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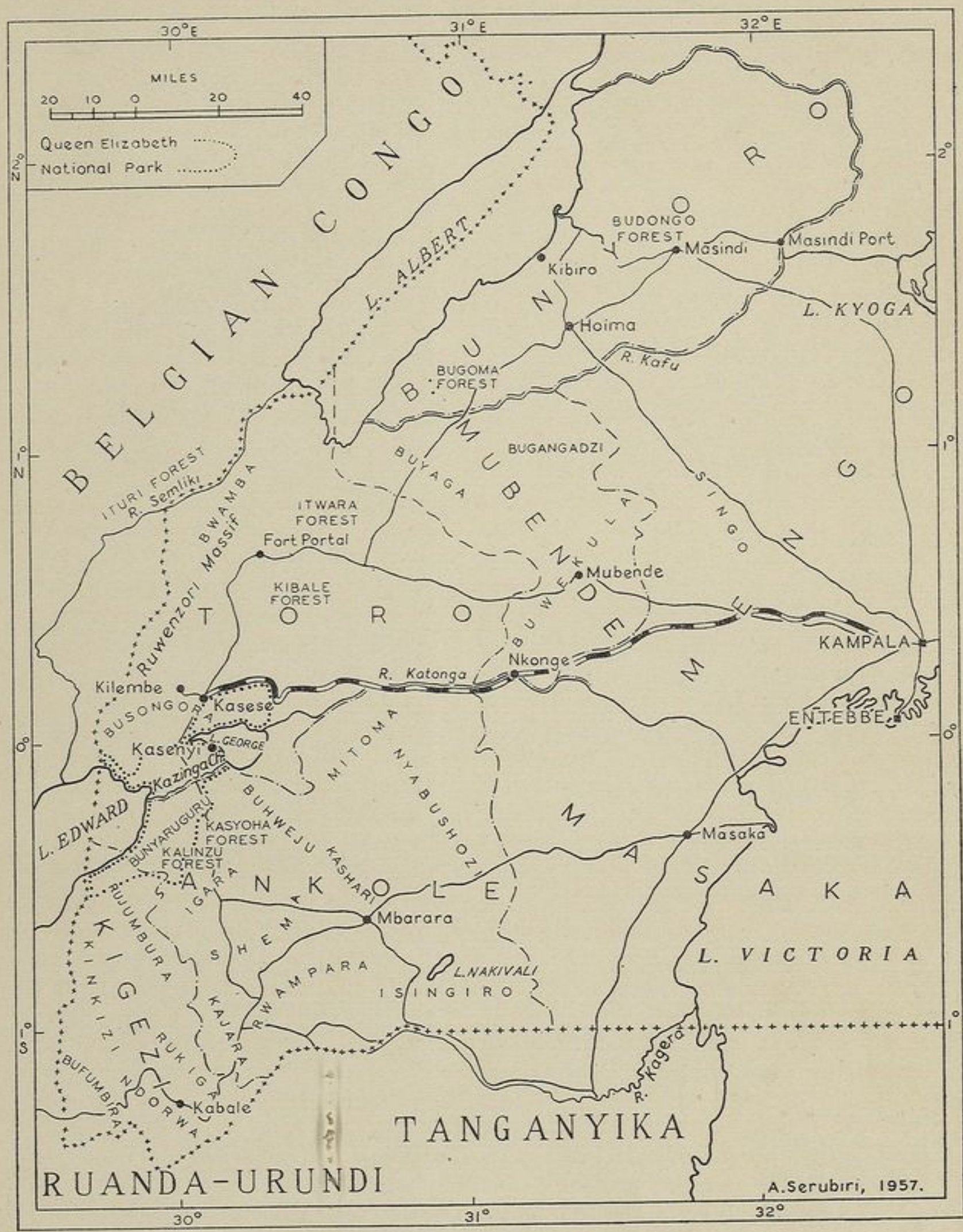

FIG. 1. Western Province Reference Map.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF WESTERN UGANDA[1]

By S. J. K. Baker

WESTERN Uganda, as part of a wider Western Rift Region, owes some of its most important and most characteristic features to the processes which have been responsible for the development of the rift-valleys and their associated highlands. The rift-valley system is represented in Uganda by two troughs, that of Lake Albert in the north and that of Lake Edward and Lake George in the south. These relatively shallow lakes occupy a considerable proportion of the surface area of their respective troughs, and in both cases they rest upon the Quaternary sediments which have been brought down from the adjacent highlands to cover the original floor of the trough. Faulted scarps with a north-east to south-west alignment delimit the well-defined rift-valley of Lake Albert, but in the relative downwarp marked by the basin of Lake Edward concentrated faulting, although present, does not play so prominent a part. The abruptness and freshness of most of the boundary scarps derives from the geological recency of the earth movements which gave rise to them.

Behind the escarpments lie the uplifted plateaux; and although there may be uncertainty as to whether the depression of the rift-valley floors was absolute or only relative to the upward movement of the flanking plateaux, there can be no room for doubt about the uplift of the latter. The regional elevation is less in the north than in the south, and correspondingly the Lake Albert flats are just over 2,000 feet above sea-level as compared with the 3,000 feet of the present-day floor of the Lake Edward depression. Between these two downwarps rocks belonging to the geological basement of the continent have in the highest parts of the Ruwenzori massif been raised to a height of over 16,000 feet above sea-level. Leaving this outstanding exception aside in its isolation, the heights of the plateaux in western Uganda are in very general terms as follows: 3,000–4,000 feet in Bunyoro, 4,000–5,000 feet in western Toro, 5,000–6,000 feet in western Ankole, and over 6,000 feet in Kigezi with the ridges there reaching 7,000–8,000 feet. From western Toro and Ankole the general slope is eastwards to the coast of Lake Victoria, the waters of which have gathered in the gentle depression which is the counterpart of the upwarping of the western rift zone. Especially in eastern Ankole, south-eastern Toro and western Masaka the relief is gentle and the horizons are correspondingly wide. The regional tilt has caused a reversal of drainage along the valleys of the Kagera, Katonga and Kafu, which were formerly occupied by streams flowing westward to the Congo basin.

Volcanic activity is a phenomenon associated with the processes of rift-valley formation. This is exemplified in the Mufumbiro chain of volcanoes

[1] A lecture delivered to the Uganda Society on 20 February 1957. This written version of the paper should be read in conjunction with the 1:1,000,000 map of the Uganda Protectorate or, if greater detail is required, with the 1:250,000 District maps. It has been possible, however, to show most of the names mentioned in the text in the accompanying reference map (Fig. 1).

which stretches for about fifty miles from east to west across the Lake Edward–Lake Kivu downwarp. It includes the cones of Muhavura (13,547 feet), Mgahinga (11,400 feet) and Sabinio (11,960 feet) on the south-western boundary of Kigezi; whilst further west among the craters in the Belgian Congo Nyamulagira (10,026 feet) and certain lesser vents have been active in contemporary times. To the north in the Bunyaruguru county of north-western Ankole there is a group of craters, with accompanying lakes, up on the plateau to the south of the Kazinga channel. Deep and well-formed, these craters present scenes of compelling beauty, and they yield a rich soil for the cultivator. In contrast with the plateau craters are the shallow explosion craters, with or without lakes, which occur among volcanic tuffs on the floor of the Lake Edward basin, where some seventy-eight of them are to be found within an area of forty or fifty square miles. The best known and most southerly member of this group contains Lake Katwe, the salt of which is derived from underground sources presumably of volcanic origin. The Katwe salt industry is controlled by the Toro Native Government, and the scale of operations is indicated by the fact that in the record year of 1955 the industry earned over £50,000. Another considerable group of craters occurs to the south of Fort Portal, and there are a few craters immediately to the north-west of the town. Hot springs are to be found in or near the rift-valley in each of the districts of the Western Province; and the frequency and occasionally the intensity of earthquake shocks serve to remind us that western Uganda has not yet reached a phase of tectonic quiescence.

Other features of the present-day geography of western Uganda have their origin in events at the other end of the geological time-scale. One thinks of the hills and valleys of Kigezi with their north-north-west to south-south-east trend, of the granite-floored 'arenas' of Ankole, the granite hills of Mubende, and the central hills of Bunyoro, all of which owe the foundations of their character to events in the pre-Cambrian era. The mineral wealth of western Uganda, too, is found in its old rocks, for apart from some good quality limestone and various occurrences of salt, the rift valley is lacking in minerals. A quite impressive variety of minerals occurs in central and south Kigezi and in the adjacent parts of southern Ankole; and there is another strongly mineralized area in the county of Buhweju in north-western Ankole up on the tangled plateau country above Lake George. But the quantity of the minerals has not so far matched their variety, and in 1955 metalliferous ores accounted for only 0·5 per cent of the total value of the domestic exports of Uganda. These ores comprised mainly Kigezi wolfram, the south Ankole tin having reached a stage of near-exhaustion. The production of copper and cobalt from Kilembe mine, as the result of mining operations on a scale never previously undertaken in Uganda, is in process of effecting a revolution in this situation.

Western Uganda presents three main climatic types. (i) Over most of the high ground east of the rift-valley escarpment the mean annual rainfall totals 50 inches or more, falling according to locality on 130 to 170 days. The rainfall map in *The Way to the West* shows a clear correspondence of high rainfall with high relief; and the inter-tropical convergence zone plays its part in producing the bi-seasonal rainfall; but another factor influencing the

rainfall is the entry of moist air from the Congo basin and perhaps ultimately from the South Atlantic Ocean. A convergence zone between westerly air streams and south-easterly or northerly streams lies normally over the eastern part of the Congo basin; but, accompanied by a belt of rainfall, this frontal zone moves fairly frequently over western Uganda and sometimes as far east as the shores of Lake Victoria. Mean annual temperatures in this zone decrease with altitude from 73°F. at Masindi, through 66°F. at Fort Portal to 62°F. at Kabale. (ii) The climates of the Lake Albert and Lake Edward depressions are hot with strongly marked dry seasons and with annual rainfall totals in the order of 30 to 40 inches falling on 80 to 100 days. The Lake Albert section of the rift-valley zone is slightly hotter and drier than the higher southern basin. (iii) Away to the east and south-east lies another dry belt, which is interior to the well-watered Lake Victoria zone and is yet unaffected by the special factors which bring abundant rainfall to the western hill country. The belt runs from south-west to north-east and includes south-eastern Kigezi, the whole of eastern Ankole and western Masaka, and the adjacent parts of south-western Mengo, southern Mubende and southern Toro. The mean annual rainfall is everywhere less than 40 inches per annum, and in a small area in the north-east astride the Katonga valley it is below 30 inches. Mbarara provides a type station, with 35 inches of rainfall occurring on 127 days in the year and with a well-marked dry season in June and July; whilst its mean annual temperature is 69°F. with a daily range of 20° to 23° according to season. The rainier conditions of the west tend to be prolonged eastward through the Mubende hill country, but beyond this moister area a counterpart to the Ankole dry belt occurs in south-eastern Bunyoro and northern Mengo.

Short grasses in an open, deciduous woodland cover this flat to undulating country in the western part of the Lake Kyoga basin and yield useful grazing lands if they are controlled by occasional burning or cutting. But the short-grass area of greatest interest for the purpose of this paper is that corresponding with the south-western dry belt, where the dominant grasses, *Themeda triandra* and *Hyparrhenia filipendula*, grow from three to five feet high and provide a very palatable, nutritious food for cattle. The traditional Runyankore name for these grasses, which are not distinguished from one another, is *mbubu*, from a Bantu root meaning "soft" and "sweet". Often the grassland occurs in an open woodland landscape, dotted with low-growing acacias, occasional candelabra euphorbias and the ubiquitous, thicket-covered termite hill; but sometimes the trees and bushes are absent, thus leaving an open, grassland sward. Occasional burning sweetens the pastures, but the tendency has been to reduce the quality of the grasslands by too frequent burning.

Separating the two short grass areas there occurs a belt of elephant grass, *Pennisetum purpureum*, and kindred grasses in central and northern Mubende and the adjacent parts of Singo, and this is continuous westwards with the high grass and forest formations of the western highlands. These grasses are on the whole too tall and luxuriant to be considered as suitable for regular grazing unless it is possible to keep them frequently cut; for it is only the young grass which yields palatable and nutritious food. The greater part of Bunyoro

and Toro is covered with this vegetation formation, which provides a reliable index to the presence of rich, deep soils; and after a break in the Lake Edward basin the formation reappears in the north-western parts of Ankole and Kigezi.

This vegetation zone contains some of the major tracts of closed forest of Uganda: Budongo and Bugoma in Bunyoro, Itwara and Kibale in Toro, Kasyoha and Kalinzu in Ankole, and Maramagambo in northern Kigezi. These forests contain a considerable proportion of the timber reserves of Uganda, which is a country not notably rich in this resource; but except perhaps for the Budongo forest, exploitation has hitherto been hampered by lack of transport facilities. Classified as montane forest by the ecologists, these forests have broadly the characteristics of the tropical rain forests; and muvule, mahogany and ironwood are their chief commercial timbers. Beyond the Ruwenzori mountains, situated in the Semliki valley at lower altitudes than the forests already mentioned, the Bwamba forest is a part of the Ituri forest of the Congo basin. On the Ruwenzori slopes themselves there are temperate forests which contain no saleable timber, their role in the forest economy being entirely protective.

Short grass with scattered trees and bushes reappears in the rift-valley depressions, but it is of poorer quality than that of the plateaux; and a map accompanying the Report of the Agricultural Productivity Committee draws the pertinent contrast between the "warm, dry grassland" of the former landscape and the "cool pastoral" area of the latter. The Lake Albert flats, lower, hotter and drier than those of Lake Edward and Lake George, are the habitat of a vegetation which can be described by no other term than semi-arid.

Such are the environments of western Uganda, in which the historical processes have been enacted and in which well-defined societies have emerged. Before passing on from this treatment of environmental considerations, reference should be made to the fact that in many instances man shares his habitat with various kinds of game and tsetse fly, to an extent not easily realised by those who dwell in the Lake Victoria zone of Buganda. The fundamental difference is in density of population. Except in certain limited areas, such for example as southern Kigezi and south-western Ankole, the density of population in western Uganda has not been high enough for the human grouping to become the dominant element in the biological environment. With increase in population density the balance will inevitably change, but there would seem to be little doubt that for some time to come game and the tsetse fly will remain as important elements in the geography of western Uganda. The present position in regard to the tsetse fly is broadly that along various consolidation lines the advance of the fly has been checked, although perhaps somewhat precariously in Ankole, where in relation to the present unintensive pastoral economy the problem is at one and the same time most acute and most difficult to counter. The control of the fly seems now to be scientifically possible but by no means always economically practicable. The precise time for taking the initiative in driving back the tsetse fly must be related to a sum total of economic and social factors among which the foremost must be the possibility of maintaining a sufficiently intensive utilization to ensure that the land gained at considerable expense is held against a re-

advance of the fly. The Bunyoro ranching scheme is designed to provide just such utilization for newly reclaimed territory adjacent to the Kafu river.

