "the plants which they brought from their own country form even now their staple crops, two of them, the colocasia and manioc, give to Nyam Nyam villages a very characteristic appearance. Throughout this region these two plants are only extensively cultivated in Uganda and by the Zande tribes, and if specimens are met with in other places, it is as a rule, easy to say where they come from".²⁸ Similarly Stigand in the 1910s mentioned the absence of cassava in the area of the Lado enclave, in what later became the West Nile district and adjacent parts of the southern Sudan; "manioc is not found, except where it has been introduced from the Congo by the Belgians and amongst the Makaraka who brought with them when they immigrated".²⁹

This information from Emin Pasha and Stigand lends support to the view that cassava has only recently been introduced into north Uganda. It also lends support to the view that if cassava approached the proximity of Uganda from the west, its actual penetration before 1920 must have been very slight. The only early reference to cassava in north Uganda in this period was from Count Du Bourg de Bozas who crossed north Acholi from Turkana and Tororo to Madi and Nimule in 1902. He described north Acholi in the following way "les Choulli sont pasteurs et surtout cultivateurs..... Ces indigènes cultivent sorgho, mais, dagoussa, millet, patates douce, arachides, pistaches, sesame, manioc, courges, le *Musa incete* et des bananes".³⁰

Conclusion

From these observations it is evident that cassava had an extremely limited distribution in 1900. Johnston made no mention of cassava in Uganda in his *Uganda Protectorate*, even though the agricultural interests of most of the tribes was examined.³¹ Likewise the less reliable observations of Roscoe for the various peoples he studied made no mention of cassava in the 1920s. Other early anthropological studies gave no information on cassava; such as Driberg's *The Lango* of 1923³² or Edel's study on the Kiga in the early 1930s.³³ Other anthropologists writing in the 1950s or 1960s recognised that cassava was only introduced into the areas under study in the twentieth century. Such references include those of Taylor in respect of the Toro, Amba, Konjo, and Banyankole.³⁴ Others see the significant increase of cassava as being a phenomenon of the mid-twentieth century; as amongst the Amba, following damage to the staple food of bananas by banana weevil in the early 1940s³⁵, or amongst the Lugbara after the famine of 1942-43 when the government enforced cassava cultivation.³⁶ In other anthropological studies such as those on the Alur, Acholi and Iteso, where there is little attempt to date the expansion, there is no reason to believe that it was a crop of any long standing in the area.³⁷ In very few modern accounts is there any attempt to date the introduction of the crop precisely. The only such example is that of Father Tarantino's that the government introduced cassava into Lango in 1911.³⁸ Clearly there is plenty of scope for a study of the spread of cassava in Uganda since the 1920s. The records of the district offices and district

agricultural offices should prove fruitful sources of information. An example of such a study from the records of the District Commissioner's office of the West Nile is presented as an appendix to these notes.

From the references presented in this account the history of the distribution of cassava in Uganda is very different from that of maize even though both have been introduced only fairly recently. The nineteenth century distribution of cassava had been very limited, and with very few exceptions the main expansion has taken place since 1920. Even though this spread has been very recent, in many parts of Uganda it has been sufficient for cassava to become the staple food of the people, and over much of the rest of the country an important secondary crop.

APPENDIX

Notes on the Expansion of Cassava in the West Nile district 1920-1950.

The following notes are derived from an examination of the archives of the District Commissioner's Office, Arua, West Nile. Although the records were not studied solely for the purpose of agricultural change, they give a good indication of the sort of historical information which can be obtained from a district office. No doubt additional information could have been acquired also from the District Agricultural Office, though such offices are more prone to periodic removal of records than is the D.C.'s office. The District Commissioner's records consulted include the monthly reports 1914-1916 which were submitted to the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, in the period immediately following the establishment of the West Nile District in 1914. Later the reports of the D.C. became quarterly then annual. Annual reports for the West Nile exist in the Arua Office for all years except 1915-1922 which were destroyed by termites. In addition each county had what was known as the "County Book", in which touring officers recorded notes on the state of each county and the work that needed doing in it. These contain occasional references to the condition of agriculture, the state of famine reserves, the need for the planting of more food and cash crops. For most counties the County Books made out in the early 1920s contain descriptions of the main agricultural interest of each county. Much of this agricultural material has to be extracted from a welter of administrative and poll tax information so that it is not easy to obtain from them a clear picture of the agricultural changes taking place.

The earliest mention of cassava in the West Nile found in the district records was that in 1919 at Panyigoro five villages from the banks of the Albert Nile in the south had been removed from the east bank to the west bank of the river for sleeping sickness control purposes but that these villagers "returned to old muhogo plots, because muhogo does not do so well in the west." (Jonam County Book 31 October 1919 p. 71). In the early 1920s the total acreage was very low and its distribution extremely limited, for the annual reports for 1922 and 1923 recorded that only 50 acres were then under cassava and yielded only 500 hundredweights, for which there was no local sale and no standard market price for the commodity. In 1924 and 1925 the total acreage under cassava was increased to 100 acres and the yield rose to 800 hundredweights. Annual reports thereafter do not give any figures.

The first area in which cassava was encouraged was amongst the lowland Alur, particularly in Jonam county where already by 1919, as seen, there was some interest in the crop. The annual report for 1923 recorded that early in the year there "was the usual shortage at Panyamur and Mutir due to soil poorness and the laziness of the Alur. Muhogo encouraged here". Even by 1925, however, the "Alur did not take kindly to muhogo." (Annual Report for 1925). The planting of cassava in lowland Jonam was encouraged vigorously during the visit of the Provincial Commissioner for Northern Province, who noted that although the Jonam were beginning to plant it, cassava only occupied a negligible acreage (Jonam County Book, October 1925). The frequency of famines in the Allui area of Jonam led to an especial encouragement there (Jonam County Book 13 May 1925) and the Packwach area was also an early one at which cassava was established (Jonam County Book 7 October 1925). The acreage in 1926 was increased at each of these two places and in the villages all along the Nile (Jonam County Book September 1926). The granaries (*gugus*) of the Jonam were all small compared with those of the upland Alur so that it was impossible to build up a reserve of wimbi, eleusine millet. The food supply of the staple was further worsened in both 1925 and 1926 by the wimbi being eaten by insects. The cassava area increased in the later 1920s so that by 1928 it was a regular item for sale in the Packwach market (Jonam County Book February 1928) and fish and muhogo had become the standard diet at Wadelai by 1934 (Jonam County Book 18 February 1934.)

In the middle and upland area of Alur country the introduction of cassava seems to have been later, and slower in becoming accepted. The Midiri (Padyeri) County book recorded the information that the District Commissioner had encouraged muhogo planting in 1920 and 1927. The Italians at Midiri mission had made a success of it (Midiri County Book 9 September 1926) and the following year the D.C. ordered that the people must be made to plant muhogo (Midiri County Book, 27 July 1927). In the Okolo area of Alur county cassava was not mentioned in a list of crops grown in 1922, but in 1927 there was at least one large muhogo plot (Okoro County Book 29 October 1927) though there was generally little mention of cassava until the early to middle 1930s.

In the Madi area of West Nile, e.g. excluding those parts of Madi county which now fall within Madi district) the story was similar. An experimental plot "was doing fairly well" in Madi-Aiyvu in 1923 (Madi-Aiyvu County Book 1923) but still by 1933 the muhogo planting was "apathetic" (Madi Okolo County Book 1933).

The establishment of cassava in the Lugbara areas was certainly later than in Alur and possibly later than in Madi areas. The descriptions of agriculture in the Maracha County Book for 1922, the Omugo County Book for 1923, the Offude County Book 1923, and the Adumi County Book in 1923, made no reference to cassava. Some cuttings were promised for Omugo in 1923. Some had been planted in 1927 in Maracha and everyone was told to plant it that same year since what was not eaten could be sold (Marach County Book 11 May 1927 and 13 November 1927). Muhogo was planted in 1928 in Logiri which may be taken as the first there (Logiri County Book 9 July, 1928) and in 1929 it was grown in Adumi, (Adumi County Book 1929). The Terego and Omugo areas of the middle zone of Lugbara country seem to have had very little, if any, cassava before 1931. What was obviously an early attempt to grow cassava in Terego failed because of lack of rain (Terego County Book 11 June 1931) and cuttings for the beginning of cassava cultivation in Omugo were still in short supply (Omugo County Book September 1931 after an entry for 13 June 1931 indicated that there was no cassava there then).

An important impetus in the spread of cassava and sweet potatoes came in the early 1930s when a series of drought years gave famine conditions and when the food shortage was gravely affected by locust invasions. It is evident that some of the early years of the 1920s had been years of poor harvest in certain places and a policy of building up enormous communal reserves wimbi, simsim and other cereals had been put into effect. Many famine reserve stocks were still being maintained on a communal basis until the mid-1950s. Food in 1929 and 1930 had been generally plentiful but already concern was expressed at the prospect of a locust invasion from Kenya for the Lugbara were even then being encouraged "to plant muhogo and sweet potatoes as being less liable than bulo to locusts". (Logwari Central Book, February and March 1929 p. 33). The anticipated locust invasion began in 1931 and this coincided with a failure of the wimbi crop from drought (Annual Report 1931). The famine and locust troubles continued into 1932 when they were especially severe in the lowlands and Aringa (Annual Report 1932). In 1933 further damage occurred from locusts and also from hail storms.

These conditions set off a widespread campaign for the cultivation of more cassava. In 1936 every taxpayer in West Nile was made to plant a one acre plot of Bitajumba muhogo, (Bitumist cassava) and in fact the acreage under cassava in 1937 increased considerably. (Annual Reports 1936 and 1937 and Logwari Central Book, December 1936 p. 56). In 1938 an "enormous increase in sweet potatoes, also an increase in muhogo" was reported. This policy of increasing cassava cultivation was mentioned in various county books for all the Lugbara, Alur and Madi counties. Only in Omugo did there seem to be any difficulty in carrying the policy into effect. For in Omugo in 1937 arrangements were made to prosecute any taxpayer who did not plant his statutory acre and to prosecute also the chiefs whose people defaulted (Omugo County Book 17 June 1937) and even in 1938 the amount of cassava was still inadequate (Omugo County Book 14 February and 14 April 1938).

Another major famine affected part of the West Nile in 1942 and was especially severe over the whole district in 1943. A further application of the policy of increasing cassava cultivation occurred and the acreage actually planted each year went up from 52,434 acres in 1942 and 59,416 in 1943 to 77,000 acres in 1944. The planting continued at a high rate from 1946-48 with 169,815 acres being planted in those three years, which was equivalent to three acres for every poll taxpayer (Annual Report 1948). Although it is probable that the area by the Albert Nile lowlands had more than the average for the district, cassava by the mid-1940s had been spread effectively throughout the district, except only the highest parts of the extreme south and northwest. The establishment of cassava in Lugbara was not solely the product of efforts of the 1943 famine as suggested by Middleton, since an earlier phase of encouragement had taken place in the early 1930s and the beginning of the spread can be traced back to the late 1920s. Nevertheless by the middle 1940s most of the West Nile had become an area in which cassava and sweet potatoes had displaced millet (eleusine, wimbi, bulo) as the staple foodstuff.

NOTES

1. Langlands, B. W. Maize in Uganda, *Uganda J.*, 29 1965, pp. 215-221; and The Banana in Uganda, 1860-1920, *Uganda J.*, 30, 1966, pp. 39-62.
2. Jones, W. O., *Manioc in Africa*, Stanford, California, Stanford U.P., 1959, p. 80. Although Jones uses the word manioc, cassava is more commonly used in East Africa, hence unless the word appears in a quotation, cassava has been used in this paper. The usage in travellers' reports varies between these two words. Also the Swahili word muhogo is used even in Uganda, and is used very largely in the analysis presented here on the West Nile district.
3. *Ibid.* p. 83.
4. *Ibid.* p. 84.
5. *Ibid.* p. 84. For this reference Jones gives p. 586 of the New York edition of J. H. Speke's *Journal of the discovery of the source of the Nile*, 1864. The present writer is unable to trace this particular reference but see below, note 6.
6. Grant, J. A. in Speke, J. H. *Journal of the discovery of the source of the Nile*, 1863, Appendix G., p. 647.
7. Nye, G. W. and Jameson, J. D. in J. D. Tothill (Editor) *Agriculture in Uganda*, 1940, p. 134-45. See Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 and 226.
8. Stanley, H. M. *Through the dark continent*, Vol. 1, 1878, pp. 207 (south Lake Victoria), 383 and 402. The quotation from p. 383 has been given in full in *Uganda J.*, 30, 1966, p. 40.
9. *Ibid.* p. 402. Stanley had mentioned the presence of coffee in addition to this list on the preceding page.
10. Nye, G. W. and Jameson, J. D. *op. cit.*, p. 135.
11. McMaster, D. N., *A subsistence crop geography of Uganda*, Bude, 1962, p. 67.
12. Jones, W. O., *ip. cit.*, p. 228.
13. Wilson, C. T. in Wilson C. T. and Felkin R. W. *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, Vol. 1, 1882, p. 159. The reference to cassava is given in full in *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, p. 217. This list of crops grown by the Arabs was repeated in an address which Wilson gave to the Royal Geographical Society, "wheat and rice both of good quality are grown by the settlers from Zanzibar, while the papai, pomegranates and guavas have been introduced by the Arabs and bear abundantly". C. T. Wilson, Uganda and the Victoria Lake, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 2, 1880, p. 354.
14. Wilson, C. T., *ibid.* 1882, p. 107.
15. Schweinfurth, G., (Editor) *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 1888, p. 34. The quotation is given in full in *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, p. 217.
16. Lugard, F. D., *The rise of our East African empire*, Vol. 11, 1893, p. 132.
17. Declé, L., *Three years in savage Africa*, 1898, p. 450. See *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, p. 217.
18. Moffat, R. V. Private correspondence. Makerere University College, Manuscript Collection, Letter no. 62, January, 1894.
19. Anson, W. J., *Under the African sun*, 1899, p. 95.
20. Schweinfurth, G., *op. cit.*, p. 75. For a partial list of crops grown in Bunyoro as reported by Emin Pasha see *Uganda J.*, 30, 1966, p. 52.
21. Schweinfurth, G., *Ibid.*, p. 80.
22. Casati, G., *Ten years in Equatoria*, Vol. II, 1891, pp. 38-39, quoted in *Uganda J.*, 30, 1965, p. 218.
23. Cunningham, F. J. *Uganda and its peoples*, 1905, p. 28, as quoted in *Uganda J.*, 30, p. 53.
24. Stanley, H. M., *In darkest Africa*, Vol. II, 1890, p. 352.
25. Casati, G., *op. cit.*, p. 272.
26. Delmé-Radcliffe, C. Surveys and studies in Uganda, *Geographical J.* 26, 1905, p. 626, quoted in full in *Uganda J.*, 29, 1965, p. 218.
27. Cunningham, F. J. *op. cit.*, p. 110. In point of fact Cunningham included cassava in a list of crops in Busoga on p. 110, but omitted it from a similar list on p. 120.
28. Schweinfurth, G. *op. cit.*, p. 376. By 'Uganda', Emin would have meant 'Buganda'.
29. Stigand, C. H., *Equatoria, the Lado enclave*, 1923, p. 31. Makaraka is included in Azande.
30. Du Bourg de Bozas, Vicomte R. D'Addis Abbaba au Nil par le lac Rodolphe, *La Géographie*, Paris, 7, 1903, p. 103. This reference to maize and bananas in north Acholi is also relevant to the earlier examination on these crops in previous numbers of the *Uganda Journal*. I am grateful to Mr. H. B. Thomas for drawing my attention to this little-known traveller. The main book of du Bourg de Bozas, *Mission scientifique du Bourg de Bozas de la Mer Rouge à l'Atlantique à travers l'Afrique tropicale* (Oct. 1900—Mai 1903), Paris, 1906, is not available in Uganda.
31. Johnston, H. H., *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, 1902. In this connection it is worth noting that many of these descriptions included references to the cultivation of maize,

which were omitted in the *Uganda Journal* note on maize, 29, 1965, since they were not referred to in the index to Johnston's book. In the lists of crops grown by the Konjo (p. 575), Nyoro (p. 586), Iru (p. 607) and Ganda (p. 671) maize was included,

32. Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*, 1923.
33. Edel, M. M., *The Chiga of western Uganda*, 1957.
34. Taylor, B. K., *The western lacustrine Bantu*, 1962, see for Toro, p. 58, Amba, p. 83, Konjo, p. 93 and Ankole p. 104.
35. Middleton, J., *The Lugbara of Uganda*, 1965, p. 7.
36. Lawrance, J. C. D., *The Iteso*, 1957. Lawrance for instance states that cassava was not amongst the crops that the Iteso brought with them on their migration to their present domain.
37. Tarantino, A., Notes on the Lango, *Uganda J.*, 13, 1949, p. 149. Referred to in Jones, and quoted in full in *Uganda J.*, 30, 1966, pp. 55-56.

AN HISTORICAL NOTE ON NILE TRANSPORT

By J. W. KING

A significant development in the history of Uganda was the introduction of water, rail, and road transport services centred on the navigable stretches of the Nile and Lakes Kioga and Albert. In operation between Jinja and Nimule, these services became an interconnected system which hastened the social and economic growth of central and northern Uganda.

Prior to 1900, there was relatively little traffic in the area of the Nile and its lakes¹ in Uganda. The use of canoes on water and human portage over land satisfied most trading needs. In 1876, Egyptian desires for territorial expansion led to the introduction of the first non-African vessels. These were launched on the Albert Nile at Dufile (slightly upstream from Nimule) by Colonel C. G. Gordon, who was in the service of the Khedive. One of Gordon's vessels was a steel sailing ship, the *Dufile*, and the other was a 38-ton steamer, the *Nyanza*. An Italian assistant to Gordon, Romolo Gessi, sailed the *Dufile* on the first European circumnavigation of Lake Albert in April, 1876. Three months later, Gordon took the steamer *Nyanza* for her maiden voyage up the Albert Nile and on to the mouth of the Victoria Nile at Magungu.

Gordon's successor, Emin Pasha, attempted to assert Egypt's control of the Lake Albert portion of Equatoria by having a large steamer, the *Khedive*, carried overland by 4,800 porters² from Gondokoro to Dufile. The *Khedive* had a length of 85 feet, a weight of 108 tons, and a 20 horse-power engine. Emin launched the *Khedive* in March, 1879, at Dufile, and later a second steel sailing ship, the *Magungo*, was added to the fleet. Still another vessel, the *Advance*, was introduced on Lake Albert by H. M. Stanley in 1888. A simple steel boat, the *Advance* was abandoned by Stanley when he marched with Emin to Bagamoyo. All five of these early vessels were lost or destroyed by the year 1891 as a result of anarchy in Equatoria.³

In 1894, a steel rowing boat, the *James Martin*, was carried from Kampala to Kibero on Lake Albert, ostensibly to assist in the British campaign against King Kabarega of Bunyoro. It was followed by a steamer, the ten-passenger *Kenia*,⁴ which had been launched on Lake Victoria in 1896. Only thirty-six feet in length, the *Kenia* was dismantled and carried in pieces to Lake Albert in 1898. Sailed to Dufile, it was dismantled again and put into service at Rejaf on the Bahr el Jebel for the purpose of steaming north to help forestall French claims to the southern Sudan. However, Dervish strength in the Sudan prevented the *Kenia* from proceeding downstream and it was returned to the Albert Nile in 1900. The *Kenia* served administrative and cargo needs in the Lake Albert flotilla until 1922.⁵

Much less was known about Lake Kioga than Lake Albert in 1900. Macdonald's canoe expedition in 1898 had yielded some information, and in 1901 Sir Harry Johnston advocated that "a steam launch . . . be placed on the Nile at Kakoge."⁶ Johnston's successor, Sir Hesketh Bell, transferred a fifty-five