Turning now to the consideration of those associations of people and place which are the primary focus of interest for the geographer, it is convenient to take as a first example the Bakiga in the mountainous terrain of south-eastern Kigezi. The landscape is deeply cut by valleys of which the steep sides would formerly be extensively forested and of which the bottoms are to the present day usually occupied by papyrus-filled swamps. Grazing was available on the thin, often gravelly soils of the ridge tops, and prior to the entry of the Bakiga cultivators in the second half of the nineteenth century these hill-top pastures were used by Hamitic pastoralists of the Bahororo group. But the landscape provided only poor opportunities for extensive pastoralism, and the hold of the Bahororo seems to have been slight, for they were forced to move northwards into Ankole as the country became more fully occupied by the Bakiga, themselves driven out of Ruanda by pressure of population and by the raids of the Batusi pastoralists. To adapt a metaphor from the terminology of plant geography, south-eastern Kigezi became a region of 'closed human association' for the Bakiga cultivators. In south-western Kigezi under the more open topographical conditions of the fertile lava plains at the foot of the Mufumbiro chain the Banyaruanda of southern Bufumbira carry a Batusi, pastoralist element among the preponderance of Bahutu cultivators. In the rolling grasslands of Rujumbura on the borders of Ankole the Bahororo are of Hamitic extraction, being closely related to the Bahima; and they founded the transient kingdom of Mpororo, which during the short period of its independent existence in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries comprised south-west Ankole, most of the present Kigezi and a part of Ruanda. The Bakiga, outside the organization of the Bahima kingdoms, remained in their loosely organized clan groups without political cohesion until the institution of modern administration on the Buganda model, which, in the early years, was run with the help of Baganda agents.

The Bakiga occupy the counties of Rukiga and Ndorwa and much of Kinkizi. According to the 1948 census the Bakiga who lived in Kigezi numbered a quarter of a million, or more than half of the total population of the district; and population densities rising to 500 or more per square mile occurred in four sub-counties. This population is precariously supported by the intensive cultivation of the now largely terraced valley sides, with sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas and finger millet as the principal subsistence crops. In addition, the peasant often keeps a few cattle, although the amount of pasturage decreases yearly with the extension of the cultivated area. The problem of finding a major cash crop has not yet been solved, but tobacco cultivation has expanded considerably in recent years. As a response to the pressure of population upon land and resources there are swamp reclamation schemes in the more populous areas of Kigezi and resettlement schemes in the Kinkizi and Rujumbura counties of northern Kigezi and in Ankole. The various schemes, some of which are reaching saturation point in respect of their capacity to absorb further immigrants, show no present signs of accommodating the natural increase of population of the district. In these

circumstances it is not surprising that on the 1948 census figures there should be 22,000 Bakiga outside their own district, and that there should be an annual exodus of 30,000 to 40,000 from Kigezi for work in other parts of Uganda.[2] Within western Uganda, most of the plantation and mine labour of Toro is drawn from Kigezi.

With their drier climate and their open grasslands the undulating plateaux of central and eastern Ankole provided an initially less favourable terrain for cultivators and a correspondingly more promising environment for incoming Bahima pastoralists. The Bahima may have become numerically dominant in certain localities, but over the country as a whole they were in a decided minority. According to figures for 1933, provided in that year by Mr. F. Lukyn Williams, District Commissioner of Ankole, the counties may be placed in three groups in respect of the proportions of Bairu and Bahima. An eastern group, including Nyabushozi, Mitoma and Kashari, together with Kajara in the west, yielded ratios varying from 5:1 to 7:1; a central group, comprising Rwampara, Shema and Igara, yielded ratios varying from 19:1 to 28:1; and the remaining counties showed an absence of any appreciable number of Bahima. The last-mentioned group of counties included Buhweju and Bunyaruguru under the different environmental conditions of the north-west, and Isingiro in the south-east from whose tsetse-invaded pastures virtually all pastoralists had been evacuated. Within the kingdom which the Bahima founded in Ankole there was room for them whilst exercising their dominance over the cultivators still to retain their physical identity and their own way of life. Thus the members of the two ethnic groups which were represented within the political unit had not become members of one body politic, nor had they been welded into a real national unity. A social gulf was fixed between Bahima and Bairu, and under such conditions social organization became stereotyped and therefore static. Times have now changed, and with them social relations; and we speak no longer of Bahima and Bairu but, more happily, of Banyankore. Earlier attitudes, though, have had their repercussions and have left their tensions within the population of Ankole, leaving problems which it would be wrong either to minimize or in any way to exaggerate.

Features of contemporary interest in the geography of Ankole include the war against the tsetse fly, with its concomitant resettlement schemes. In parenthesis, it may be stated that operations against the tsetse fly were equally of contemporary interest a quarter of a century ago, with the emphasis at that time upon bush and woodland clearance schemes. Certainly, it is necessary to win this war and to secure a more active participation of the pastoralists in it, if the future of the Ankole stock industry is to be assured. As an indication of the value of this industry, in a recent year 10,000 cattle were sold in markets at an average price of Shs. 340 a head. Of the 208,000 cattle in the district in 1955 rather less than a half were owned by small peasant farmers, who, with no previous tradition of cattle herding to hamper them, are said to be receptive to improved methods of animal husbandry. But

[2] For the part played by the Bakiga and the Banyaruanda in the economy of Buganda, see Richards, A. I. *Economic development and tribal change*: a study of immigrant labour in Buganda. Cambridge: Heffer, 1954.

despite the importance of pastoralism in Ankole, the cattle population figures for the district do not come near to those of Teso and Karamoja, respectively with 671,000 and 587,000 cattle in 1955; and Mengo, with 316,000 cattle, had considerably more than Ankole. On the agricultural front, what may be described as Kigezi methods of terrace cultivation continue to spread into the hill country of western Ankole and to change the appearance of the countryside; and coffee has become the principal cash crop in western Ankole. Finger millet, the traditional food crop of the Ankole agriculturists, is nowadays accompanied by other millets, beans, sweet potatoes and, especially in the west, to a continually increasing extent by bananas. Within the last few years a small-scale but prosperous fishing industry has been created on Lake Nakivali. There is, however, still a considerable emigration from the district in search of paid employment, and it is estimated that out of a total population of about half a million, 15,000 to 20,000 Banyankore leave the district each year to work in Buganda.

Until the early years of the nineteenth century Toro was a part of Bunyoro, and the Batoro and Banyoro speak the same language and are in other ways closely akin. In addition, what are now the three counties of Mubende district were originally within Bunyoro. The south-eastern county of Buwekula was absorbed by Buganda early in the nineteenth century; but Buyaga and Bugangadzi were lost during the 1893-94 campaign of Colonel Colvile against Kabarega, with their subsequent incorporation in Buganda formalized in the Uganda Agreement of 1900. According to the 1950 recount[3] of the 1948 census. Banyoro comprised 70 per cent of the total population of Mubende district and Baganda 21 per cent, other ethnic groups accounting for the remaining 9 per cent. In Buwekula county the Baganda formed the majority of the mixed population; whilst in Buyaga and Bugangadzi the Banyoro were in an overwhelming majority in every sub-county.

Toro, Mubende and Bunyoro form a convenient geographical unit for the purpose of this paper, in that elephant grass, giving place westward to considerable stretches of closed forest, is their dominant vegetation formation. Only on the margins of the area do drier vegetation types and more natural pastures occur; and it is interesting in this connection that in olden days the royal herds of Bunyoro were pastured in the short-grass country which is now included in the northern part of the Mengo district of Buganda. Under the geographical conditions of the high-grass country it was not easy for the Bahima incomers to keep their pastoral traditions intact. although especially in the royal household many of the ceremonies continued to be based upon cattle. Even though the two-fold division of the nation between dominant pastoralists and subject agriculturists did not by any means disappear, fusion of physical traits and culture took place to an extent unknown in Ankole. It is said that the name *Banyoro* is itself an indication of social mobility, in that it was first applied to a class of 'freemen' who were allowed to emerge from the preponderant cultivator group, one of their freedoms being entitlement to inter-marry with the pastoralists. To the natural diffi-

[3] The recount was taken, for this district alone, because "the census of 1948 showed an unbelievably high proportion of Baganda and too few Banyoro".

culties of keeping cattle under an unintensive occupation of high-grass country there were added the troubled conditions of the period immediately prior to 1900 and the ravages of the tsetse fly, the latter continuing to the present day. Thus in 1955 Toro, Mubende and Bunyoro, respectively with 51,000, 26,000 and 7,000 head of cattle, had fewer than any other districts in Uganda. Therein lies the irony of a people without cattle whose customs are associated with cattle keeping.

There are other landscapes and other peoples, belonging to the Ruwenzori mountains and to the rift-valley zone, upon which it is not possible to do more than touch. The energetic Bakonjo hillmen practise cultivation in the forests of the Ruwenzori flanks up to a height of 7,000 feet or more, growing cool zone crops such as wheat and potatoes. With a 1948 population of 72,000, as compared with 146,000 Batoro in the district, the Bakonjo are already pressing hard upon the resources of their mountain slopes, and they form the preponderant element in the successful resettlement schemes in the foothill country of Busongora county. On the far side of the Ruwenzori mountains the Baamba cultivate land for the most part below 4,000 feet and bordering on the Semliki valley. They number about 30,000. Their physical and cultural affinities are with the Ituri forest tribes of the Congo basin; and they also show some physical relationship with the Batwa who are to be found in very small numbers in the western forest country of Kigezi. Finally, there are various fishing villages on the shores of Lake Albert, including the salt working settlement of Kibiro; and these fishing villages have their counterparts on Lake Edward and Lake George and on the Kazinga channel.

Food crops in the Toro-Mubende-Bunyoro group of districts extend over the wide range available in modern times in the high-grass area, and they include the banana; but the traditional finger millet retains an important place in the diet of the people. Bunyoro has been fortunate in finding two cash crops, cotton and tobacco; and coffee is on the increase. In Mubende cotton, coffee and tobacco are all grown, whilst there is also some cultivation of the first two crops in those parts of Toro which are adjacent to Mubende. In the vicinity of Fort Portal, in the higher western part of the Toro plateau, there is a number of tea estates, but the altitude is here too great for cotton. Cotton and coffee reappear in Bwamba and in southern Busongora. In the southern section of the rift-valley the activities of TUFMAC (The Uganda Fish Marketing Corporation Limited) resulted in 1955 in cash payments of over £23,000 to the local fishermen, a considerable reduction upon previous years, owing to a decline in the catch; and, in addition, the company employed some four hundred men on the processes of preparing the fish for the market. Toro continues to export its men to the Lake Victoria zone, whilst it is at the same time using Bakiga in particular for the rougher types of work within its own boundaries. Inevitably, as developments now in their early stages mature, there will be increasing opportunity for Batoro to find all types of work in their own district.

A final point upon which some leading thoughts may be apposite concerns the effects on western Uganda of the 200-mile railway from Kampala to

Kasese, which was opened to traffic in November 1956. The construction of the line was clearly an expression of the accelerated tempo of economic development in western Uganda, and the line will in its turn stimulate new enterprise and bring new geographical orientations to the areas which are tributary to it. Bunyoro does not come within the potential hinterland of the railway, and its goods will continue to leave the district either via Masindi Port and Lake Kyoga or by road to Kampala. Mubende will be tributary to the railway, but in some instances only after a considerable road haul. To most of Toro the new line will bring a southward orientation as something of a counter-attraction to the directly eastward outlook fostered by the road to Kampala. An associated phenomenon is the presence of new focuses of activity in southern Toro: Kilembe and Kasese, the twin centres of operation of Kilembe Mines Limited; Kasenyi, the TUFMAC station on Lake George; the Busongora resettlement schemes; and, a focus of a different kind, Mweya Lodge in the Queen Elizabeth National Park.

From the south, Ankole and Kigezi will develop a northward outlook towards the railway as a challenge to the north-eastward pull of road communication with Kampala. The attraction of the railway will be exerted by means of its feeder roads, one of which will presumably be the new road proposed in *The Way to the West* from Mbarara to the cattle market of Nkonge. Another such feeder will be the south to north road, a kind of gigantic ring road, which connects the termini of the radial lines of communication at Kabale, Bushenyi, Kasese and Fort Portal. The bridge across the Kazinga channel, opened in December 1954, to replace the former Katunguru ferry, is an example of the current acceleration of communications along this south-north route. Fertile Bunyaruguru, in the immediate hinterland of the bridge, rescued from its earlier remoteness, is likely to receive a considerable stimulus to economic development; and there is a proposal that a tea estate and factory should be established a little further south in northern Igara. Northern Ankole may well experience a certain 'pull' between the new economic orientation northwards towards the railway and the older administrative centralization on Mbarara. The general effect of the coming of the railway is likely to be a quickening of activity and circulation in western Uganda combined with the further integration of its various forms of economic and social organization within the life of the larger political unit of Uganda.

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE BACWEZI

By C. C. WRIGLEY

THIS article is written in the belief that in recent years the study of Uganda's prehistory has been tending to follow a false trail, in that far more has been demanded of tribal tradition than it is actually capable of performing. Dr. Middleton has argued that this is true of investigations into the traditions of the northern tribes.[1] I believe that it is also true of theories about the origins and antecedents of the inter-lacustrine kingdoms.

Let us consider first the story of Isaza, the paternal grandfather of the Cwezi king Ndahura. The substance of the story, as told by the Mukama Andereya Duhaga II (through Mrs Fisher),[2] by Petero Bikunya[3] and, with slight variations, by Roscoe's informants,[4] is as follows. Nyamiyonga (Old Sooty, or the Lord of Ashes), ruler of the land of ghosts, sent an embassy to Isaza the king, asking him to make blood-brotherhood. But Isaza, being afraid to enter into so close a relationship with a being from the underworld, deputed his *katikiro*, Kwezi, to perform the rite. Nyamiyonga was very angry when he found out that he had been thus fobbed off with the blood of a servant, and he resolved to lay hands on Isaza and punish him for his deception. To this end he chose the most beautiful of his daughters and sent her to seduce the king. This plan failed, for though Isaza made the girl his wife he was not sufficiently besotted to follow her when she went back to her own country to bear her child. She had, however, discovered where his heart really lay; had he not bluntly told her that he loved his cattle more than her? So Nyamiyonga tried again, this time sending a pair of his finest beasts, which became the apples of Isaza's eye. When the time came for the cow to calve it too escaped and made its way back to its native land. And this time Isaza did follow, even into the nethermost pit, and so found himself trapped in Nyamiyonga's realm. The prince of darkness was, it seems, a gentleman, for, having upbraided Isaza for his shabby behaviour, he did him no harm but entertained him most hospitably. He would not, however, allow him to return to the upper world, or rather, he told him to go in peace, "but this he said to mock him, for when Isaza set out to return he could find no gateway and no road. All day he wandered about in search of them, but at night he found himself back at the same spot". On the other hand Nyamiyonga showed great favour to his actual blood-brother, Kwezi, bidding him go up aloft, where all men would do him honour.

Kwezi means 'moon' and there can hardly be much doubt about the identity of Isaza, who was detained below the earth while his deputy the moon rose

1 Middleton, John. Myth, History and Mourning Taboos in Lugbara, *Uganda J.*, **19** (1955), 194.
2 Fisher, Mrs. A. B. *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda*, London: 1911, pp. 78-83.
3 Bikunya, P. *Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro*, London and Kampala: 1927, pp. 9-15.
4 Roscoe, J. *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, Cambridge: 1923, pp. 323-5.

into the sky. What we have here, evidently, is not a romantic presentation of a historical episode but an elemental myth, a splendid piece of fantasy woven round the setting of the sun. This incidentally gives point to an otherwise puzzling detail of the story. Nyamiyonga prefaced his offer of blood-brotherhood with a series of riddles, which were interpreted by Isaza's maidservant. Thus he asked for 'ignorance' (a baby which soiled the royal couch), for 'the rope which binds water' (flour), and for 'that which turns Isaza'. This last was construed as a cow which lowed in the courtyard so that the king turned round to look at it. This seems very feeble, but when Isaza is recognized as the sun it at once acquires poetic meaning: the lowing of the cattle towards milking-time is conceived as causing the sun to turn down towards the horizon.

My interpretation of the story of Isaza is not essentially new. Mrs. Fisher herself had no hesitation in describing this phase of Bunyoro's 'history' as the 'reign of the gods', and the succeeding 'period' as the 'reign of the Bachwezi or demigods'. But more recently the Greek theorist Euhemerus, who advanced the proposition that the Olympian deities had originally been human kings, seems to have found numerous disciples in Uganda.[5] For, although it is admitted that the Bacwezi were actually worshipped as gods, it is very widely assumed that they nevertheless had a real historical existence, being the ancient rulers of a great Hima empire, who appeared so wonderful to their Bantu subjects that they were deified after their deaths. And a similar approach has led Mr. A. C. A. Wright[6] and Dr. Roland Oliver[7] to describe Isaza as the last ruler of an earlier kingdom or chiefdom which was submerged beneath the tide of Cwezi conquest.

It is very doubtful whether this kind of view would ever have been taken of Nyoro and Nkore traditions if it had not been for the *idée fixe* which has bedevilled the study of the subject ever since Speke sat down in his hut to write the 'History of the Wahuma'[8]—namely, the belief that the unusually complex political organization of the inter-lacustrine Bantu is explicable only in terms of the influence of a 'superior' immigrant people. (The reasons for the popularity of this Hamitic hypothesis, as Dr. Fallers has drily remarked, 'would themselves be interesting objects for study'.[9]) The Bacwezi appeared to fill precisely the required role, as a strange and formidable race to whom the foundation of the Lake kingdoms and many features of their culture were traditionally ascribed. And this view has received powerful support from the present generation of African writers, "K.W."[10] and Mr. John Nyakatura[11] in Bunyoro, Messrs. Katate and Kamugungunu in Ankole, who for reasons of

[5] Thus H. F. Morris and M. C. King say in their introduction to the recently published history of Ankole (Katate, A. G. and Kamugungunu, L., *Abagabe b'Ankole*, Kampala: 1955) that "the Banyankole of old, like the ancient Greeks and most other peoples of antiquity, turned their heroes into gods". The truth, both of the Greeks and the Banyankole, is surely the opposite: they portrayed their gods as quasi-human heroes.

[6] *Uganda J.*, **13** (1949), 116.

[7] *Uganda J.*, **17** (1953), 135.

[8] Speke, J. H. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, 1863, p. 246.

[9] Fallers, L. A. *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 1956, p. 27.

[10] K. W. Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, *Uganda J.*, **3** (1936), 149.

[11] Nyakatura, J. W. *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara*, St. Justin, Canada: 1947.

their own (partly because they wish to lengthen the lists of their kings, partly because there is no place for gods in what are now Christian societies) have emphasized the seemingly human and played down the more evidently divine attributes of the Bacwezi and their predecessors.

It is instructive to compare the older Nyoro account of Isaza with the version put forward more recently by Mr. Nyakatura.[12] Generally, the story is the same, but there are certain crucial differences. The land of ghosts has become "a land which is unknown to us"; and Kwezi has disappeared from the scene, his place as the donor of blood being taken by Bukuku, the Keeper of the Queen's Gate, a personage whose mythological significance is not so apparent. The historians of Ankole have taken the process a stage further.[13] For them, Nyamiyonga, lord of the underworld, has become Ruyonga, Mugabe of Ankole. In other words, the original version has now been purged of precisely those features which served as clues to its real meaning. In place of a beautiful African variation on a universal mythological theme, we are presented with a story which purports to be the narrative of an incident in the political history of south-western Uganda but which, as such, seems curiously pointless and implausible.

This tendency for myth to be converted into history as sophistication increases appears to be a very general one. A striking example may be taken from the well-known Ganda story of Kintu, the snake-king Bemba and Wanfudu the tortoise. This, clearly, is in part an ordinary animal fable, one of the many which celebrate the cunning of the tortoise, and in part an ancient myth of rejuvenation, of which the snake, with its ability to renew its skin, is a widely used symbol. It would, however, be quite impossible to deduce any of this from the version of the story which was written by the late Mr. James Miti shortly before the last war.[14] For here Bemba has shed all his reptilian characteristics and has become a mere brigand chief, while Wanfudu is disguised as 'Kintu's best warrior, Nfudu'.

It may be thought that I am being somewhat arbitrary in accepting the earlier versions of these stories and rejecting the later. There are, however, grounds for believing that the traditional accounts reported by Mrs. Fisher, Roscoe and Bikunya were, so to speak, much more nearly virginal than those which have appeared more recently. Mr. Nyakatura is an educated man who, we are told, served an apprenticeship to tribal history under Sir John Gray and was clearly quite familiar with European speculations on this subject. He is to be regarded, I think, as an able historian with special advantages for the collection and interpretation of oral traditions, but hardly as the authentic voice of the tribal ancestors. Moreover, whereas there seems no good reason why an earthly kingdom, in Ankole or elsewhere, should ever have been represented as the land of ghosts, there are powerful motives for the transformation of the land of ghosts into an earthly kingdom. Modern Banyoro and Banyankore are aware that kings who descend into the underworld are not going to be taken very seriously as historical characters. Such

[12] Op. cit. pp. 19-27.
[13] Katate and Kamugungunu, op. cit. pp. 4-9.
[14] Miti, J. K. *History of Buganda* (unpublished MS in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London).

features of the received tradition must therefore be discarded or explained away. Similarly, Mr. Miti was clearly aware that Ganda tradition had to be purged of nonsense about snakes and tortoises if the historicity of king Kintu were to be established.

The stories told of the Bacwezi proper are mostly very similar in character to the story of Isaza, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that these were beings of a similar type. Let us take a look at them in this light.

Long ago there was an African who, watching the lightning as it stabbed through the night sky, saw it as a swift spear flying from the hand of a celestial warrior; and so was born Kagoro, called the Fire of the Night, the hero of the Bacwezi. This seems to me infinitely more plausible than the reverse explanation, that a warrior called Kagoro had so keen a spear-thrust that his ghost came to be propitiated as the god of lightning. Few people, after all, suppose that Thor or Indra was ever the name of a man. Mugasa (or Mukasa), the Rainmaker, the beneficent, is both the storm-cloud and its source, or apparent source, Lake Victoria. It is to my mind fairly clear that he *is* the Lake, and not the deceased ruler of an island in the Lake—in other words, that he is a nature spirit and not an ancestor spirit. He was thought to have been grievously offended when canoes were hauled over dry land, because his property had thus been taken out of his watery domain.[15] More clearly still, the formation of Lake Nabugabo was regarded as the result of a war between him and 'Buddu'.[16] Wamala, similarly, is the lake of that name, which the Banyoro ask us to believe that he dug and which the Baganda say that he produced by upsetting his water-skin. (This is a small sheet of water to have given rise to so great a god, but it is the only one actually within the area to which the Bacwezi particularly belong, that is, in the country to the north and south of the middle Katonga.)

Kyoma, the governor of Buganda under the Bacwezi kings, is a hill in the Singo highlands,[17] which from a Nyoro point of view could be regarded as standing over Buganda.

King Ndahura, the terrible, belongs to a slightly different category. In one aspect he is the malign spirit of small-pox and other spectacular afflictions, and his 'conquests' probably represent the ravages of epidemic disease amongst the peoples of the region. There are also, however, clear indications that he was a celestial deity. (There is no real contradiction here; the Greeks attributed plague to the arrows of Apollo.) While campaigning in the west he was overtaken by his son Kiro (Night), who had already subjugated the countries of the east.[18] Like his grandfather Isaza he descended into the underworld, but unlike him he was able to return thence (on the third day), though he never resumed the throne. Even Bikunya was uneasy about this episode.[19] He

[15] Kagwa, Sir Apolo. *Basekabaka be Buganda*, Kampala: 1901. 4th edition, 1951.
[16] Nsimbi, M. B. *Waggumbulizi*, Kampala: 1950, p. 41.
[17] See Watson, J. M. Lake Mutukula. *Uganda J.*, **8** (1940), 33. This note, together with Mr. G. W. Nye's Legend of Some Hills in Bulemezi (*Uganda J.*, **7** (1939-40), 140), gives an indication of the kind of raw material out of which the Bacwezi were probably constructed.
[18] Fisher, op. cit. p. 91.
[19] Bikunya, p. 23.

prefaced his account of it with the words "The story goes that . . ." and offered the explanation that Ndahura had really just gone away suddenly on a journey. Later writers have of course improved on this lame theory by providing the land of ghosts with a geographical location.[20] They tell us that he was taken prisoner on an unsuccessful expedition against Bwirebutakya or Bwirebutaitsya, king of Ihangiro, from whose clutches he was later rescued by his kinsmen. But Bwirebutaitsya is Darkness-without-end, which makes it clearer than ever that the return of Ndahura is the resurrection of the Unconquered Sun.

There is one point in particular which, given the historical existence of the Bacwezi, has always seemed perplexing. How was it that so short-lived a dynasty should have made so profound an impact? For there are only two Bacwezi, Ndahura and Wamala, who are generally admitted to have reigned as kings. In certain versions this honour has been variously extended to Mulindwa, Kyomya and Kagoro, but in no case is there record of more than three generations from first to last. If the Bacwezi were gods, however, there is no problem. The sequence Isimbwa–Ndahura–Wamala and his brethren is paralleled by the sequence Kronos–Zeus–Apollo, Ares and the rest. The immortals are grouped together in the image of the human family, with its three coexistent generations. Grandfather has been superannuated, and therefore Kronos and Isimbwa are not considered as regnant, while still further in the background there is the celestial progenitor (Uranus, Isaza) who perhaps stands for great-grandfather, now deceased, or for the clan ancestor.

One reason for the general acceptance of the Bacwezi as a historical people is undoubtedly the circumstantial character of the stories which are told to account for their downfall and departure. But when these stories are looked at closely they, too, dissolve. Take, for example, the story of the soothsayer who prophesied doom to the Bacwezi and who came, according to Nyoro sources,[21] from beyond the Nile. So far, so good; this fits well with the belief that the Bacwezi were superseded by a new dynasty of Acholi origin. But when one turns to the Nkore version doubts begin to arise. It is true that here, too, the prophet from Bukidi is briefly mentioned,[22] but this is probably a literary borrowing. The authentic Nkore tradition appears to be that which was reported at greater length a few pages earlier in the narrative,[23] namely that the prophet came from Karagwe, being himself a Muha. Clearly, there could hardly have been two soothsayers who came from opposite directions to enact the same part. But there is no need to discuss which of these versions is 'correct'; we are dealing with a myth whose details could be adapted to local circumstance. The best prophets are always those who come from a far country. For those who lived in the northern part of the area in which the legends of the Bacwezi were current, the far country was naturally Bukidi, for those who lived further south it was Karagwe.

Then again there is the story that the Bacwezi were much troubled by a certain Misango, who nearly succeeded in depriving them of their herds. In

20 Nyakatura, p. 41. Katate and Kamugungunu, p. 16.
21 Bikunya, pp. 30-31 and 34-36. Nyakatura, pp. 53-56.
22 Katate and Kamugungunu, p. 31.
23 Ibid., p. 20.

the earliest version Misango is represented as the emissary of Kantu,[24] the eldest son of Nkya and nephew of Ruhanga, the Creator. In the later versions he is said to have been an invader from Burundi,[25] while Kantu has become the central figure of a separate story. *Misango* means 'crimes' and *Kantu* signifies 'mankind. It was the wickedness of men which caused the gods to withdraw from the world, taking with them truth and love and leaving behind lying and hatred;[26] the rest is romantic elaboration. The belief that the Bacwezi vanished into the lakes recalls the tradition that the Tuatha de Danaan, the gods of the Gaels, after living for a while on the surface of Ireland, took up their abode underground.

The reign of Bacwezi, then, does not belong to the fourteenth or any other century but to the morning of the world, when the gods walked the earth. In these latter days you will not see Mugenyi driving his red cattle to the saltings, or come upon Mugasa fishing in the lake. For these *are* (and always have been) the latter days, and the gods have departed long ago, and their power can now be invoked only by a privileged few—that is to say by the human Bacwezi, the members of the priestly clans or corporations.