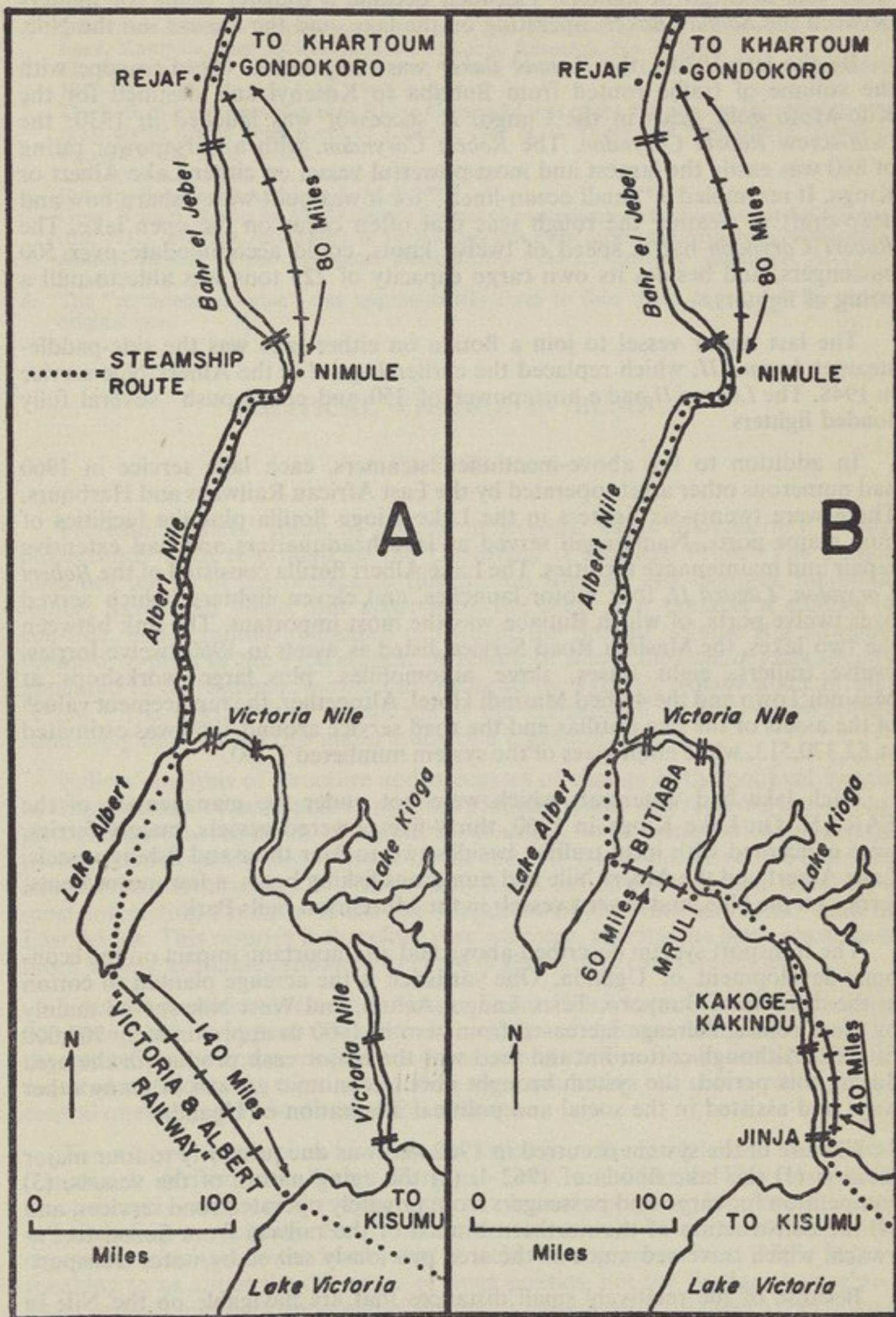
foot steamer from Lake Victoria to Kakoge in 1906. This was the *Victoria* and its exploratory success, coupled with the economic potential of the Lake Kioga borderlands, led Bell to order a much larger steamer, the *Speke*. The *Speke*, launched in 1910, was a wood-burning, paddle-wheel steamer with a horsepower rating of 175 and cargo capacity of fifty tons. It was joined on Lake Kioga in 1912 by the *Grant*, a vessel of similar size. In 1913, a more powerful sternwheeler was added to the growing flotilla; this was the *Stanley*. The *Stanley* had a cargo capacity of 100 tons and was able to push several lighters with a combined maximum cargo approximating 1,500 tons. In 1917, the *Grant* sank but was replaced by a second *Grant* in 1925. This vessel was the most powerful on Lake Kioga. Its length was 134 feet and it had a horsepower of 350. It could easily propel 1,500 tons of cargo in lighters at a speed of seven knots. All three boats, the *Speke*, *Stanley*, and *Grant*, were converted to diesel engines in the late 1930's and continued to operate until the closure of Lake Kioga services in 1962.

Along with the development of water transport on Lake Kioga came the sixty-one mile Busoga Railway, which was opened in 1912. The Railway was, for several years, the main link from the system on the Nile and its lakes to the port of Jinja on Lake Victoria, from whence goods were dispatched to, and received from, the railhead at Kisumu. In 1928, the system diverted its traffic from the port of Jinja when a branch of the railway from Mombasa reached the junction point of Mbulamuti on the Busoga Railway. This provided Namasagali, the head of navigation on Lake Kioga, with a direct rail connection of 777 miles to the East African coast.

Sir Hesketh Bell was also concerned about surface transport between Lake Albert and Lake Victoria. In 1906, he advanced proposals which would close the transport gap between Mombasa and Cairo and also serve Lake Albert. One of Bell's scheme (Fig. 1A) was to build a railway from Lake Victoria to the southern end of Lake Albert. From this point the steamer *Kenia* would embark traffic for a 250-mile voyage to Nimule. At Nimule, a second railway was to have been laid around the rapids of the Bahr el Jebel to Rejaf,

Bell's other plans was to build three stretches of railway (Fig. 1B) and to introduce vessels on Lake Kioga and the Victoria Nile. As noted above, Bell achieved two parts of the latter plan: the Busoga Railway and the Lake Kioga flotilla. However, no other railways were ever built as he proposed, and instead road transport was developed. In 1908, construction of a road was begun from Masindi Port to Masindi Town, reaching the latter in 1911. Two years later, the road was 66 miles in length, having been extended to the top of the rift escarpment above the port of Butiaba, which lay nine miles further on. For a few years, goods were carried by porters and pushed in carts before the road was completed down the escarpment in 1919. As early as 1912, a single motor van operated along the route, and in 1914, two vans transported 556 tons of cargo.⁷

On Lake Albert, increasing trade and government work required a vessel larger than the *Kenia*, which could tow only fifteen tons. To meet these needs, another vessel, the *Samuel Baker* was ordered and assembled at Butiaba in 1909 and 1910. The *Samuel Baker* was 124 feet in length, could tow 200 tons in lighters, and had its own cargo capacity of fifty tons. It was the "workhorse" of the Lake Albert flotilla, particularly after the sinking of the *Kenia* in 1922. Five years later, the *Lugard* was launched at Butiaba. The *Lugard*, with a shallow draft of only two feet three inches, was designed for operation on the Albert Nile from Pakwach to Nimule. Its horsepower of 250 enabled it to push about



NILE TRANSPORT PROPOSALS OF BELL, 1906

1,000 tons of cargo in lighters. Pakwach became a transfer point for lighters between the *Samuel Baker*, operating on the lake, and the *Lugard*, on the Nile.

By the late 1920's, the *Samuel Baker* was too small a vessel to cope with the volume of traffic routed from Butiaba to Kasenyi and destined for the Kilo-Moto gold fields in the Congo. A successor was launched in 1930: the twin-screw *Robert Coryndon*. The *Robert Coryndon*, with a horsepower rating of 800 was easily the largest and most powerful vessel on either Lake Albert or Kioga. It resembled a "small ocean-liner," for it was built with a sharp bow and deep draft to weather the rough seas that often occur on the open lake. The *Robert Coryndon* had a speed of twelve knots, could accommodate over 500 passengers, and besides its own cargo capacity of 225 tons was able to pull a string of lighters.

The last major vessel to join a flotilla on either lake was the side-paddle-steamer *Lugard II*, which replaced the earlier *Lugard* in the Albert Nile service in 1948. The *Lugard II* had a horsepower of 350 and could push several fully loaded lighters.

In addition to the above-mentioned steamers, each lake service in 1960 had numerous other assets operated by the East African Railways and Harbours. There were twenty-six lighters in the Lake Kioga flotilla plus the facilities of nine major ports. Namasagali served as lake headquarters and had extensive repair and maintenance facilities. The Lake Albert flotilla consisted of the *Robert Coryndon*, *Lugard II*, four motor launches, and eleven lighters, which served over twelve ports, of which Butiaba was the most important. The link between the two lakes, the Masindi Road Service, listed as assets in 1960 twelve lorries, twelve trailers, eight buses, three automobiles, plus large workshops at Masindi Town and the 44-bed Masindi Hotel. Altogether, the replacement value⁸ of the assets of the two flotillas and the road service around 1960 was estimated at £2,370,513, while employees of the system numbered 1,200.

Each lake had watercraft which were not under the management of the EAR&H. On Lake Kioga in 1960, thirty-five powered vessels, mainly ferries, were concerned with local traffic, besides two to four thousand fishing vessels. Lake Albert and the Albert Nile had numerous fishing boats, a few motor boats, ferries on the Nile, and tourist vessels in the Murchison Falls Park.

The transport system described above had an important impact on the economic development of Uganda. One yardstick is the acreage planted to cotton in the districts of Bunyoro, Teso, Lango, Acholi, and West Nile served mainly by these routes. Acreage increased from zero in 1900 to approximately 700,000 in 1962. Although cotton lint and seed was the major cash product in the area during this period, the system brought about economic growth in many other ways and assisted in the social and political integration of Uganda.