Thus I suggest that the stories told of the Bacwezi cannot throw any direct light on the history of central Africa, because the Bacwezi never existed except in the imaginations of men. Their supernatural attributes are not secondary but original and inherent. They are the lakes and hills of south-western Uganda, the features and forces of the natural world, unusually sharply personified, and converted into kings and princes in the image of a later monarchical society. I say 'later' because, in spite of a superficial attribution of royalty to certain of the Bacwezi, the background of the stories told about them—which is to say the background of the people who imagined them—does not, on the whole, suggest a great kingdom, but rather a simple, small-scale, pastoral community. So far from being the provincial governors of a far-flung empire, the lesser Bacwezi are portrayed as the heads of a group of related households, living close enough together to be able to join in a dance, to hear one another's alarm call and to assist one another in the recapture of stolen cattle.

There are indeed grounds for believing that kingship is ancient in this region. There is the immense elaboration of ritual connected with the kings, and there are the great earthworks in the valley of the Katonga. I suspect, however, that the makers of the Bacwezi, who were almost certainly the Bahima, had very little to do with the making of Biggo or Ntusi. Certainly their descendants seem to have been able to make very little of these relics of a largely vanished culture—less even than the barbarous Dorians were able to make of Tiryns and Mycenae. Moreover, a pastoral people, whatever its race or provenance, can carry only very light cultural luggage, and is surely the last kind of community to be credited with the original foundation of an elaborate system of administration. My own conjecture, for what it is worth, would be that there was once, in this region, a large, loose-jointed

[24] Bikunya, p. 27.
[25] Nyakatura, p. 52. Katate and Kamugungunu, p. 28.
[26] Roscoe, op. cit., p. 327.

Bantu kingdom of the same general type as those of Congo, Lunda and Monomotapa; that this system broke down many centuries ago, leaving its central area to be occupied by small groups of herd-folk; that later on, not earlier than the sixteenth century, there arose in the north, under Lwoo leadership, a new expansionist power, which owed its successes mainly to control of the best supplies of iron; and that the quasi-feudal Hima and Tusi states developed largely in response to the necessities of defence against these marauders.

But these are speculations based in the main on the general probabilities of the case. My main point is that oral tradition can tell us little or nothing of events which took place more than, at most, four centuries ago. There were kings in Greece, we have been assured, before Agamemnon; and it is very probable that there were dynasties in Uganda before the Babito and the Bahinda. But whatever dynasties there may have been, they lie beyond the reach of tribal memory.

I should like to end with a word of explanation and apology to any Banyoro and Banyankore who may have read this. It is perhaps an impertinence for an outsider to tell people that their traditions, or some of them, are not 'true'. I would suggest, however, that it is only very recently, and under European influence, that Africans have come to think of such traditions as being historically true in this sense. Previously, they were *nfumo*, 'legends'; they helped to make the world intelligible; whether the events described had actually happened was a question which did not arise. Moreover, to describe a story as a myth is not to belittle it. If the stories referred to here tell us little about the history of Uganda, that is because they are concerned with more important matters—with the nature of God and Man and Death. Banyoro and Banyankore have good reason to be proud of their ancestors, not because they came from Abyssinia or because they were particularly light-skinned (why should Africans want to have light-skinned ancestors?) but because they are seen to have had poetic imagination of a high order. Finally, it is not only African kingdoms whose histories begin with myths of this kind. The royal house of England, according to old traditions preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, was descended from a certain Wotan. But we know quite well that Wotan never really existed. He was a god worshipped by the Germanic tribes, a being very similar to Isaza or Ndahura.

THE BACWEZI IN ANKOLE[1]

By Z. C. K. MUNGONYA, C.B.E.

WHILE it is true to say that the Banyankole knew God in a certain sense, they were not a very religious people. There was very little in the way of formulated religion. A vague idea, however, existed, and still exists in the minds of the pagans, that there is a God, Ruhanga, who was known as the Creator, or Powerful One. He was thought to have lived in the heavens but no prayers were offered to him; there were no priests, and no temples were built for him, though his name was used in ejaculations such as *Tata Ruhanga*, an exclamation used in joy when a cow is heard calling its calves. He has the power to benefit man as he wills, but is above being influenced by propitiary offerings and is altogether beyond the sphere of human supplications. He will act as he wishes apart from any human consideration. In the most irrelevant manner the heathens bring the name of God into their conversation. A man will escape just punishment 'if God wills'; a sick cow will recover 'if God wills'; 'if God wills', a man will succeed in litigation even though his defence is one sheet of lies. All this does not indicate trust in God but in a fatalism that exempts men from all responsibility.

Ruhanga had three sons for whom he wanted to find names. It was evening and the time the cows were being milked. When his sons had gone to bed, Ruhanga entered their hut with three milk-pots which he commanded them to guard for him until the morning, strictly warning them not to drink the milk or spill any of it. At midnight the youngest son grew heavy with sleep and some of his milk was spilt as he dozed. When he discovered this he was afraid and turned to his brothers and begged some milk from them so that his milk-pot might be full. This they gave. At cockcrow the eldest son upset all his milk; but when he asked the others to pour milk from their bowls into his they refused, saying that he would need too much to fill his empty bowl. At dawn Ruhanga came and told each son to uncover his milk-pot. When he looked into the eldest son's bowl he found it empty; passing on to the second son he saw that a little had gone from it and he asked if the boy had drunk it. The boy replied: "No, O God! I did not drink it; I filled my brother's pot, for he spilled some of his." Then Ruhanga passed to the third son and saw that his milk-pot was full to the brim. Ruhanga remonstrated with them. The eldest boy he named *Kairu*—'little servant', for he had proved himself faithless in his watch and henceforth he would be the servant of his brothers. The second he named *Kahima*—'little herdsman' for he would act as herdsman to the one to whom he had given milk. To the youngest he said: "Your name is *Kakama* ('little king'), you shall reign over all men; all shall fear and worship you and your word shall be law to them." To this son was given the title *Rugaba* and the kings of Ankole have taken

[1] Part of a lecture entitled *The Peoples of Ankole*, delivered at a joint meeting of the Uganda Society and the Extra-Mural Department of Makerere College.

the title *Omugabe* from that day. Thus Ruhanga divided up mankind into three classes—the kings—*Abagabe,* the herdsmen—*Abahima,* and the peasants—*Abairu,* and this was the origin of the three classes in Ankole. Ruhanga created a woman called Nyamate to be Rugaba's wife, and sent them to rule the people of the earth.

Rugaba and his wife were not ordinary mortals for they had no mother, but were both created by Ruhanga. They had a son called Isimbwa who was the first of a dynasty of kings who were known as the Bacwezi, demi-gods. These Bacwezi were not like other men but were gods, for although they were born of women they had unending life and knew neither sickness nor death. During their reign on earth these Bacwezi conquered and ruled the countries of Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro, Buganda, Karagwe, Kiziba, Busoga and Bukedi. They eventually decided to leave the kingdom of the world because they thought it had been defiled. This is how it came about.

The Bacwezi owned many cattle while on earth. Among their cattle was a cow named Bihogo bya Mpuga, which was of rare value and was regarded by the Bacwezi as the most beautiful of all their cows. One of the Bacwezi, named Mugenyi, loved this cow so much, that on one occasion he swore that whatever evil afflicted it should afflict him also; if water was the cause of its death, he would never again drink a drop; if salt was the cause, none of the cattle should ever again taste salt; if it should die naturally, he would on that day kill himself.

One day when Mugenyi was sitting in the house with his friends, a boy came running and breathlessly announced that Bihogo had been seized with a fit and was at the point of death. Without a moment's hesitation Mugenyi gripped his spear to kill himself, but his brothers restrained him by force. They sought to dissuade him from his purpose by offering gifts of other cows. Although everyone sympathized with Mugenyi he was inconsolable; his brothers stayed night and day to cheer him, but all in vain.

Then King Wamara, Mugenyi's uncle, sent for the witch-doctors to examine the dead cow and to divulge to him the future as portrayed in its entrails. In the morning the cow was brought and all the witch-doctors came together to examine it and to read its buried secrets, but when they cut open the body they found it quite empty; not one organ remained. This greatly perplexed the witch-doctors and they were at a loss to understand its meaning. They went to the king and told him of the great wonder, but they assured him that the carcase of the cow was perfectly clean, which indicated that he should possess great wealth and have many children born to him. As they were speaking, a stranger, Kakara-Kashagama, crossed the courtyard and stood at the entrance of the house. He was dressed in the skins of wild animals; his neck, head and arms were laden with strange charms. As the king and witch-doctors looked up, he told them that he was the wisest man in the world and that he held intercourse with gods, men and devils. He claimed that heaven, the world and hell were open to him. He said, "If you would understand the mystery of Bihogo, take me to it. But first, give me a token of blood, a seal of brotherhood, between us both, assuring me that no prophecy of mine, either of evil or of good, shall jeopardize my life", Wamara called Mugenyi

and ordered him to make blood-brotherhood with the stranger, who readily consented. When their contract was completed the witch-doctor ordered every man to withdraw, except the Bacwezi, while he examined the cow. Then, approaching Wamara, he held out his wand for him to touch and spoke thus: "My master, I foresee evil only. The body of the cow, being empty, signifies that the rule of the Bacwezi is over and the land is void. But I also see that you will still exercise power over mankind and that you will wander continually over the earth. The smut is a black man, a barbarian, who will come and usurp the kingdom; he will recognize no caste, will enforce no obedience; in his time a servant will not respond, women will be ungovernable, cattle will not heed the voice of the herdsman, dogs will not answer to the call of their masters. The drum of the gods will be beaten by a savage and others of his kin will possess it after him."

After hearing these words, the Bacwezi went into their houses and at night they conferred together and decided to kill the witch-doctor, as he had penetrated into the secret councils of the gods and nothing was hidden from him. But at night, when all men slept, one of the king's wives had a dream and in the morning she hastened into the king's presence and warned him, saying: "My master and my king, in my dream I saw the Bacwezi taking a long journey and they became lost; they reached a land where they were unknown and unrecognized and this happened to them because they killed the prophet who had told them the truth." Meanwhile, Mugenyi went to the prophet and told him to depart. "Arise," he said. "You are my blood-brother with whom I made a covenant which I cannot break. We, the Bacwezi, have agreed to kill you; therefore, return quickly to your own land and people." Mugenyi then gave him some food for the journey and the prophet went back to his home.

Meanwhile, Wamara the King had commanded his brothers to remain with Mugenyi to guard him against self-destruction until such time as he should recover from the death of his cow, Bihogo. One evening they prepared a feast and they asked Mugenyi to join them. The brothers drank freely, sang and danced and became very excited; in their songs they sang of their greatness and their might, but scoffed at Mugenyi for wishing to cast away his life—the life of a god for that of a cow. Their jibes at last prevailed, and casting aside his mourning Mugenyi joined them in their revellings. In the morning the Bacwezi departed to their own homes, for they saw that Mugenyi had recovered from his grief. But when they had left him, Mugenyi lay on his bed and thought over the happenings of the previous night and, as he cogitated, his old aunt came in and mocked him, saying: "Did you not swear that if Bihogo the faultless, the beloved cow died you would kill yourself? This night you have been merry, you have feasted and drunk while the cow lies dead." The words pierced Mugenyi like a spear and he swore by Isimbwa these words: "I am despised and jeered at by a woman, therefore will I leave the world; it is corrupt and no place for the gods." So he packed up his belongings and went to wish his brethren farewell. When Wamara heard that his nephew was determined to depart, he called together all the Bacwezi and said to them: "Let us leave the kingdom of this world for it

is defiled. When women despise us who will respect us?" So they collected their herds, their wives and their goods and departed, and were never seen again.

Before the Bacwezi disappeared they had divided up what was then the Ankole Kingdom into various districts, each of which was ruled by a person who had been appointed by the Bacwezi, from their friends and faithful followers at the time. The division of these districts at the time was as follows:

In the north there was the district of Mawogola (called Kikokwa). The district was ruled by one of the brothers of Wamara's mother. In the east there were the counties of Kabula (or Bwera) and Nyabushozi (or Butaka). The former was ruled by Karara and the latter by Rwanyabiju. In the south and south-east, the counties of Nshara, Bukanga and Rwampara which were ruled by Ishemurinda, Kinuma and Katuku. Finally in the north the Saza of Kashiri or Kikyenkye was ruled by Nyawera. In later years the Kings of Ankole enlarged their kingdom which included the counties of Mitoma (called Bunyoro), Buzimba, Kitagwenda, Busongora, Bunyaruguru and Shema.

But Ruhinda, the son of Wamara, had shown interest in the affairs of the people of the earth and had bought the royal drums of Ankole from their caretaker, to whom food had been given in payment. After the Bacwezi had gone he was to remain and rule the Ankole Kingdom and thus became the first king of the Bahinda dynasty. Similarly, two of the sons of Kyonya, namely Mpuga-Lukidi and Kato-Kimera-Kintu, did not go with their fellow Bacwezi when they left this world. The former ruled Bunyoro and the latter the kingdom of Buganda.

AN AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF MORUITA ERONY, TESO

By P. N. WILSON

INTRODUCTION. Very little detailed information is available concerning systems of farming on peasant holdings in the different areas of East Africa. Tothill (1938) published a report on nineteen surveys conducted in various agricultural areas in Uganda to ascertain the state of soil deterioration. These surveys were all conducted on a similar plan; the results enabled comparisons to be drawn about the relative productivity of the land in different parts of the Protectorate, and initial observations were made on the effect of the various farming systems on soil fertility and crop production. These surveys were later used by Loewenthal (1937 and 1939) to relate different agricultural systems and different levels of nutrition to the general health of the peasant population. No follow-up work in the shape of published re-surveys of areas originally investigated took place until Wilson and Watson (1956) published the results of a re-survey of one of the areas in Teso District previously studied by Watson in 1937. The changes which had taken place during the period 1937/1953 were discussed in detail, and a full account of the agricultural operations associated with the growing of each crop was given.

Tothill (1938) conducted the pre-war surveys on the basis of selecting in each district three areas of sparse, medium, and dense population respectively. In Teso District, however, a total of seven surveys were conducted, one in an underpopulated area (Opami), three in balanced areas (Kasilang, Wera and Kakusi), and three in over-populated areas (Ajuluku, Aputon and Kachumbala[1]). In 1955 it was decided to conduct another survey in an over-populated area of Teso and the village[2] of Moruita in Kumi County was chosen on the advice of the Teso District Team.

The survey was carried out in two parts. A first period was spent in the field in late June 1955, when particular attention was given to mapping the Erony and obtaining information on the first rain crops. A second period of investigation was carried out in late August 1955 when the chief object of study was the cropping programme for second rain crops and the cultivation practices connected with the cotton crop.