Closure of the system occurred in 1962 and was due primarily to four major factors: (1) the lake floods of 1962-4, (2) the aging nature of the vessels, (3) competition for cargo and passengers from privately operated road services, and (4) the construction of the northern branch of the railway from Soroti to Pakwach, which traversed much of the area previously served by water transport.

Because of the relatively small distances that are navigable on the Nile in Uganda and on Lakes Kioga and Albert, it seems unlikely, that water transport will ever again play as significant a role in Uganda's development as it did between the early 1900's and 1962.

NOTES

1. Discussion of Lake Victoria is omitted here. See *The trade of Lake Victoria* by V. C. R. Ford, Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research, No. 3, 1955.
2. The figure of 4,800 is based upon a letter written by Emin. See J. M. Gray, Acholi history, 1860-1901—III, *Uganda J.* 16, 1962, p. 143.
3. The hulk of the *Nyanza* lies near Rhino Camp and that of the *Khedive* may be seen near the coast about fifteen miles north of Kasenyi. See H. B. Thomas, A relic of S. S. Khedive, *Uganda J.* 14, 1950, p. 104.
4. Also known as *Kenia No. 2.* and as the *Nellie.*
5. Entebbe Secretariat Archives, S. M. P. 6737.
6. Great Britain, *Report by His Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda*, (Cd. 671.), (HMSO, July, 1901), p. 19. Kakoge was a few miles upstream from Namasagali.
7. Annual Report of the Transport Department, 1914-15, Entebbe Secretariat Archives, S. M. P. 862.
8. The "replacement value" was approximately three to four times as great as the actual original cost.

POLITICAL CHANGE IN BUSOGA

By P. RIGBY

Professor Fallers' study of politics in Busoga, *Bantu Bureaucracy* (1956), has recently been re-printed by the University of Chicago Press.¹ The author does not tell us in the preface to this edition whether any changes, major or minor, have been made. But apart from the short new preface, a change in sub-title, and a minute reduction in format, the present volume is a straightforward re-print of the 1956 edition. A review of *Bantu Bureaucracy* has already appeared in the *Uganda Journal*; but owing to the egregious inadequacy of that review,² it is worth taking advantage of the appearance of this edition to say something more about this major study of a Ugandan society.

Fallers' analysis of structure and processes of change in the political system of Busoga had a considerable impact in 1956, and it was well received by sociologists and political scientists. Dr. Mair, for example, while being critical on several points, stated frankly that "This is by far the best book that has come from the East African Institute. . . ."³ Since then it has become a standard work on a most interesting example of the the kingdoms of the 'interlacustrine' area of East Africa. This re-print is therefore very welcome, making the book once again more widely available especially as there is also a paperback version.

I do not propose to review Professor Fallers' book here, but to make a brief assessment of its impact upon our knowledge of African Kingdoms and the theoretical points and controversies it has helped to raise. To do this fully would require considerably more space than that available; but a few of the more central questions may be discussed in outline.

The author approaches his material through a fairly elaborate theoretical framework, derived from Weber, Parsons, Levy, and Merton. This framework is consistently employed throughout the whole analysis, giving it an overall unity in spite of its complexity. But it also gives rise to one of the most frequently expressed criticisms of the book; that it lacks ethnographic 'body'. It is Fallers speaking to us about the dilemmas of Soga politics, not the Basoga themselves. This criticism impinges upon one of Professor Fallers main theoretical postulates derived from Fortes⁴ that the organization of people into political groups based upon unilineal descent is incompatible with a strong state organization

(p. 227 *et passim*). This arises out of the conflicting principles of recruitment and status allocation in lineage groups and in the state, based in traditional Busoga upon a chain of 'patron client' relationships; despite the fact that in both authority relations are personal ('particularistic') rather than impersonal ('universalistic'). The incompatibility creates conflict, seen as 'strain' in interpersonal and 'intrapersonal' situations (i.e. role conflict), and 'instability' in the institutional sphere.

It has been asked whether these incompatibilities are mainly 'logical', derived from Fallers' structural/functional approach, rather than empirical and seen as such by Basoga themselves.⁵ More evidence of what the Basoga themselves think and do about this would have strengthened Fallers' otherwise stimulating argument. However, the postulate itself has stimulated comment, criticism, and further research of considerable proportions. It certainly helped Professor Fallers himself, and his collaborators⁶ in disentangling the complexities of structure and historical change in the neighbouring kingdom of Buganda.

Among the many other excellent insights in Fallers' study of Busoga, perhaps the most actively taken up for comparative purposes was his hypothesis on the 'bureaucratization' of African polities. Pursuing the classical taxonomic distinction made by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard⁷ between 'centralized states' and 'non-centralized', 'stateless', 'acephalous' societies, Fallers advances the hypothesis that the former 'type' of society absorbs bureaucratic norms and institutions more easily (and presumably also more quickly) than the latter. The traditional Busoga polities would be classified among the 'states' (pp. 238-242 *et passim*).

This kind of hypothesis is always interesting, for it offers one type of viewpoint from which an approach may be made to contemporary problems of political change, first under the impact of colonial administrations and now under independent African governments. Fallers' hypothesis was taken up and contrary evidence adduced from studies of political change in polities in Zambia and elsewhere.⁸ A noticeable quantity of new insights and ideas for further research came out of this controversy. Perhaps the most important result of both hypothesis and antithesis was that others have been led to point out some fundamental weaknesses, both theoretical and empirical, in this approach. This opened the way for re-assessment and other theories.

One of the theoretical weaknesses was in the typological categories upon which the comparative 'bureaucratization' theory was based. They have been shown to be inadequate, and even to obscure some central issues.⁹ Also inadequate was the use of such 'functional' concepts as 'ease' (or 'rate') of integration and absorption of new values and institutions, which cannot be measured.

On the empirical level the hypothesis and its subsequent re-formulations demanded many assumptions. 'Internal' factors such as wars, famines, and epidemics were not taken into account as affecting the 'ease' of acceptance. Nor were differences in the motivations and practices of the colonial administrations considered, in the comparative evidence presented. Uganda was certainly a special case in many ways, when compared with other African colonies, Fallers was working with the Weberian 'ideal type' of bureaucracy in his model of the impact of external administration on Busoga; Apthorpe considered the problem¹⁰ and characterised as bureaucratic the aim ".....to foster local administration at the expense of local politics"¹¹. This was much narrower than, and very different from, Fallers' concept (cf.p.18).

Many writers have attempted to come to grips with all these theoretical and empirical difficulties. None would have been able to do so if they had ignored Fallers' book. The study of 'traditional' political systems and social change has now attracted political scientists and is no longer confined to social anthropologists, as Fallers points out in his 1965 preface (p.v). With the independence of most East, West, and Central African countries, the kinds of pressures upon traditional polities also changed. The value of Professor Fallers' analysis remains, even if he does point out (p.vi):

"....A study of present-day Busoga would not only concern itself as this one does, with the politics of administration, for bureaucracy has not, of course, disappeared with independence, but it would also necessarily be much more concerned with the interplay between bureaucracy and popular political institutions."

NOTES

1. Fallers, L. A., *Bantu bureaucracy: a century of political evolution among the Basoga of Uganda*, 2nd edition, with preface, Chicago, University Press, 1965, xix+283 p. First published 1956 for East African Institute of Social Research, Heffer, Cambridge.
2. Cox, T. F. R., *Uganda J.*, 22, 1958, pp. 88-89. If this criticism appears unjust, I quote a passage. Talking of the traditional Soga society, the reviewer states (in criticism of Fallers) "in fact, as is clear from past records including dispatches to the Foreign Office, the Basoga of those days were primitive, lazy and apathetic, harried by Baganda raiders, and their only positive characteristic which struck those who came into contact with them was their skill at thieving from caravans which passed through their country." (p. 88).
3. Mair, L., Review of *Bantu bureaucracy*, in *Africa*, 27, 1957, pp. 197-198.
4. Fortes, M., The structure of unilineal descent groups, *American Anthropologist*, 55, 1953, pp. 17-41.
5. Mair, L., *op.cit.*, p. 198 and Bennett, J. W., Review of *Bantu bureaucracy*, *American Anthropologist*, 29, 1957, p.1105.
6. Fallers, L. A., (Ed.) *The king's men*, London, Oxford University Press for East African Institute of Social Research, 1964, chapters 2-4.
7. Fortes, M., and Evans-Pritchard, E. E., (Eds.) *African political systems*, London, Oxford University Press, 1940.
8. Apthorpe, R. J., (ed.) *From tribal rule to modern government*, Proceedings of the 13th conference of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka, 1959, (Roneoed); The introduction of Bureaucracy into African politics, *J. of African Administration*, 12, 1960, pp. 125-134; and Political change, centralization and role differentiation, *Civilisations*, 10, 1960, pp. 217-223.
9. Middleton, J. and Tait, D., (Eds.) *Tribes without rulers*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958; Smith, M. G., On segmentary lineage systems, *J. Royal Anthropological Institute*, 86, 1956, pp. 39-80; Easton, D., Political anthropology, in *Biennial Review of Anthropology*, edited by B. J. Siegal, Stanford, University Press, 1959; Le Vine, R., The internalization of political values in stateless societies, *Human Organization*, 19, 1960, pp. 51-58; Lloyd, P. C., The political structure of African kingdoms, in *Political systems and the distribution of power*, edited by M. Banton, London, Tavistock, 1965; Beattie, J., *Other cultures*, London, Cohen and West, 1964; Southall, A. W., *Alur society*, Cambridge, Heffer, 1956 and A critique of the typology of states and political systems, in *Political systems and the distribution of power*, edited by M. Banton, London, Tavistock 1965.
10. Apthorpe, R. J., 1960, *op.cit.*, *J. of African Administration*, p. 132 and *Civilisations* p. 219.
11. Apthorpe, R. J., 1960, *op.cit.*, *J. of African Administration*, p. 131.

KARAGWE REGALIA

An appeal from the Conservator of Antiquities, Tanzania—H. SASSOON

The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania is hoping to establish a small museum at Bweranyange, the former capital of the Kings of Karagwe, which is some 20 miles southwest of Bugene in West Lake Region. Bweranyange was visited by Speke in 1861 and by Stanley in 1875, and both writers have left descriptions of the impressive collection of spears, drums and other objects which they saw at Rumanyika's court. More recently, R. de Z. Hall published an account of the relics in the 1938 volume of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*.

A comparison of these three accounts with the collection as it now exists shows that a very large number of objects have vanished over the years. It is believed that some of the missing items may have found their way into museums or private collections. If any of your readers know the whereabouts of objects which may have come from the Bweranyange collection, I would very much appreciate it if they would write to me: The Conservator of Antiquities, Ministry of National Culture and Youth: Antiquities Division, P.O. Box 2280, Dar es-Salaam, Tanzania.

CORRIGENDUM

Archaeology on the Sese Islands

Mr. A. S. Thomas, a former Agricultural Officer, and authority on the vegetation of the Sese Islands has written to draw attention to an obvious error in the note on archaeology on the Sese Islands *Uganda J.*, 30, 1966. The statement at the bottom of page 83 that rim sherds were found 5 miles north of Kalagala, should read "about 5 miles west of Kalagala." Mr. Thomas also points out that the comment upon the vegetation of the Sese Islands which appeared on page 81 is open to question. "The soils on the ridges of the islands are often thin over ironstone and yet are covered with farms and forests, the soils of grasslands on the slopes are usually very deep but are not forested. It is soil poverty and not depth of soil which prevented the forest from growing." In substantiation of this statement he refers to his article, The vegetation of the Sese Islands, an illustration of edaphic factors in tropical ecology, *J. of Ecology*, 29, 1941, pp. 330-353.

NOTICE

The Uganda Society records with regret the deaths of two of its distinguished Past Presidents, Mr. J. D. Jameson, O.B.E. and Mr. E. J. Wayland, C.B.E. The *Uganda Journal* Volume 31 no.1, 1967, will publish obituaries to these two servants of the society. The contribution of Mr. E. J. Wayland, an Honorary Vice-President, to the promotion of scientific knowledge of Uganda has been of a very high order and the first part of the next number of the journal will be devoted to an assessment and appreciation of his work.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE EDUCATION OF AFRICAN MUSLIMS

By J. SYKES

There are certain matters in Felice Carter's article in the *Uganda J.* 29, 1965, which invite further comment.

The general picture of the apathy and lack of self-help displayed by African Muslims in Uganda in the first half of the twentieth century is only too true, but numerous statements in the article require correction or modification.

There is, first, the history of the Teacher Training Centre at Kasawo about which the writer seems greatly confused, and especially in the statements on p. 197 that its "standard was raised to train for the full Primary Course in 1939"; and that it "was taken over by the Government in 1944".

The correct history of the Centre, which can be traced in the Annual Reports of the Education Department, is as follows:—

1. It was started in January 1935 as a Grade C Training Centre under Mr. Ahmad Sekanyo "to provide Mohammedan Teachers for Mohammedan Schools", and, as is stated on p. 197, it was financed by the Buganda Native Government. (Report 1935, para. 162). It occupied the house of the headmaster of the former Government Model School.

2. The first course was completed in December 1936, and a new course begun in 1937. (Report 1936, para. 142).

3. This second course was completed in 1938, and it was decided that in 1939 the Centre would become a *Government Training School for Mohammedan Teachers*, no longer restricted to Baganda, but to include candidates from the other Provinces. (Report 1938, para. 128).

4. During 1938 the standards of Teacher Training were raised, and a new nomenclature introduced, the rudimentary Grade C course being superseded by the more professional Vernacular Teacher Training Course. (Report 1938, para. 124). Accordingly in Table D of Appendix XIV of the 1938 Report (p. 92) Kasawo is listed among the "Normal Schools for Vernacular and Grade C Teachers".

5. In the 1939 Report (para. 62) it is mentioned as a *Government Vernacular Teacher Training Centre for Mohammedan Teachers* and in Appendix I (p. 17) the annual cost to Government per student is shown as 291sh. 79cts.

6. From 1939 to 1950 it carried on as a *Government Vernacular Teacher Training Centre*, but at no great expense. The cost to Government in 1944 was £322. (Report 1944, para. 42).

7. In 1950 it was reorganised under a European Officer (Mr. T. Gleave), who was for a time resident, to train both Primary and Vernacular Teachers. (Report 1950, p. 11).

8. In 1951 its cost to Government was £478. (Report 1951, para. 103). This would be exclusive of personal emoluments.

9. In 1953, the year from which acceptance of new students for training as Vernacular Teachers came to an end, it was still performing the same functions

as in paragraph 7 above, but its existence was terminated at the end of the year, and the students were moved in 1954 to a new College built for Muslims at Kibuli. (Report 1953, paras. 228-230).

No account of Kasawo would be complete without paying tribute to the devoted work done by the late Mr. Kassim N. S. Male, who was Headmaster of the Centre from 1939 to 1947. He was subsequently successively a Government Assistant Education Officer, Assistant Katikiro, and Minister of Education in the Buganda Government.

On pp. 196 & 197 there are references to the Government Elementary (Model) School (at Kasawo) and the Intermediate (or Middle) School (at Nyanjerade), which both had a short life, and it is implied (as also in Mr. Musa Musoke's article in the *Uganda Teachers' Journal* 1, p. 242, given as a reference in the Notes to Miss Carter's essay) that their discontinuance was due to lack of Mohammedan support. This is only partially true. Closure was just as much dictated by the economic depression of the time in consequence of which Government found it necessary to review educational expenditure involving long term commitments. Nyanjerade was closed altogether, but the Kasawo Model School, though it lost its European Headmaster, Mr. W. B. Ouseley, continued as an Elementary School under a local Committee, working under the control of the Mengo District Board of Education, and was used as a Practising School by the Training Centre. It had the whole-hearted support of the then Gombolola chief, Mr. Sulimani Waligo. The Headmaster was Mr. Yosiya Lwanga. In due course it developed into a full Primary School. In 1950 it was amalgamated with the neighbouring Agalyawamu Junior Secondary School under Mr. T. M. Kibebere.

The dates given in the article for the Nyanjerade School are incorrect. It was opened in 1929, not 1930, so that it had a life of *two* years, being closed as stated at the end of 1931. (Report 1931, para 8). Mr. Male, mentioned above, was one of its pupils, and the Headmaster was Mr. J. N. Russell.

The African School at Masindi, mentioned on p. 197 as being taken over by Government in 1939, ceased to be a Government responsibility in 1944, when that responsibility was transferred to the Local Education Authority, (Report 1944, para. 21). Note 25 concerning this school has a reference to Report 1935, but I can find nothing about the school in that Report. Possibly what was intended was Report 1936, para. 140, recording the transfer of the school from Hoima to Masindi, where the Muslim population was larger.

On pp. 196 & 197 there are references to the Government K.A.R. School at Bombo. This served not only the K.A.R. but also the considerable local Nubi Muslim population. In this connection mention might also have been made of the comparable schools for the children of police at Kampala, Jinja and Mbale, which were partly for the benefit of Muslims. (Vide Reports 1934, para. 55; 1936, para. 85 (c), Note (ii) and Appendix II; and 1937, Appendix II).

The figures given on p. 194 viz:— a total expenditure of £134,000 on Education in 1944, and £213 only on Muslim Education are wide of the mark. The 1944 Report gives a total for that year of £242,664 of public monies spent on Education (para. 39) and of £3,298 on Muslim Schools and students, besides £322 on the Kasawo V.T.T.C. (para. 42a and d).

My acknowledgements are due to Messrs. R. A. Snoxall and W. B. Ouseley for kindly supplying information on the matters with which this note is concerned.

REVIEWS

VIEW FROM THE SHAMBA?

HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA, VOLUME II, Edited by V. HARLOW and E. M. CHILVER assisted by A. SMITH. With an introduction by Margery Perham. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965, lii, 768 pp., 10 maps U.K. price, Shs. 84.

The intention of the long awaited second volume of the *Oxford History of East Africa*, which deals with the colonial period, is to "view African history from Africa." But, within Africa, are we to take our view from the governor's veranda or the peasant's shamba? From the shamba presumably because, we are told again, Africans are "primarily interested in what colonial policy has done to them." Volume I had promised that its successor would provide a "history of internal response." It is unfortunate that the problems of providing African-centred history are so often posed in implicitly racial terms; the unwary might imagine that it is simply a question of where one's sympathies lie. The attitude of the historian does matter, of course, and he has to handle underlying racial conflicts when dealing with the colonial period but his difficulties go much further than this. The whole question of historical methodology is involved for it is necessary to find new sources of evidence as well as to use old ones in new ways. Many British and European historians are currently trying to do this in dealing with their own countries especially by borrowing some of the sociologists' techniques and types of source material. Demographic and other kinds of quantitative information may be scanty in East Africa, but have all the possibilities in missionary registers, school rolls and the like been exploited? Oral traditions are another type of evidence now regarded by most historians as being perfectly respectable but there is a tendency to regard them as a tool for use on the pre-European past. So far they have been used to a very limited degree for the colonial period despite the fact that they must be plentiful and more easily divested of any mythical accretions. Much needs to be done, then, before a satisfactory history of the African response to European rule can be written. But a further problem arises. For many East African peoples, particularly early on in the colonial period, European rule was quite irrelevant, so there is no question of response; their history needs to be written from a completely local standpoint. The two chapters by Dr. Low in the volume under review show an awareness of problems of this kind but there is no overall impression that the philosophical and methodological issues have been thought through.