The survey was carried out by 11 Makerere agricultural students, assisted by a team of interpreters loaned by various Government departments. Each student was made responsible for surveying one small portion of the Erony. An average number of four taxpayers was interviewed by each student each day.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA. Moruita Erony is situated between lat. 1° 28′ and 1° 25′ N. and long. 33° 49′ and 33° 53′ E. The

[1] Then in Bugwere District.
[2] Erony or village is the term used for the administrative area of a 4th grade chief, the lowest grade in the official administrative hierarchy.

Erony occupies an area of 4·2 square miles and lies south of the main Soroti-Mbale trunk road. The eastern and western boundaries consist of streams which are running with water for about nine months in each year. The south-west boundary is formed by a dry valley, so that the Erony is delineated on three sides by natural features. A detailed map of the Erony is shown in Fig. 1. The Erony is situated in a part of Teso which is characterized by the presence of large granitic outcrops on the higher parts of the land. Moruita contains 42 such outcrops totalling 66 acres in area. These outcrops are used as natural drying and threshing floors by the peasants. The mean annual rainfall is not recorded in Moruita, the nearest gauge being at Ngora, 5 miles W.N.W. The total rainfall at Ngora for the years 1953, 1954, 1955 and 1956 was 40·8, 44·3, 46·7 and 45·2 inches respectively.

Vegetation of the Area. The Erony has been extensively cleared of trees and bushes and very little of the vegetation can be described as original. In the rough grazing areas the common trees and shrubs found are *Combretum* spp., *Terminalia torulosa, Tamarindus indica, Acacia* spp., *Albizzia* spp., *Erythrina abyssinica, Ficus* spp. and the Shea butter-nut tree, *Butyrospermum parkii*. The grass communities are very similar to those recorded in detail at Kasilang by Wilson and Watson (1955), with *Eragrostis superba, Hyparrhenia fillipendula, Imperata cylindrica, Pennisetum polystachyum* and *Rhynchelytrum roseum* abundant. *Echinochloa pyramidalis* is the most frequent grass found in the swamps bordering the boundary streams, and in places the sugar cane, *Saccharum officinarum*, has been successfully established and is spreading naturally.

Soils of the Area. The soils at Moruita have not been chemically analysed, nor have soil profiles been systematically examined. The soil textures, however, have been obtained by the American method described by Brade-Birks (1946) and the soils of the Erony can be clearly divided in this manner into three distinct types:

(1) Fine sandy loam. This type is found on the higher land on the better managed farms.
(2) Loamy medium sand. This texture is typical of the shallow soils on overworked farms, generally overlying murram.
(3) Silty clay loam. These soils are generally found on rough grazing land near swamps. During the rains these soils are waterlogged, and they set like cement when dry.

Minor Divisions of the Erony. The area surveyed is the smallest administrative unit recognized by the Protectorate Government. It is sub-divided by the inhabitants into four hamlets (for a detailed definition of the terminology employed see Wilson and Watson (1956)) These four hamlets are Moruita ('Pointed rock'), Omusio ('Where the Emus trees grow. (Emus = *Mystroxyton aethiopicum*)), Ocutai ('the place of execution') and Aputiputi ('the place of great rainfall'). These hamlets are marked on the map shown in Fig. 1. Each hamlet is closely associated with a single *Ateker* chief or Clan Leader, and it

was these four *Ateker* chiefs, together with the Erony chief, who acted as guides during the course of the survey.

AGRICULTURAL DATA. The data are shown in Table I and are compared with the data for Kasilang (a 'medium density' village) as at the 1953 survey. These data show that about 75 per cent of the total area of land is capable of cultivation, compared to 67 per cent at Kasilang. Of the land which is deemed suitable for cultivation, 81·5 per cent was in fact tilled in 1955, compared to 45·5 per cent at Kasilang.

TABLE I

Land Utilization at Moruita (1955) and Kasilang (1953).

Item	Moruita	Kasilang
	Acres	Acres
(*a*) Total area of Erony	2,683	3,763
(*b*) Total area of cultivable land	2,014	2,529
(*c*) Total area of non-cultivable land	669	1,234
Cultivable Land (*b*)		
(*d*) Maximum total area cultivated at any one time	1,641	1,151
(*e*) Total area resting at any one time	373	622
(*f*) Minimum total area of cultivable land not cultivated and not resting	0	756
	2,014	2,529
Non-cultivable Land (*c*)		
(*g*) Total area under forest or suitable for forest, including rough grazing	317	350
(*h*) Total area of rocky outcrops	66	48
(*i*) Total area of paths, roads, tracks	66	55
(*j*) Total area of semi-swamps	220	781
	669	1,234

Table I shows that the crop/rest ratio at Moruita (i.e. the proportion of (d) to (e)) was 4·4 : 1, a ratio which must definitely be regarded as insufficient to maintain soil fertility. Tothill (1938) reported that the indigenous farming system practised in many parts of Uganda was to crop land for 3 or 4 years and then to rest, by abandoning to bush, for about 8 years. Under this system the crop/rest ratio would be approximately 1:2. It is generally stated that, where improved systems of farming are practised, incorporating crop rotations and grazing of the resting land, a ratio of 1:1 is sufficient to maintain soil fertility and this is achieved by a system of 3 years cropping to 3 years resting. With the somewhat primitive crop rotations practised and with no adequate provision made for grazing and manuring the resting land, it would appear that the present system is likely to lead to an increasing rate of decline of soil fertility.

The crop/rest ratio, although a useful index, does not itself provide information on the actual length of the resting period which many workers, especially

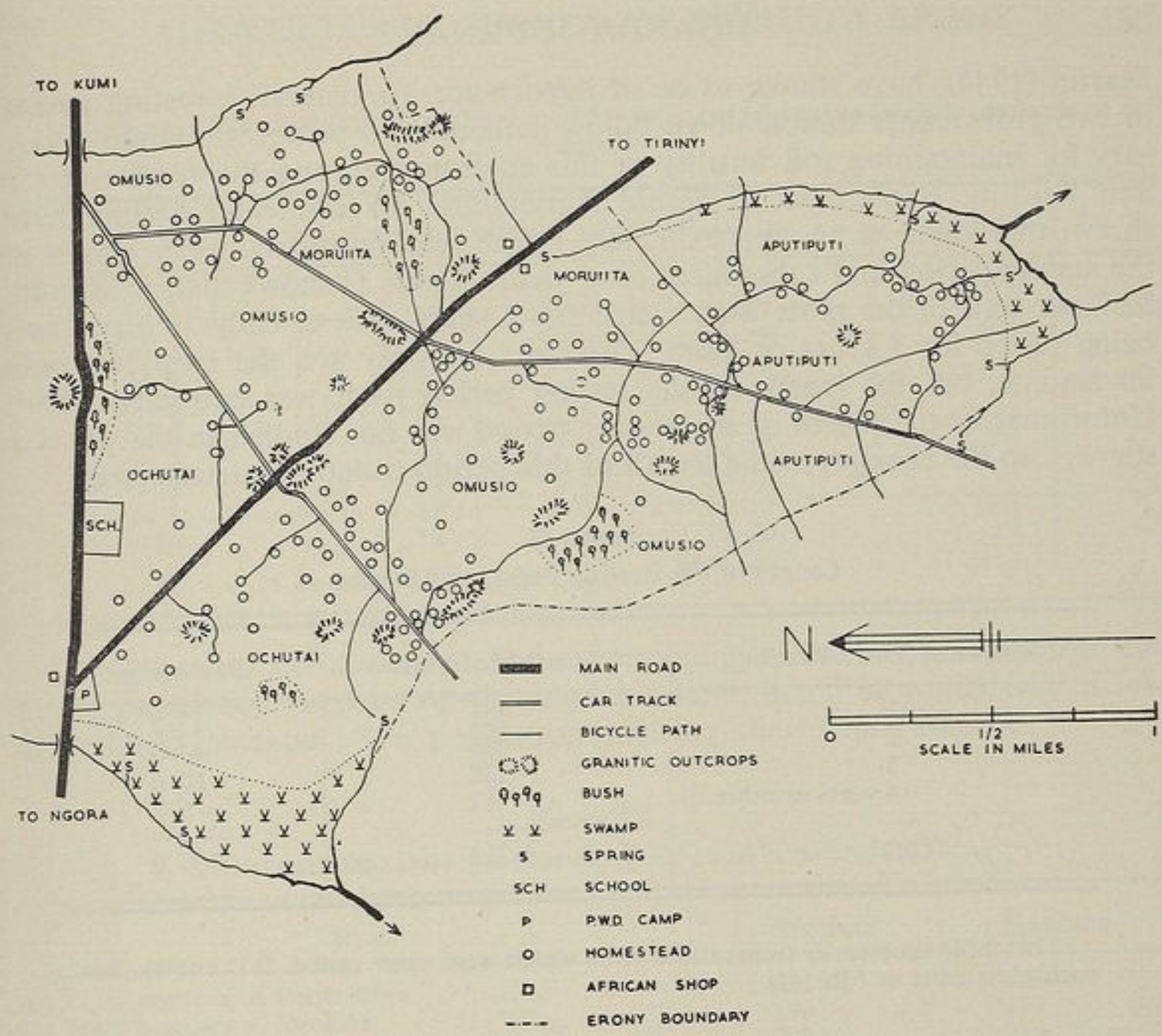

FIG. 1. Moruita Erony, Teso

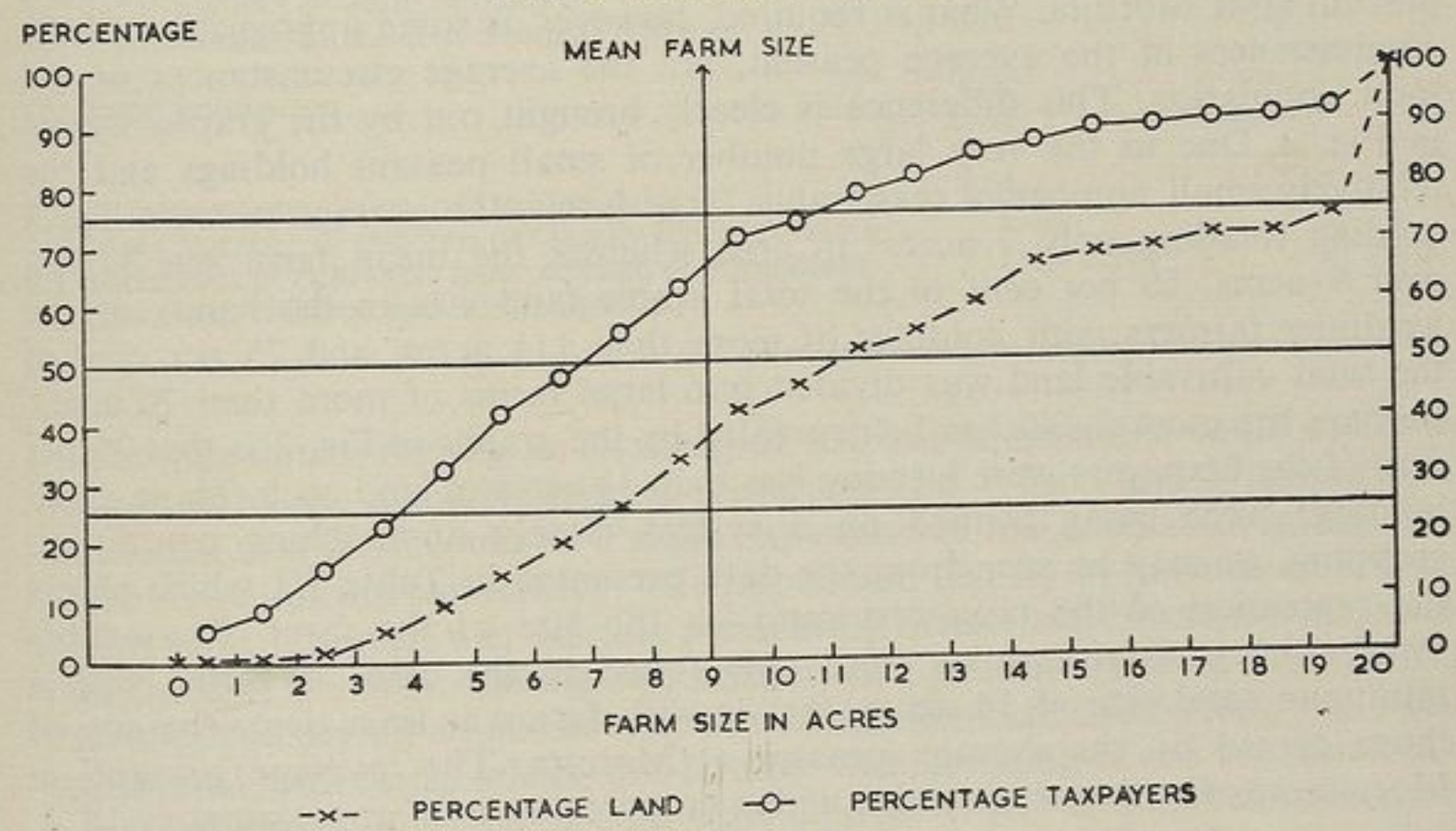

FIG. 2

Regression of percentage of taxpayers owning farms of different size and percentage of total farm land in farms of different size divided into discrete class intervals of one acre.

Martin (1944), have shown to be of importance. In general, a resting period of two years under tumble-down fallow is thought to be the minimum necessary for maintaining soil fertility in this environment, and the results of the Soil Fertility Experiment at Serere Agricultural Experimental Station have shown that there is an approximately linear relationship between length of the resting period and subsequent crop yields. Table II shows that at Moruita 82·7 per cent of the plots were rested for 2 years or less. Only 17·3 per cent being rested for 3 years or more. Therefore not only was the crop/rest ratio inadequate, but the length of the resting period itself was extremely short. Unfortunately the length of the resting period was not studied in the pre-war surveys, so the changes in the length of this period cannot be determined.

TABLE II

Length of the Resting Period at Moruita.

Number of Years Resting	Number of Plots	Percentage
1	521	42·7
2	486	40·0
3	128	10·6
4 years or more	82	6·7
Total	1,217	100·0

(This table necessarily omits those plots which were *never* rested. It is known that such plots exist at Moruita.)