Editorially, in fact, the *Oxford History* is disappointing. It is odd, surely, that in a work with the stated aims, there should be the necessity for separate chapters on "changes in African life" though Uganda, fortunately, is spared this. We are also offered the suggestion that separate treatment of each territory will help to make it easier to see things from an African point of view. This is highly unconvincing to say the least; the approach may indeed militate against African centered history. After all, at close range, the power of a colonial governor and his administration is so much more overwhelmingly in view. It would have been

quite unreal to have abandoned the territorial approach completely but there are some topics which surely demand East Africa-wide treatment. The question of Closer Union is the most obvious one; but the spread of Islam, the development of transport, the effects of the wars and many other topics suffer from being split up by the territorial approach. One way or another, some questions seem to have been left out altogether. For example, the Asian community in East Africa gets little attention except from Mr. Bennett, Dr. Ehrlich and Dr. Ingham for their limited purposes. The diplomacy of the 1909-10 and 1916-19 periods which affected the boundaries of the territories and the question of who was to control the people is largely neglected except for Dr. Ingham's account of the specific problem of the mandate for German East Africa.

Generally there is the impression that tighter editorial control was needed. Obviously the death of the principal editor was a great blow but there has surely been time to remedy some of the problems since 1961. Does the dating of the chapters need to be quite so bizarre, for example? Consideration of German East Africa begins in 1884 whilst that of Kenya and Uganda is from 1894-5. For no apparent reason, the chapter on Zanzibar ends in 1950 whereas all the other territories are discussed, nominally at least, to 1945. In between there are many other chronological oddities in the chapter arrangements. In the text there are cross references but these usually serve only to highlight the tremendous amount of overlap between different chapters. Dr. Ehrlich deals with the plantation versus peasant economy dispute in Uganda most adequately, for example, but the chapter by Mr. Pratt repeats the arguments. In no less than five different sections on Kenya some of the same information on land and land policy is repeated. The list could be extended. Some amount of overlapping was inevitable and indeed perfectly proper, given the arrangement of this book, but one wonders whether its bulk and perhaps its price might have been reduced by some cutting and re-arrangement.

The last general criticism concerns the time the publishers have taken to produce this work. The chapters were already to hand in 1961. Since that time, the independence of the East African territories has been achieved and the impact of this process might have given a different perspective to some of the topics discussed. More serious from the potential buyer's point of view, a great deal has been published elsewhere since 1961, some of it consisting of parts of this book. Mr. Bennett's excellent chapter on Settlers and Politics in Kenya, for example, is really an epitome of his *Kenya: a political history* published in 1963, and cost only six Shillings. The chapter in this book takes up roughly one tenth of the whole and is identical in wording.

The *Oxford History* consists of thirteen main chapters, four appendices—one a substantial article—, a bibliography and an introduction of fifty-odd pages. Kenya received the greatest amount of space with 260 pages, Uganda comes next with 214, then Tanganyika with 189 and Zanzibar with 31. Miss Perham's introduction sketches in some of the background to colonial policy and colonial thinking and, as might be expected, is especially enlightening on the meaning of "indirect rule."

The treatment of what became Kenya opens with Dr. Low's account of the period up to 1912. This highlights the way the existing African situation affected the manner in which the European presence was established. Dr. Low believes, and argues convincingly, that the Masai, albeit in a somewhat negative sense, were the key to the situation. The main centres of African population were initially bypassed by the Europeans and the extension of rule to them was a process involving much more force than the British often like to imagine.

Government is commonly regarded as established when it is in a position to impose taxation but this easy assumption is questioned when Dr. Low points out, for example, that many Baringo District tribes paid taxes as a sort of "dane-geld" to keep themselves free of alien influence. The next chapter on Kenya deals with economic developments, 1902-45. Mr. Wrigley writes with a dry humour and has a gift for the succinct characterization of a situation as when he describes the settlers as "resident tourists" or when he tells us that African money income might be dissipated in inflation "since the supply of livestock was not very elastic and the supply of (marriageable) women was completely inelastic." Nevertheless this chapter tends to be an economic history of the settlers; there is relatively little on African economics and much less still on the Asians or the Europeans who were not landed proprietors. Mr. Wrigley raises the problem of the "Dual Policy" in Kenya and attempts an explanation of why the African half of the duality failed, though he thinks in general the reasons are obscure. We do not find enlightenment in the chapter on African Life 1912-45 by J. Middleton. In other respects this chapter is clear and well arranged but it relies heavily for much of its evidence on well known sources like the Carter Commission, the Corfield Report and Mr. Welbourn's work on Independent Churches. Mr. Bennett's chapter is the most complete and definitive section of the book. All those who are interested in the history of East Africa will already be aware of the merits of his analysis of central politics in Kenya. The final section on Kenya is an appendix on Land Policy by M. P. K. Sorrenson. On its own it is useful but what information it conveys that is not already in one or other of the main chapters could surely have been worked in.

If only because the treatment of Uganda is contained in three rather than five sections, the picture which emerges is a rather clearer one than in the case of Kenya. Again Dr. Low opens the story with a study of the period between the establishment of the protectorate in 1894 and the end of the first world war. Like his Kenya chapter, this is excellent value with African and European developments skilfully integrated; one wishes that Dr. Low had been given the task of writing a general study of the establishment of colonial rule in East Africa. In the course of his study the author suggests that George Wilson's role in the new protectorate was of singular importance. Perhaps the extent to which the new situation derived from Wilson and his work is arguable but undoubtedly the British-Baganda relationship in the mid 1890's was crucial for subsequent Uganda-wide developments. Once or twice in this book the question is asked, what would have happened if the British had not entered Uganda via Buganda? Surely the answer is that the British did *not* in fact enter via Buganda but via Karagwe early on, and later via Mumia's and Busoga. Even had initial entry been from the Nile in the north, Egyptian aims in the 1870's suggest that Buganda would still have been regarded as the prize. This pre-eminent position of Buganda often mesmerizes historians but Dr. Low strikes a fair balance with other parts of Uganda.

In discussing Uganda's economy between 1903 and 1945 Dr. Ehrlich shows how from very early on the state of world markets profoundly affected the territory's economic growth. The discussion in this chapter is clear, and often hard hitting. The follies of the "anti-lorry" officials or those who came to believe stability to be more important than economic progress before 1939 are condemned. The basic inequality already present before the colonial period in Ganda society was economically important and one wonders whether it is in some respects misleading to talk about "peasant production" though it is true the

chiefs became "country gentlemen" rather than economic entrepreneurs. Dr. Ehrlich shows that, for all the economic changes brought about by the colonial period, there did not occur a "thoroughgoing agrarian revolution." He also notes how from the very beginning of cash crop productions, governments support and initiative was an essential part of economic development. The main criticism of this chapter is that it too often seems to be a study only of cotton growing and marketing in Buganda.

Administration and Politics, 1919-45 is the third of the chapters on Uganda. Here again Buganda figures perhaps rather too prominently. In discussing the principle of British "trusteeship" for Africans, Mr. Pratt avers that it was not just a rationalization of economic necessity, given the fact that peasant agriculture was proving superior to foreign owned plantation production, but a strongly held conviction. No doubt it was strongly held but would it have been strong enough to override economic necessity if Uganda had proved suitable for plantations? The experience of Kenya in the same period would lead one to doubt this. Mr. Pratt's work, like his book, is very much the study of British overrule. As such it is excellent, yet in this first African-centred colonial history one might have expected rather more. The existence of a crisis over the Bataka chiefs' land grievances for example, is known to most of us. But who were these chiefs, what sort of following did they command and in what numbers? These are some fairly elementary questions which are not answered. Indeed, in the whole chapter, less than a dozen Africans are mentioned by name and all of these are the obvious hereditary rulers or Baganda chiefs.

The chapters on Tanganyika begin with W. O. Henderson's on German East Africa, 1884-1918. It is odd that the period covered by a whole chapter and parts of others in Volume I of the *Oxford History* should be considered again here. O. F. Raum's chapter on changes in African Tribal Life (this time between 1892 and 1914!) is not well referenced nor written from a strictly historical standpoint. Some of the assertions are questionable e.g. that the Sukuma took up portage only in the 1880's. And surely the mere fact that African chiefs were used to dealing with bits of paper that had writing on them and understood tributary dependence does *not* show that they understood all the implications of making treaties with Europeans. Nevertheless this chapter has many points of interest. Dr. Ingham's two chapters cover Tanganyika from 1919 to 1945. They provide a clear conspectus of the development of central and local administration in these years. The author has benefited from not having to cut out economic developments but is able to integrate them with the political. The importance of Cameron's tenure of office is emphasized though the final verdict on him is left rather open, partly, no doubt because the slump and its effects make it difficult to see all the consequences of his work clearly. The chapter on African Life 1918-1945 by Margaret Bates is rather thin on material and tells us little more than Dr. Ingham has already about the effect of indirect rule on tribal life. The wide variation in beliefs among missionaries in Tanganyika is suggested as a reason for the relative lack of independency among Tanganyikan Christians. This seems a rather inadequate explanation. This chapter was written before Mrs. Stahl's book on the Chagga appeared two years ago and so lacks the benefit of its conclusions. Nonetheless there are some interesting observations. We are, for example, invited to see "re-tribalization" rather than "de-tribalization" as a frequent result of European rule.

The final main chapter is a brief outline of some of the developments in Zanzibar up to 1950. Besides the appendix on Kenya land policy, already mentioned, other appendices include the mandate for German East Africa, a note

on currency and list of the principal officials responsible for East African government. The thirty page select bibliography is a useful adjunct to the work and is much more up to date than the text itself. It is noticeably thin however on periodical literature, omitting for example some of the important articles published in the *Uganda Journal*. Incidentally, in a 700 page work on the colonial period in East Africa, does not the foundation of the Uganda Society merit at least a brief footnote somewhere?

In conclusion, it may be said that many of the individual chapters in this book have considerable interest. But they do not add up to a completely satisfactory overall history of the colonial period in East Africa.

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*LES ZANDE DANS L'HISTOIRE DU BAHR EL GHAZAL ET DE
L'EQUATORIA*

By ARLETTE THURIAUX-HENNEBERT

Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Universite Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels,
1964, 318p., maps, bibliography.