The foregoing paragraphs are based on the study of average conditions prevailing at Moruita. What is required, however, is some appreciation of the circumstances of the average peasant, not the average circumstances of the total population. This difference is clearly brought out by the graphs shown in Fig. 2. Due to the very large number of small peasant holdings and the relatively small number of reasonably large farms, the average peasant had a holding totalling only 7 acres[3] in area whereas the mean farm size is just over 9 acres. 50 per cent of the total arable land was in the hands of the wealthier farmers with holdings of more than 11½ acres, and 25 per cent of the total cultivable land was divided into large farms of more than 20 acres. Perhaps the most significant fact revealed by the graphs in Fig. 2 is that 25 per cent of the taxpayers were farming less than 3½ acres of land each. These small holdings were being farmed on a system closely approaching continuous cropping, as may be seen from the data presented in Table III which shows the regression of the crop/rest ratio on the size of the farm. Reasonably satisfactory crop/rest ratios were only found in the cases of farms with a minimum total size of 14 acres, that is with farms at least twice the size of those owned by the average peasant at Moruita. The 'average peasant' at Moruita was farming on a system with a crop/rest ratio of approximately 18 : 1.

[3] i.e. the median farm size was 7 acres. 113 farms were smaller and 113 farms were larger than 7 acres.

TABLE III

Regression of crop/rest ratio on the size of farm (Farm size taken in class intervals of 1 acre).

Farm size	Crop/rest ratio	Farm size	Crop/rest ratio
0– 1	73 : 1	10–11	9 : 1
1– 2	79 : 1	11–12	10 : 1
2– 3	50 : 1	12–13	7 : 1
3– 4	63 : 1	13–14	7 : 1
4– 5	25 : 1	14–15	3 : 1
5– 6	27 : 1	15–16	4 : 1
6– 7	23 : 1	16–17	2 : 1
7– 8	14 : 1	17–18	3 : 1
8– 9	12 : 1	18–19	2 : 1
9–10	12 : 1	19–20	1 : 1
		Over 20	3 : 1

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION. The overcropping of land at Moruita was due to the population pressure on the available land, much of which was of low agricultural potential. The population data are shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

Demographic Data for Moruita (1955) and Kasilang (1953).

Item	Moruita	Kasilang
(*a*) Total number of taxpayers	226	222
(*b*) Total number of families	190	173
(*c*) Total number of adult males	297	258
(*d*) Total number of adult females	345	311
(*e*) Total number of children living at home	322	311
(*f*) Total population	964	880
(*g*) Density of population per square mile	230·1	149·7
(*h*) Mean number of children per family living at home	1·69	1·80
(*i*) Mean area of cultivable land per head of population (Counting children and adults equally.)	2·09 acres	2·87 acres

The population density at Kasilang of 150 per square mile could easily be supported by the available natural resources, and Wilson and Watson (1956) concluded that there could be a slight expansion of the population in this area without prejudicing soil fertility. The population density at Moruita of 230 per square mile, however, was exerting a markedly deleterious effect on the agricultural land of the area. The lighter, sandier soils at Moruita were clearly being over-cropped. By an *ad hoc* comparison of farms where soil fertility was being maintained with farms where soil fertility was declining it was estimated that a total of about 2·7 acres of cultivable land per head of population was the minimum required on the existing systems of peasant farming. Over the whole of Moruita only 2·09 acres were in fact available.

The demographic data are very similar to those obtained from the survey of Kasilang. The mean total number of children born per family was 3·6, compared with 3·4 at Kasilang, and the mean number of live children per family, taken as at the time of the surveys, was 2·5 in both cases. It is debatable whether this family size is sufficient to maintain or increase the population. Wilson and Watson (1956) argued that it was sufficient, although the greater part of the reported population increase between 1937 and 1953 was attributed to immigration of adult males to Kasilang at about the age of marriage (18-25). McFie (1956) studying the population age-group structure at Kasilang in the course of a nutrition survey, came to the conclusion that the population was neither increasing nor even maintaining itself. The small sample size (McFie only took one quarter of the Kasilang Erony for his survey) and migrational tendencies among the Iteso consequent upon marriage render elucidation of the important problems of population stability extremely difficult. Information was obtained on the place of origin of all the Moruita taxpayers and the results show that 92 per cent of the taxpayers were born either in Moruita Erony itself, or in other parts of Nyero sub-county (i.e. in adjacent villages). The actual figures were: born in Moruita 177; born in other parts of Nyero sub-county 31; born in Kumi County but not in Nyero sub-county 2; born in Teso District but not in Kumi County 14; born in Uganda but not in Teso District 2. The data show that there has been very little immigration into Moruita and that most of the taxpayers were born on or near their present holdings.

The figures for the dispersal of adult children of Moruita taxpayers indicate that emigration was regularly taking place, more especially with the women than with the men. 39 per cent of all adult children have left Moruita to live in a different sub-county and 30·3 per cent have left the overcrowded area of Kumi County altogether to live in other parts of Teso District. The main migratory stream was to Usuku and Amuria counties in north Teso, which are relatively sparsely populated, due mainly to lack of adequate water supplies.

Of the Moruita taxpayers 98·2 per cent were Iteso, the others being Baganda (3) and a Musoga. The absence of any Bahima, who are generally found working as cattle herdsmen in most Teso villages, was significant. Enquiries showed that, when pressure on the land became acute, there was a tendency for Bahima herdsmen to be dispensed with and their work taken over by the Iteso themselves. Three instances were found of Bahima being employed as herdsmen at Moruita, but they lived in a neighbouring Erony and were not included in the survey. At Kasilang, 12 Bahima were permanently resident in the Erony, their houses being adjacent to the cattle kraals.

Of the 226 taxpayers 39 were engaged in enterprises in addition to agriculture. This percentage 17·3 per cent, approximates very closely to 18·9 per cent, the percentage, of taxpayers engaged in non-agricultural enterprises at Kasilang. The occupations represented at Moruita were: general labourers (17); paid chiefs (8); carpenters (5); school-masters (3); shopkeepers (2). Roman Catholic catechist (1); fishmonger (1); granary maker (1); and clerk (1).

The majority of the taxpayers were married and 24 per cent of all marriages

were polygamous. The actual data for the marital status of the taxpayers were: Single (30); married with one wife (148); married with two wives (31); married with three wives (12); married with four wives (3) and married with five wives or more (2). These figures refer only to living wives, resident at the time of the survey. In addition, the taxpayers claimed 244 additional wives, either dead or divorced at the time of the survey. The total number of women connected by some form of marriage with the 226 taxpayers was, therefore, 513, an average of 2·3 women per taxpayer.

The general level of literacy in Moruita was found to be very high, probably due to the presence of a large number of schools, both primary and secondary, in Kumi and Ngora counties within walking distance of the Erony. 47·8 per cent of the taxpayers were literate in Ateso, as judged by proven ability to read and write a short sentence in that language. 16·4 per cent were literate in Luganda, 22·1 per cent in Kiswahili and 5·3 per cent in English. The total school attendance percentage of 54·8 per cent was also extremely high by Uganda standards, but there was nevertheless a pronounced difference in the rate of school attendance between the sexes. Almost twice as many boys as girls were attending some form of educational institution.

To conclude this section on the human population of Moruita, an attempt has been made to estimate the number of people capable of performing manual farm work. The data in Table V must be regarded as approximate, since it has been assumed that all 'elderly dependants' of Moruita taxpayers are non-workers. Clearly many, if not most, of these old people assist in the farm work to some extent, and the estimates are therefore biased on the low side.

TABLE V
Estimate of the Number of Workers and Non-workers at Moruita.

Item	Males	Females	Total	
(*a*) Non-workers				
Children	120	79	199	
Adults	71	77	148	
	191	156	347	
(*b*) Workers:				
Children	82	41	123	
Adults	226	268	494	
	308	309	617	
(*c*) Labour units per family and per taxpayer:				Kasilang
Labour units per family	1·4	1·5	2·9	3·0
Labour units per taxpayer	1·2	1·3	2·5	2·3
Labour units per acre of cultivable farm land	0·13	0·14	0·27	0·20
(Children are counted as half labour units.)				

Crop Production. Tables VI and VII present details of the acreage of land and the number of plots under each crop. These data enable the mean plot sizes to be calculated, and at Moruita the overall mean plot size was 0·50 of an acre, compared to the slightly larger mean plot size of 0·63 at Kasilang. The more intensive crop production practised at Moruita is therefore reflected in the mean plot size, for when land is in short supply the smallest discards and irregular areas are turned into agricultural plots. It will be noted that the chief opening crops (cotton, finger millet and groundnuts) have larger mean plot sizes than the crops which follow them. There was a tendency for relatively large areas of land to be prepared for opening crops grown in pure stand, but in subsequent years these areas were subdivided into smaller plots for the minor food crops. Sweet potatoes and beans, for example, were never grown extensively but were generally confined to very small sub-plots. Hence as the sequence of cropping continued, there was a noticeable tendency for the plot size to become smaller.

The ratio of cash crops to food crops was fairly constant, 1:2·1 at Moruita and 1:2·5 at Kasilang. The chief difference between the two places was in the proportions of the various food crops grown. At Kasilang simsim formed an important item in the diet, and the percentage of land sown to this crop did not appear to vary greatly from year to year (8·1 per cent in 1937 and 8·6 per cent in 1953). At Moruita the growing of simsim was uncommon, perhaps due to the fact that simsim is a comparatively unproductive crop when yield of food per acre is considered. For similar reasons, maize was grown to a limited extent at Moruita but not at Kasilang. Maize was seldom grown in pure stand but usually mixed with finger millet or sorghum; the reason given was that it acted as an additional insurance that some cereal grains would be

Table VI
Acreage of Land Under Each Crop.

Crop	Total acreage	Number of plots	Mean plot acreage (Moruita)	Mean plot acreage (Kasilang)
Cotton	636·3	895	0·71	0·75
Finger Millet	397·8	838	0·47	0·71
Groundnuts	199·8	393	0·51	0·66
Cassava	199·6	414	0·48	0·50
Sorghum	245·2	661	0·37	0·53
Cow Peas	152·1	294	0·52	0·60
Sweet Potatoes	64·6	179	0·36	0·31
Maize	43·4	160	0·27	0·25
Bananas	3·7	10	0·37	0·30
Beans and Grams and Rice ..	1·9	7	0·27	——
Simsim	1·4	10	0·14	0·57
Total Cash Crops for the year	636·3	895	0·71	0·75
Total Food Crops for the year	1,309·5	2,966	0·44	0·59
Grand Total	1,945·8	3,861	0·50	0·63

(Total acreages of crops include all crops grown during the year. In some cases two crops are grown on the same plot during the year and the total acreage of crops in the table, therefore, exceeds the maximum acreage of crops grown at any one time, which is presented in Table I.)

obtained from the land in the event of bad weather, pests or diseases suppressing the yield of the staple grain crop. Mixed cropping of millet and sorghum was exceedingly common at Moruita for the same reason. In calculating the acreages of each crop the proportion of the two crops in each mixed plot was estimated and the theoretical acreage of each crop in pure stand was recorded.

TABLE VII

Cropping Data per Taxpayer and per Family.

Crop	Percentage of arable land under crop		Acreage per taxpayer		Acreage per family	
	Moruita	Kasilang	Moruita	Kasilang	Moruita	Kasilang
Cotton	32·7	28·2	2·8	1·7	3·4	2·2
Finger Millet and Sorghum	33·0	44·6	2·9	2·7	3·4	3·5
Cassava	10·3	5·3	0·9	0·3	1·1	0·4
Groundnuts	10·3	4·4	0·9	0·3	1·1	0·3
Cow Peas	7·8	3·8	0·7	0·2	0·8	0·3
Sweet Potatoes ..	3·3	4·3	0·3	0·3	0·3	0·3
Maize	2·2	0·4	0·2	0·0	0·2	0·0
Bananas	0·2	0·4	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0
Simsim	0·1	8·6	0·0	0·5	0·0	0·7
Total Cash Crops ..	32·7	28·2	2·8	1·7	3·4	2·2
Total Food Crops ..	67·3	71·8	5·9	4·3	6·9	5·5
Total	100·0	100·0	8·7	6·0	10·3	7·7

Cassava and groundnuts were grown more frequently at Moruita than at Kasilang. Cassava ensures a greater yield of bulk food per acre than any other crop and, although solely a carbo-hydrate foodstuff, is probably grown more in overpopulated areas for this reason. The explanation for the difference in the proportion of groundnuts is that the light sandy soils of Moruita favour this crop, whereas the heavier soils at Kasilang act as a deterrent to planting groundnuts, a crop generally highly favoured by the Iteso. Groundnuts appeared to replace simsim as a subsidiary food crop at Moruita.

The most interesting point arising from a study of the cropping data is that overcrowded Moruita has a larger mean acreage of crops per taxpayer and per family than the 'balanced' village of Kasilang. This difference must be attributed to greatly lowered soil fertility, and consequent poorer crop yields at Moruita which necessitate a larger mean area of both cash and food crops per head of the population to meet basic living requirements. The Moruita peasants in fact appeared worse off, both in regard to available food and annual cash surplus, than the Kasilang peasants, and this point was emphasized to the survey team members in private discussion, when the older inhabitants made it clear that it required more land to feed and clothe their families in 1955 than it had done in their youth. Family sizes and family needs have undoubtedly increased over the years, but there was no doubt in the minds of the people themselves that the soil fertility and crop yields at Moruita were steadily declining.

TABLE VIII

Crop Sequences Practised at Moruita

Opening crop	Rotation	Number of plots following sequence	Percentage of total plots analysed
Cotton	Cotton, Millet, Cotton	44	8·1
	Cotton, Millet, Groundnuts	32	6·0
	Cotton, Millet, Cassava	24	4·4
	Cotton, Groundnuts, Millet	17	3·1
	Cotton, Millet, Millet	14	2·6
	Cotton, Potatoes, Millet	10	1·9
	Miscellaneous	45	8·1
		186	34·2
Finger Millet ..	Millet, Cotton, Millet	22	4·1
	Millet, Groundnuts, Cotton	17	3·1
	Millet, Cotton, Groundnuts	11	2·0
	Millet, Cotton, Cotton	10	1·9
	Miscellaneous	59	10·9
		119	22·0
Groundnuts ..	Groundnuts, Cotton, Millet	25	4·6
	Groundnuts, Cassava (for 2 years)	24	4·4
	Groundnuts, Millet, Cotton	10	1·9
	Miscellaneous	27	5·1
		86	16·0
Cassava	Cassava, Cotton, Millet	14	2·6
	Cassava (for 2 years), Cotton	14	2·6
	Cassava (for 3 years)	10	1·9
	Miscellaneous	31	5·7
		69	12·8
Sweet Potatoes ..	Potatoes, Cotton, Millet	16	3·0
	Potatoes, Cassava (for 2 years)	10	1·9
	Potatoes, Groundnuts, Millet	10	1·9
	Miscellaneous	21	4·1
		57	10·9
Cow Peas	Cow Peas, Cotton, Millet	10	1·9
	Miscellaneous	11	2·2
		21	4·1

(Whenever finger millet is mentioned in the above table, it refers to the planting of finger millet and/or sorghum as a first rains crop, followed in the same year by the planting of a pulse crop, generally cow peas, in the second rains. Whenever cassava is mentioned it is understood that the crop remains in the ground for a minimum period of 15 months before harvest.)

CROP SEQUENCES. The crop sequences practised at Moruita were found by asking the taxpayers the field history of each plot for the period 1952-1955 inclusive. In all, 67 different crop sequences were recorded. Table VIII shows those sequences found in ten or more cases. The remainder are grouped together under their common opening crop.

These sequences are of great agricultural interest, since it is generally loosely assumed (Tothill 1938) that the main crop rotation in Teso is cotton(1); finger millet followed by pulse(2); root crop(3) with the variation on the lighter soils that groundnuts is the opening crop in the place of cotton. Table VIII shows that the commonest sequence practised is Cotton(1); finger millet followed by pulse(2); cotton(3). The 'accepted Teso rotation' was in fact practised only on 6·1 per cent of the recorded plots. Cotton is shown to be the commonest opening crop (34·2 per cent of all plots are opened to cotton) but it is followed by finger millet, which appears as the first crop on 22 per cent of the plots examined. Groundnuts, grown on the lighter soils, are third (16 per cent), and cassava (12·8 per cent), sweet potatoes (10·9 per cent) and cow peas (4·1 per cent) are all occasionally used as opening crops at Moruita.

The use of finger millet as an opening crop was unexpected, since this crop requires land in good tilth. Kerkham (1953) writes, "Finger millet is not grown on new land owing to its need for a fine seedbed. Normally grown in the second year of the rotation Teso/Lango". Where finger millet was planted in this place in the sequence it appeared that the land had originally been prepared for cotton or groundnuts, but that when the time for planting arrived, the farmer feared that he had through misjudgement sown an insufficient acreage to the staple food crop and so finger millet was sown to make good the deficiency.

CULTIVATING IMPLEMENTS. Table IX lists the various agricultural tools and implements found in use at Moruita during the course of the survey.

There is a very marked similarity between the data for Moruita and for

TABLE IX

Agricultural Implements in Use.

Item	Number counted	Mean number of implements per taxpayer	
	Moruita	Moruita	Kasilang
Hoes—short handled ..	764	3·4	3·3
Axes	281	1·2	1·2
Slashing knives (pangas) ..	43	0·2	0·3
Ploughs—large (4-ox) ..	34		
Ploughs—small (2-ox) ..	78		
Total ploughs	112	0·5	0·5
Draught oxen	199	0·9	1·1
Bicycles	122	0·5	0·5
Draught oxen per plough ..		1·8	2·4
Arable acres per plough ..		14·6	11·0

Kasilang, the only difference being in the number of oxen available for ox-ploughing. In both villages, it would appear that the number of oxen is insufficient in relation to the ox-ploughs available. Assuming that two teams of oxen are required to keep any given plough in maximum use during the ploughing season, a total of 600 oxen would be required at Moruita, whereas only 199 are available. The limiting factor for timely ploughing of land would therefore seem to be the availability of working oxen, and not the capital involved in the purchase of ploughs.

The bicycle is included in Table IX since it must be regarded as the main means of transporting agricultural produce. No carts or wheelbarrows were found at Moruita, nor were any ox-drawn implements other than mould-board ploughs seen. No land at Moruita has ever been tilled by mechanical means, although all peasants are familiar with agricultural tractors which are frequently seen working on the murram roads.

Trees and Vegetables. Almost every taxpayer possesses some pole trees or fruit trees which he has planted near his homestead, and 7,865 such trees were found growing at the time of the survey. Of the 226 taxpayers, 197 (87 per cent) had pole trees of some sort or other, mostly *Melia azedarach*. These thin, spindly trees have been popularized by officers of the Forestry Department, who encouraged the planting of seedlings in south Teso in the 1930s. They are said to provide stronger building poles than *Cassia siamea*, the second most important pole tree grown, but they do not coppice well and only a few are now planted. Other trees noted were *Markhamia platycalyx*, *Chlorophora excelsa* (muvule) and *Toona ciliata*.

The commonest fruit tree found was the mango, *Mangifera indica*, said to have been introduced by the Baganda. 159 taxpayers (70 per cent) together owned 647 mango trees; of these the majority, 140 taxpayers, possessed pole trees as well. Mangoes are mainly eaten by children and herdsmen. 454 citrus trees were counted in the homesteads of 132 (58 per cent) taxpayers. The commonest types were orange and lemon; where grapefruits were grown they were rarely eaten by any Iteso. 120 taxpayers (53 per cent) grew both pole trees and citrus trees on their land. Very few peasants planted the quick-growing pawpaw tree, of which only 27 were found. The pawpaw fruits were occasionally sold to Asian traders living in the neighbouring Erony.

Vegetables appeared to be increasing in popularity in Moruita; cultivators who grew vegetables generally consumed the whole crop themselves, incorporating them into soups and stews to embellish the staple finger millet porridge (*atap*). 37 taxpayers had tomatoes growing on their farms, 15 had pumpkins, 8 had red peppers, 7 had coco yams (*Colocasia antiquorum*), 5 had cabbages and 2 grew onions. The vegetable plots were never very extensive and were generally sited near the homesteads, often in or adjoining the banana gardens.

Notes on the Cotton Crop. Detailed notes on the husbandry of each of the chief crops grown in Teso have been presented in a previous article (Wilson and Watson, 1956), but a few additional facts on the cotton crop were obtained in the course of the Moruita survey.

Manning (1949) has shown the great importance of early planting on the yield of cottton. In Buganda Province, nearer to the Equator, the best sowing date for cotton was shown to be early June, and it was demonstrated that in years where the mean sowing date was very late, in August or September, the yields were well below average. The mean sowing date in Teso is not known with any accuracy, and so an attempt was made to estimate the 1955 mean cotton planting times at Moruita. It was not possible for the peasants to remember the actual date of cotton planting with any great accuracy, and so sowing dates were given in the form of 'early', 'middle' or 'late' of the month in question. The data have been summarized in Table X, which shows that the mean sowing date is near the middle of June. The peasants prefer not to plant cotton in May since this early planted crop requires more weeding than later plantings. This extremely satisfactory mean sowing date is probably due to the fact that cotton is very often given a whole year to itself and does not often follow the planting of a food crop in the early rains. Although Table VIII demonstrates that cotton is only planted as an opening crop in 34·2 per cent of the rotations practised in 1955, nevertheless in most of the cases cotton is planted in land sown to another crop the preceding year and left fallow February–May. Only the August planted cotton follows a food crop, such as millet, planted during the same year and August was the planting month only in 6·5 per cent of the plots examined.

TABLE X

Month of Cotton Planting.

Month	Number of plots planted in month	Percentage
April	52	6·4
May	197	24·2
June	322	40·0
July	187	22·9
August	56	6·5

The number of plots recorded is less than the total number of cotton plots at Moruita. Whenever there was any doubt about the planting time, the plots in question were omitted from the table.

Detailed observations on 110 plots of April, May and June planted cotton showed that 73 per cent of the plots were kept fairly clean and had been weeded three or more times, and that 27 per cent of the plots were dirty, having been weeded only once or twice since planting. The correct spacing of 3 feet × 1 foot was found to be practised in only 13 per cent of the fields. 77 per cent of the plots were too closely planted, the mean distance between plants being less than 2 feet 10 inches, and 10 per cent were overspaced, the mean distance between plants being greater than 3 feet 2 inches. Further, in 24 per cent of the plots examined the sowing rate was moderate, averaging not more than 6 seedlings per hole, whereas in 76 per cent of the cases the crop had been sown much too thickly, groups of twenty plants or more per hole being

common. This overplanting is difficult to control when the seeds are merely dropped into holes by a woman walking along the row with a handful of seed, and some form of simple ox-drawn planter would not only allow more efficient control of the seed-rate but would enable a great saving to be made in the use of cotton-seed for planting purposes, allowing more of the crop to be used for the expression of oil.

As Moruita is situated near to a ginnery (3 miles), to co-operative societies (in the same sub-county), and to cotton stores (on the main road adjacent to the Erony), each taxpayer was asked by what means he usually disposed of the crop of seed-cotton. 61·5 per cent stated that they took the crop themselves to the nearby cotton stores, 24·8 per cent marketed the crop through one of the local producers' co-operatives, and 12·4 per cent transported the crop by bicycle to the nearest ginnery. 1·3 per cent paid an agent to sell the crop for them to save themselves trouble.

THE TESO FARMING YEAR. The information obtained from the Moruita survey and the Kasilang survey enables an approximate calendar of agricultural operations and activities to be drawn up. Most of the details given in the calendar are of general application not only to Teso District but to parts of Bukedi and Lango Districts as well, but the facts are most relevant and accurate to central and south Teso, to the areas designated 'Zone 1, and 'Zone 2' by Watson (1941) in his paper on general aspects of Teso agriculture.

AN AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR FOR THE TESO DISTRICT

Month	*Expected Rainfall*	*Agricultural Activities*
January	0–2 in.	Cotton picking. If rain falls, finger millet with sorghum sown. If dry, early burning of communal grazing land may commence.
February	0–2 in.	Cotton picking ends. Cotton sorting and selling. Finger millet sown, whether month wet or dry. Grass burning. In very dry years, many 'rain-making ceremonies' will be conducted. Season for weddings and many cattle change hands as a result.
March	3–9 in.	Long rains generally commence. Ploughing season, new land being broken for cotton. Late finger millet and sorghum sown; simsim planted.
April	5–10 in.	Ploughing continues. Ground broken for cotton ploughed a second time. Cassava, maize and late maturing groundnuts planted. Finger millet and sorghum weeded for first time. Tree planting, citrus and pole trees.
May	3–8 in.	Early cotton planted and more land re-ploughed for cotton. Sweet potatoes, cassava and maize planted. Final weeding of finger millet and sorghum.

June	2–5 in.	Main cotton crop planted. Early maturing groundnuts planted. Early finger millet and sorghum harvested and fermented.
July	3–8 in.	Cotton planted, and early cotton weeded. Finger millet and sorghum, groundnuts, simsim harvested. Finger millet and sorghum fermented and stored in granaries unthreshed. Simsim dried on racks and stored threshed.
August	5–9 in.	Second rains generally commence. Late cotton planted, and bulk of cotton crop weeded. Finger millet and sorghum stubbles ploughed. Cassava, sweet potatoes, cowpeas and late sorghum planted. Remainder of groundnuts and simsim harvested.
September	3–8 in.	Weeding cotton and other second rain crops. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted. Agricultural shows held.
October	2–5 in.	Early cotton picked; cowpeas weeded. Sweet potatoes and cassava harvested, surplus being sliced and dried for storing in granaries. Agricultural shows held.
November	1–3 in.	Cowpeas harvested and sweet potatoes and cassava harvested and prepared for storage. Cotton picking begins in earnest.
December	0–3 in.	Cotton picking and sorting.

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ROCK PAINTINGS IN TESO AND BUKEDI

By J. C. D. LAWRANCE

KAKORO Rock lies close to the sub-county headquarters of that name in Pallisa County of Bukedi District. It is a large granite outcrop, typical of those found over many parts of Bukedi, Teso and Lango Districts. It runs approximately north to south, close to the Kakoro-Kachumbala road, and viewed from that road it appears to consist of two separate hills joined by a saddle. It is in the southernmost of the two hills, on which a trigonometrical point is situated, that the rock paintings were found a year or two ago by T. D. H. Morris, from whom news of their existence was obtained.

The approach to these paintings is by a well-defined track leading from the Kakoro-Kachumbala road to the foot of the southernmost hill and thence up the hill on its south face. Near the top of the hill is a ledge of rock on which stands a large monolith, some thirty or more feet high. It is on the south and west faces of this monolith that the first group of paintings is situated. On its south side the monolith is approximately nine feet wide at the base; a large boulder lies close against it. The paintings start on the monolith immediately above this boulder, that is about four feet from the base, and cover the whole width of the monolith and extend upwards for about six feet on the right-hand side and for about three feet on the left-hand side. On the west face the paintings extend over an area approximately six feet square near the base of the monolith.

The condition of these paintings is poor; those on the west face are almost entirely obliterated and only traces remain to show that the designs were geometric. The paintings on the south face are clearly visible on the right-hand side, but become faint in the centre. Flaking of the rock may be responsible for the damage, but it also appears that the elements have caused the paint itself to deteriorate.

The designs include concentric circles which are a feature of the paintings at Nyero, Ngora and Asuret.[1] They also include less usual geometric designs (see Fig. 1). In the left centre, where the paintings are least distinct, there are lines which may possibly represent human figures similar to those found at Nyero. The designs in the centre are jumbled and for this reason there may have been some superposition, but it is difficult to be certain of this point because the paintings are indistinct and are executed in identical colouring throughout. This colour is red ochre. In technique there appears to be no difference between these and the paintings at Nyero.

The second group of paintings is on a rock face immediately above a small shelter a few yards to the north of the monolith. This group is also in red ochre and is in a very poor state of preservation and no one design is complete. It is, however, perhaps of interest to note that the concentric circle motif

[1] See *Uganda J.*, **17** (1953), 8-13 and *Uganda J.*, **19** (1955), 90.

is absent. The shelter itself is very small and provides little natural protection from the elements. Nevertheless, a pot shard was found in the shallow deposit.