The Azande have enjoyed from their earliest contact with the explorers Junker and Schweinfurth a relatively favourable image in the writings of the conquistadores, missionaries, administrators, and eventually anthropologists who have laboured in their midst. Perhaps this accounts for the comparatively lavish attention they have received. The abundant writings of E. E. Evans-Pritchard are matched on the Belgian side by the massive and indigestible Azande ethnographic and history compendiums of A. de Calonne-Beaufaict and Father A. Hutereau. Chronological reconstruction of colonial penetration and the immediate pre-colonial history of the Congo Azande are provided by Father L. Lotar. More recently, Pierre de Schlippe and Conrad Reining have been preoccupied with Azande reactions to social change.

Thus Mme. Thuriaux-Hennebert embarks on a well-charted course. The task she sets herself is to distill from the mass of available material, mainly secondary, the history of the Azande states 1860-1906. The period selected covers the interval between the first confrontation of Azande chiefs and Khedival agents, and the final freezing of the lines of colonial partition of the Azande between French, Belgian, and Anglo-Egyptian masters.

The author's focus is entirely upon the relationships between Azande chiefs and the external groups which came increasingly to impinge upon their world. Her original sources are limited to some Congo Free State archives, and local studies prepared by the first generation of colonial administrators in the northeast Congo undertaken to provide an empirical foundation for "native administration". Her approach is that of the court chronicler, primarily concerned with a meticulous reconstruction of the sequence of events.

Mme. Thuriaux-Hennebert presents a useful survey of certain aspects of Azande history during this period when the Azande states were being inextricably bound up in a larger universe. The description is not always very clear, and sometimes repetitive, although it would be perhaps unjust to blame the writer

for the multiplicity of Azande chieftaincies, which render her tale complex. It is unfortunate that no index was included to aid the reader to retrace his steps when necessary.

The most interesting part of the study records the vague overlordship that the Khartoum merchant Zubair and his son Suleiman established over much of the Azande area in 1869-1879. Zubair and Suleiman operated at times under Khedival mandate, but in good measure simply on their own. There are many intriguing comparisons that might be made between this episode and the almost simultaneous state formation in Maniema, under the impetus of Zanzibar-based Arab and Swahili merchant adventurers. Tippo Tip's ambiguous relationship to the Sultan of Zanzibar was in many ways comparable to that of Zubair and Suleiman to Cairo. The striking difference is that Tippo Tip and his cohorts erected their trading states upon segmentary, stateless societies, whereas the Nubians were confronted with expanding, centralized, albeit unstable military states. Also, the Arab-Swahili epoch in Maniema left behind a substantial Muslim community, the Swahili language, a distinctive dress style, rice cultivation, and other significant cultural traces. In the Azande case, there is remarkably little surviving cultural evidence of contact with the North—either from the Nubian-Khedival suzerainty, or relationships with the Mahdist state 1883-1898.

The purpose of the volume, as set forth in the introduction by Arthur Doucy, Director of the Institut de Sociologie which sponsored the study, is to retrace the contacts between Zande, Anglo-Egyptians, Arabs, French and Belgians, "no longer from the viewpoint of Western expansion toward a new world, but in giving the indigenous factor the place which it held in the historic exchanges." (p.7) However, Doucy's prescription was largely ignored in the book. The central blemish in this undertaking is the very small role which the Azande themselves play in it. The book does not penetrate beyond the recitation of events to inquire into their meaning for Azande society. It lapses far too frequently into simply recounting the movements of different agents of imperial expansion. Indeed, there is but a single reference to the Avungara, ruling warrior clan whose hegemony is the central feature of Azande political and social structure. The primary sources utilized have yielded here and there some new detail to the already familiar tale of Belgian expansion in the northeast extremity of King Leopold's Congo, and imperial rivalries in southern Sudan, in which Azande chiefs were merely helpless instruments and accessories. But no new insight is provided into the significance of this period for Azande society.

A lesser defect is the inadequacy of the coverage of the Southern Sudan, perhaps because the author relied so heavily on explorer accounts and Belgian sources. For example, she has entirely missed the recent valuable studies by Robert O. Collins and Richard Gray covering this period in Southern Sudan. Her treatment of the Mahdist movement and its repercussions on the Azande is particularly sparse. In short, had the author been informed by a sociological imagination, or instructed by contemporary trends in African historiography, this subject might have been the basis for a very different and considerably more useful work.

UGANDA'S FAMOUS MEN—OMUKAMA CWA II KABAREGA

By A. R. DUNBAR

East African Literature Bureau, Kampala, 1965, 37p.

This book is well and simply written to give ample reading material for the young generation and to acquaint us all with Uganda's famous men.

Dunbar has succeeded in portraying the fine qualities of this great man. He has not minimised his generosity and cheerfulness in times of peace nor has he played too much on his ruthlessness in times of war. His courage and determination to do what he always thought was right regardless of consequences are a little too clearly stressed to show on what side of the fence Dunbar stands. It is doubtful whether European officers were the best people to negotiate treaties with African kings, many misunderstandings would surely have been avoided had less warlike and aggressive approaches been the order of the day. This is well illustrated in the book. Sir Samuel Baker met Kabarega with officers and men in full dress and a band, whereas Emin Pasha met Kabarega unarmed and in a market place. That Kabarega and Sir Samuel Baker were both men of indomitable wills is well discernible from the book and a dash of power was therefore inevitable. Although Kabarega was the immediate victor, Sir Samuel Baker's antagonism was to have far reaching consequences for Bunyoro. In this book and in his *History of Bunyoro-Kitara*, Dunbar has entirely changed the black picture of Kabarega painted by Sir Samuel Baker in his *Ismailia* e.g. from that of "an awkward, undignified lout of twenty years of age who though himself a great monarch. He was cowardly, cruel, cunning, treacherous to the last degree". One would have thought Kabarega to have been anything but a coward!

J. BUSHARA

THE GLORIOUS VICTORIES OF AMDA SEYON, KING OF ETHIOPIA

Translated and edited by G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

The Oxford library of African literature: Clarendon Press, 1965; 142 p; 38 shs.

In 1329 the Muslim ruler of Ifat defied his overlord, Amda Seyon, the Christian King of Ethiopia. How the latter smote the vast numbers of rebels, not only of Ifat but also from Adal and various other Muslim territories, in a lightning, daring and bloodthirsty campaign is entrancingly told in this Ethiopic text. Though specifically written in praise of the King and the god of the Christians, it remains an important historical document, indicating the size and power of the Ethiopian state and of the Muslim sultanates in the early fourteenth century. The Muslims were not, however, crushed once and for all: as the history of the following two centuries shows, each side continued to consolidate its position and sharpen its enmity.

To non-Ethiopianists the main value of this book will be literary. Now that Dr. Huntingford has given us this translation with a scholarly and elaborate introduction, cannot the text be made available to a wider public in a cheaper form?

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J. E. G. SUTTON

THE FISHES OF UGANDA

By P. H. GREENWOOD

The Uganda Society, Kampala, 1966, 2nd Edition, p.61 fig., 15shs.

P. H. Greenwood's second edition of *The Fishes of Uganda* is in some ways an improvement on the first edition. The author has incorporated some new material that has come to light since the publication of the first edition, much of which has been his own work.

The recent work has shown a much wider distribution of fishes than has hitherto been supposed, and the study of fossils has revealed their occurrence in geological times in basins where they have since become extinct. It is quite evident from this work and the data that has unfortunately not come to the author's attention that more effective collection will reveal a much wider distribution of certain fish species.

The systematics in some groups has been revised and this has particularly improved the section on the genus *Barbus* among which several species have in the past been listed under wrong names. Corrections have been made, for instance: *Hydrocynus vittatus* instead of *Hydrocyon lineatus*; *Petrocephalus catostoma* for *Petrocephalus degeni* Blgr.; *Mastercembelus franatus* for *Mastercembelus victoriae* and several others.

Throughout the book there is emphasised the great lack of knowledge of the biology and ecology of the fish species, and unfortunately some of the little that has been done has not been incorporated in this edition. The feeding habits are given only in general terms, the breeding habits are unknown in most of the fish species.

Fortunately, however, at the present time, several workers are engaged on the study of the biology of these fishes and as Dr. Greenwood rightly realises in the preface to this edition, the book may soon be in need of revision again within a few years. Researches that are being carried out by E.A.F.F.R.O. and the Fisheries Department, Uganda (which incidentally should be recognized as distinct from the Game Department), should yield a lot of information in the near future.

The author continues to print some local names which in fact are not in general use, or even entirely erroneous; in some cases he does not give a local name when in fact a fairly widely used one exists. To mention only a few *Mormyrops anguilloides* is commonly called Massi in Lunyoro; *Hyperopisus bebe* and the different species of *Marcusenius* are all commonly referred to as Muhindu in Lunyoro. The name Magamba is more commonly used in Lunyoro rather than Waraga for *Alestes macrolepidotus*, and Kungungu for *Ladeo coubie* rather than Kwangurameli.

On Lake Victoria it would have been better to state clearly whether the name used is in Luganda, Lusoga etc., rather than the general term "Lake Victoria" because there are many dialects round the shores of Lake Victoria and among them the same species go by different names.

Dr. Greenwood must be thanked for this well written book—the only one of its kind on the fishes of Uganda, which is an excellent guide. It will obviously continue to be the standard work on this subject and it is hoped that the few minor corrections and suggestions mentioned above may be incorporated in the many future editions which will be called for. The book is also a stimulating challenge to the research worker as it shows so many promising fields of enquiry.

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S. N. SEMAKULA.

BUDONGO, A FOREST AND ITS CHIMPANZEES

By V. REYNOLDS

London: Methuen, 1965. 229pp., 16 plates, 6 figs. 36sh. U.K.

Two young London post-graduate students, Vernon Reynolds and his wife Frankie, arrived at Entebbe armed with a small grant, an enormous amount of enthusiasm and virtually no field experience, in the hope of finding and studying one of the most elusive of African large mammals, the chimpanzee. Vernon, with a degree in sociology, had just completed his thesis based on watching Rhesus monkeys at Whipsnade Zoo; Frankie had a degree in psychology. In the field, Vernon became the Man of Action, clad almost constantly in his shaggy off-green sweater, beard and spectacles, while Frankie, the Thinker-with a Buffon hair-do (even in depths of forest) did the typing. This book is an account of their year's adventures, chiefly in the Budongo Forest of Bunyoro, but with trips to other forests in Uganda and to the Gorilla Sanctuary near Kisoro. There are colourful descriptions of their first impressions of local people, how they made friends with trackers and guides, learnt Swahili, suffered considerable discomfort, and found out a little of the ways of chimpanzees and other animals.

The best feature of the book lies in the excellent black and white photographs of wild chimpanzees. Their studies, at least as presented in this book, seem to have been rather superficial. There are numerous troops of chimpanzee in the Budongo Forest, and it proved impossible to locate and identify an individual troop and then to follow it for any length of time. Other workers such as Jane Goodall have enjoyed the enormous advantage of working in small patches of forest where smaller numbers of chimpanzees are reasonably restricted in their movements.

The most significant findings discussed concern the seasons in the Budongo and the effect of seasonal fruiting of trees on the behaviour of the chimpanzees. However, quite the most important error is that the chimps are stated to be in danger of declining in numbers through Forestry Department practices of killing "weed species" of trees which, although useless as timber provide food for chimpanzees. Yet the area of forest studied from which these conclusions were drawn had been intentionally untouched by the Forest Department for purposes of ecological research.

Apart from some analysis of chimpanzee behaviour most of the work on other animals is trivial; many species discussed are inaccurately identified, and some are not identified at all. The last chapter is of a different nature; it pleads for the worthwhile cause of better conditions for apes in zoos, and here there are some valuable observations.

The book must be read light-heartedly; it is aimed at the popular market and contains little of scientific value. The Reynolds did achieve some good observations under difficult conditions, and they clearly enjoyed themselves doing so. Perhaps more attention should be paid to their findings that in high forest, chimpanzees are primarily ground-dwellers; they go into the trees sometimes to feed and to sleep, or when disturbed. This latter point has led to the widely-held belief that chimpanzees are principally arboreal. However, these straightforward observations should be evaluated separately from the Reynolds wider conclusions, as the authors were clearly not particularly knowledgeable on background topics.

D. F. OWEN AND A. W. R. McCRAE.

UNDERSTANDING AN AFRICAN KINGDOM: BUNYORO

By J. BEATTIE

London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Series: Studies in Anthropological Method, 1965, xii+61p.

Social anthropologists and sociologists are notorious for their lengthy, and often abstruse, discussion of the theoretical and methodological bases of their discipline. They are seldom as forthcoming on the way in which they collect the empirical materials relative to their subject 'in the field'. For this reason alone Dr. Beattie's concise account (the first in a timely general series) of how he conducted his researches into the culture and social institutions of the kingdom of Bunyoro is a major contribution. But the present volume serves not only as an exposition of the aims, results, trials, and tribulations of a piece of sociological 'fieldwork', it is also a companion volume to his earlier outline exposition of the main features of Nyoro society and culture, *Bunyoro, an African Kingdom*, (1960) as well as to his numerous papers on specific aspects of that society. No one will doubt that he has contributed much and will certainly contribute more, to an understanding of this major East African kingdom. In an extremely lively style, he explains in this volume just how he went about it.

To anyone who has conducted empirical research in social anthropology, in whatever society or country, the most immediate feeling that comes to mind is that each fieldwork situation is unique. This has led to an almost complete absence of formal training in fieldwork techniques in university courses, both undergraduate and graduate. This is particularly true of British universities, and most particularly of Oxford where Dr. Beattie received his formal anthropological training. In such a context, it is inevitable that an account of how a particular social anthropologist conducted his fieldwork would be a personal document. It would be not only the story of a struggle to understand a people, their language, society, and culture; but also a struggle to evolve the techniques which enable one to do so, and which are suited to the situation. The narrative style of this book is therefore highly appropriate.

Dr. Beattie's discussion of particular problems, linked with well-spaced general observations on theoretical matters, illuminates the many parallels in all fieldwork situations. For instance one would agree that it takes at least six months to have a working knowledge of a language one has not been familiar with before, even if familiar with languages of the same family. And one cannot really be at home in a new language until at least eight or twelve months have passed, living in the community and speaking it everyday. This is particularly so if the investigator wishes to understand the more esoteric aspects of the culture, such as those concerned with religion and ritual. Thus at least two years must be provided for a proper study to be carried out in a society about which there is little good descriptive or analytical material already available. A disappointingly large number of projects are being carried out in East Africa within a year or sometimes even less.

Dr. Beattie also takes up the question of the relative importance of 'formal' and 'informal' techniques of collecting data (p.27) and the related problem of quantification and survey methods (pp. 36 et seq.). On quantification I am again in full agreement that no attempt can reasonably be made to collect numerical data until the basic categories, institutions, and problems of the culture are understood. This means a prior knowledge of the language and behaviour of the society, gained through intimate and informal, everyday contact. But in

modern fieldwork, numerical information *must* be collected. What is implied is the use of such data essentially to confirm assertions about a society reached through other, qualitative methods; and also to assist in overcoming the problem of 'typicality' which besets any kind of sociological study (cf. p.13).

There are, however, several occasions on which I cannot agree that Dr. Beattie's solutions to fieldwork problems would have general validity. For example, it is not always desirable (or even possible) to employ assistants who are fluent and literate in the language of the investigator (cf. pp. 26-27, 49), even with the rider that this should be done after the researcher himself has learnt the language and established some rapport with the community. Frequently, a person with little or no formal modern education is much better versed in (and less prejudiced against) the traditional institutions and culture of his society. And if his own language is used, he would be able to explain in discussion the meaning of even the most intractable or esoteric problem or test. I also find it difficult to agree fully with the implications of Dr. Beattie's assertion in his Preface that "methods of field study have not changed very much in their essentials" since over ten years ago (p. ix). Agreed that this is *essentially* so, but the changing theoretical problems of social anthropology and sociology must make *some* demands for changes in fieldwork techniques; a problem Dr. Beattie emphasises throughout the volume.

But the content of Dr. Beattie's book belies the need for a warning in the Preface. He is, at most points, way ahead, and much deeper, than many field workers who are carrying out their studies now. Despite its design for a limited audience, this book is a must for all who are about to do empirical research in the social sciences; and not only in East Africa.

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P. RIGBY.

TARIKH VOL. 1 NO. 1

Edited by J. B. WEBSTER

Longmans of Nigeria Ltd., for Historical Society of Nigeria, to be published twice yearly. Subscription price 24 shillings for four numbers. (Uganda agents, P.O. Box 3409, Kampala)

As the only organization of its kind in Uganda, our Society has to be the focus of all the many interests that occupy enquiring minds in the country. Larger and more populous lands can, rightly, fragment and sustain more sectional groups. So it is that the Historical Society of Nigeria has been able to sponsor their own half-yearly Journal, *Tarikh*, the Arabic word for oral tradition.

In his foreword to this first number of the Journal, Professor K. O. Dike generously throws open the pages to the whole of Africa. While our own Journal is, properly, mainly confined to Ugandan affairs it is right and proper that this venture be brought to the notice of all who have an interest in the history of Africa. If this first number is anything to go on, it is the intention of the editor to deal with a single theme in each number. The opening topic is that of 'Leadership in nineteenth century Africa' and the seven essays span the continent from Algeria to Zululand. Each article is illustrated, but none of the maps

has a scale, a fault that one hopes will be rectified in future numbers. There is a brief reading list to each essay, and a very irritating series of questions, which brings one down with a crash to the classroom. The Foreword speaks of the book as being for non-specialist readers, there is no reason to suppose that such people are not perfectly capable of framing their own questions, whether they be teachers or not. These questions are the only serious drawback to a journal that can otherwise be highly recommended as unusually good value for money, and one performing a useful service in getting the new knowledge of history out to the people who are busily making history for the next generation.

Conservator of Antiquities,

Uganda, Ministry of Culture and Community Development.

J. H. CHAPLIN.

GARDENING IN HOT COUNTRIES

By A. THOMAS

London, Faber & Faber, 1965. pp.207 plus 32 plates. 30 Shs. (U.K.)

Arthur Thomas is well known in Uganda both as a contributor to this Journal during the 1930's and also as the chief architect of the Entebbe Botanic Gardens which had been largely abandoned when he took them over as a young horticulturalist. Since he left Uganda, Dr. Thomas has visited a large number of other hot countries, and this book bears the fruit both of his wide experience and passionate enthusiasm for gardens. As an amateur gardener the reviewer found it eminently readable and free from the scientific jargon or clutter of scientific names from which general gardening books often suffer.

The book follows a logical order from the climatic and soil background, through the cultivation, the design and layout of gardens and discusses the various parts of a successful garden. The balance achieved makes it a successful common-sense manual but one which brings out the author's own strong ideas, many of which may not be met with enthusiasm in certain parts of Uganda. Dr. Thomas has the advantage of having returned to Uganda in 1963 to see how his planning of nearly thirty years previously had succeeded.

Dr. Thomas's main advice concerns the need to understand local conditions, appreciate local plants and plan the garden for use as the "purest of human pleasures". Deep digging and composting are discouraged as damaging to the fertility of the soil and a waste of good mulch. The tendency to recreate English gardens, which he feels began as an indication of the homesickness of the expatriate, is deprecated. The tendency to break up lawns with small beds, the growth of Cupressus hedges, the futile attempts to grow roses when other kinds of plants would look much more happy and would need much less care come in for particular criticism. He contends that not enough attention is given to creating beauty by the form of the leaves of what he terms noble plants, such as palms, cycads, bamboos, bananas, Dracaenas, and the effects given by these forms through the interplay of bright sunshine and shadows on their bold patterns. The beauty of our own Botanic gardens is due not to the plants from other lands but to the native trees growing there which he feels are sometimes neglected in favour of less adaptable foreign varieties. Fruit trees should be grown just as much for their shade and foliage as their fruit and he recommends grafted and budded trees for the ordinary gardener.

This book will command an indispensable place on many bookshelves. This book is well illustrated with numerous photographs taken by the author, a large number of which are of Uganda subjects.

Makerere University College.

M. POSNANSKY.

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Compiled by BRYAN W. LANGLANDS

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