The third group of paintings is in the saddle between the two hills. Here there is a low shelter penetrating far under the rock. The inner recess of this shelter has been blocked with stones, presumably by hunters, leaving only a narrow aperture. The shelter can only be entered by crawling on all fours and the height between the floor and the ceiling in the inner recess is only

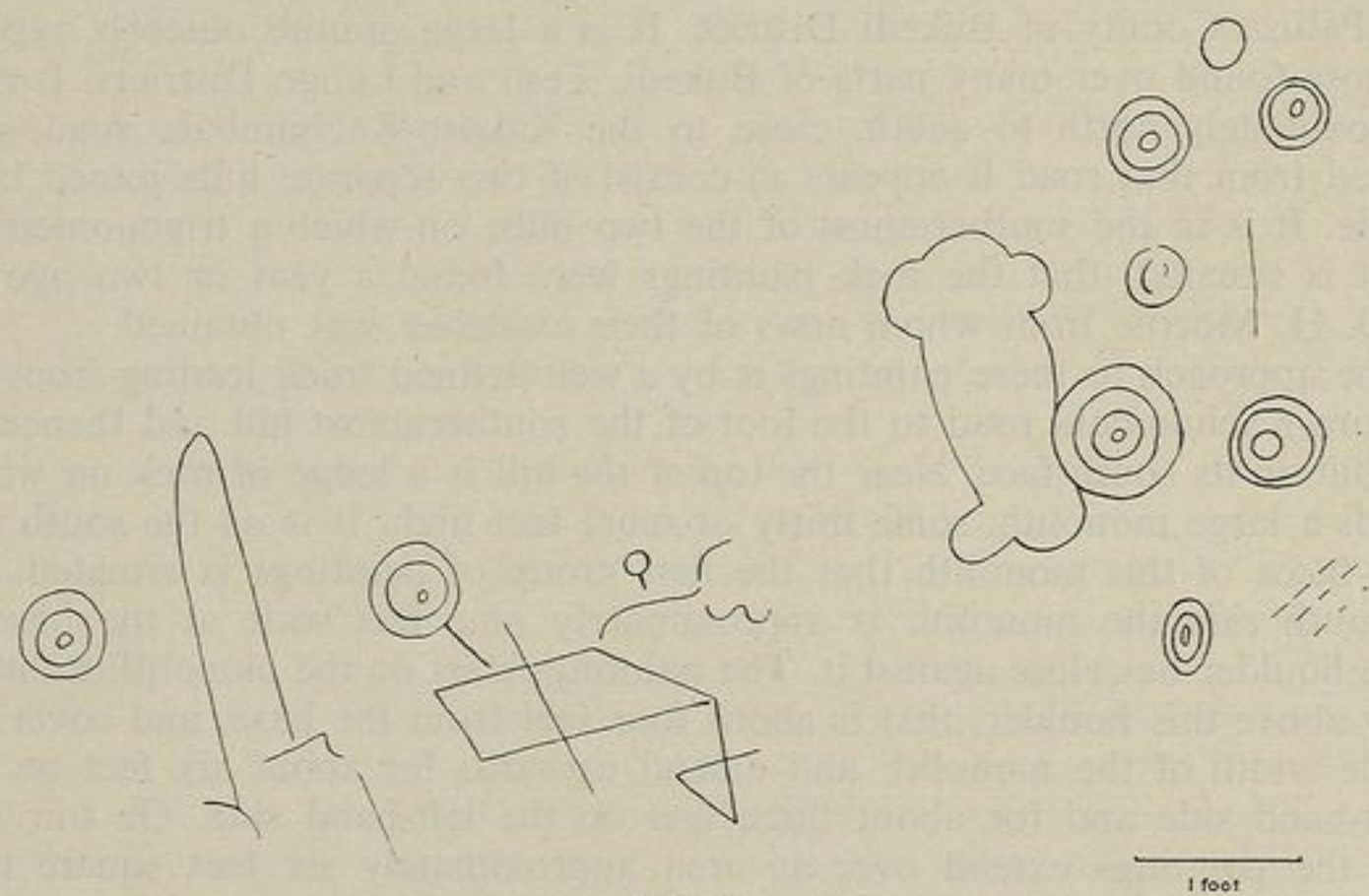


Fig. 1.
Group of paintings in red pigment on south face of monolith, Kakoro.
(From freehand drawings)

about two feet. The paintings are on the lip of the rock at the entrance to the shelter and can only be viewed by crouching inside the shelter. The designs are executed in white paint which shows up well against the dark colour of the rock. (Fig. 2.) It appeared that the paint had been daubed, probably with the fingers, in a noticeably more careless manner than in the first and second group of paintings.

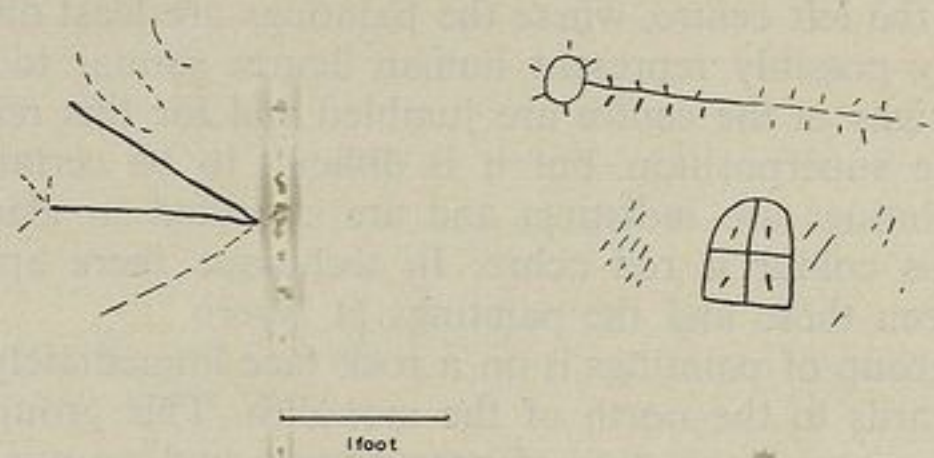


Fig. 2.
Paintings in white pigment in rock shelter, Kakoro.
(From freehand drawings. Faint markings are shown by dotted lines.

Another rock painting site has recently been discovered by P. L. Carter in Tira sub-county in Teso District. This site is approached by a track which leaves the main Soroti-Kyere road at mile 8 from Soroti and runs roughly westwards for a distance of some three miles to two granite outcrops. The first outcrop seen after leaving the main road contains a large cave, which is full of bats. A second outcrop, in which the paintings occur, lies about 200 yards north of the first.

Carter states that in the second outcrop a large slab has at some time fallen from the rock face, thus creating a shelter some 40 feet long and 30 feet wide. The paintings are on the inside of an overhanging piece of rock at the entrance to this shelter. They now cover an area approximately 10 feet by 4 feet, but were originally more extensive, because traces of pigment occur on other parts of the rock face.

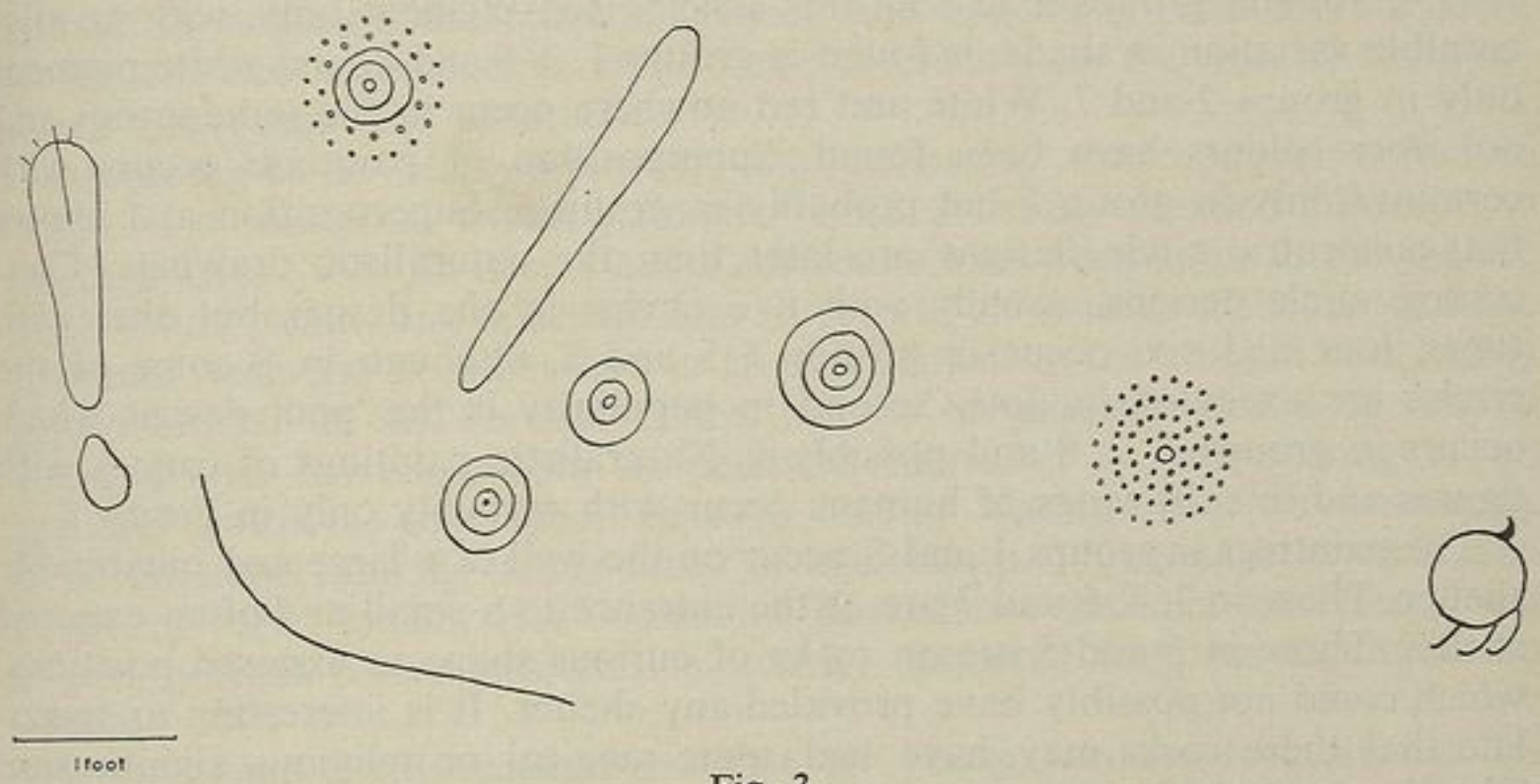


Fig. 3.
Group of paintings in red pigment at Tira, (from freehand drawings.)

The paintings are executed in red pigment and contain geometric designs, including the usual concentric circle motif. Two of the circles, however, consist of dots instead of the usual lines. (Fig. 3.) It appears as though these dots were applied with the fingers and not with a brush. The state of preservation of all the paintings is poor.

The shelter gives good protection from the elements and has probably been used as a dwelling-place, for the deposit on the floor yielded quartz debitage, pottery and bones.

Eight groups of paintings at five different sites have now been discovered in Uganda—there must undoubtedly be many more—and some comparison of these sites may be of interest. When evidence of technique from further sites is available it may prove possible to date the paintings. All that can be said now with certainty is that the paintings are the work of a race of people who occupied the country before the arrival of its present inhabitants, the Iteso, some 200 to 300 years ago. Drawing styles, colour of pigment and superposition of paintings give clues to dating. Excavation may also produce

evidence of pottery and other artifacts which can be linked to known cultures elsewhere. At present, however, the available evidence is meagre.

The eight groups of paintings are at the following sites:

		Latitude N.	*Longitude E.*
1.	Nyero (i)	1° 29′	33° 51′
2.	Nyero (ii)	1° 29′	33° 51′
3.	Ngora	1° 30′	33° 48′
4.	Asuret	1° 39′	33° 37′
5.	Kakoro (i)	1° 11′	34° 04′
6.	Kakoro (ii)	1° 11′	34° 04′
7.	Kakoro (iii)	1° 11′	34° 04′
8.	Tira	1° 39′	33° 35′

Groups 1–3 have been described in *U.J.*, **17** (1953), 8-13, Group 4 in *U.J.*, **19** (1955), 90, and groups 5 to 8 in this article. Red pigment only, with no discernible variation in shade, is found in groups 1, 3–6 and 8, and white pigment only in groups 2 and 7. White and red nowhere occur in the same group and no other colours have been found. Superposition of paintings occurs with certainty only in group 1 but probably in group 5. Superposition at 1 shows that concentric circle designs are later than the naturalistic drawings. Concentric circle designs, usually with five circles in the design but also with three, four and six, occur in groups 1–5 and 8, although in 8 some of the circles are executed in dots. Second in popularity is the 'pod' design which occurs in groups 1, 2, 8 and possibly 5. Naturalistic paintings of canoes with figures and line drawings of humans occur with certainty only in group 1.

The paintings in groups 1 and 8 occur on the wall of a large and inhabitable shelter. Those in 2, 4, 6 and 7 are at the entrance to a small and often exposed shelter. Those in 3 and 5 are on rocks of curious shape in exposed positions, which could not possibly have provided any shelter. It is interesting to speculate that these rocks may have had some magical or religious significance. The sites at 1, 4, 6 and 8 were occupied, as is evidenced by the discovery of pot shards. Pottery has also been discovered in a number of other shelters in the rocks at Ngora. Virtually no other artifacts have been found, although up to the present no excavation has been carried out except at Nyero.

UGANDA'S OLD EASTERN PROVINCE AND EAST AFRICA'S FEDERAL CAPITAL

By A. T. MATSON

THE antagonism between Sir Harry Johnston and Sir Clement Hill, recently described by Dr. Ingham and Dr. Roland Oliver[1] is a good example of how the clash of personalities has affected the destinies of the East African territories, and of the recurring differences between the man on the spot and the man having the ear of the minister in London. The antipathy between Johnston and Hill is apparent beneath the formal wording of their despatches, and Hill's suspicion of Johnston's policy and actions is even more evident in his minuted comments to the Foreign Secretary on the Special Commissioner's proposals and reports.

According to Sir Harry's brother, Alex Johnston,[2] this antagonism had its origin in a somewhat trivial incident: "Lord Salisbury recalled Johnston to England (from the Oil Rivers and Cameroons Vice-Consulate) in the middle of 1888 and had a long talk with him in private on African affairs in general. The next week-end he was asked to Hatfield, much to the chagrin of a highly placed official at the Foreign Office, jealous of privilege shown to one so young in the Service, whom he persisted thereafter in representing as an 'outsider', with the implication that my brother was in some way unworthy to be admitted into the higher ranks of officialdom. This persistent critic and opponent—Sir Clement Hill—somehow engendered the idea that Harry was a rash, pushful person, whose very activity detracted from his dignity as an official."

It was against this background that Sir Harry was set to carry out his Special Commission and to explain to the Foreign Secretary how some form of union or federation of the two Protectorates could be effected. Events which had occurred before real consideration had been given to the question of any change in the relationships between the two territories had indicated the differing attitudes adopted by the two men towards the many problems inevitable in running and developing backward countries with insufficient knowledge, staff and money. The two problems on which there was most disagreement were those of the position of the local administrators relative to the railway authorities, and the best and cheapest manner in which to maintain law and order.

Hill was a member of the Uganda Railway Committee, on which he seems to have been rather under the influence of the managing member, Sir Francis L. Callaghan. This tended to shape his thinking and, together with the fact that the railway was the most important enterprise in the Protectorates and

[1] K. Ingham. Uganda's old Eastern Province: The Transfer to East Africa Protectorate. *Uganda J.*, **21** (1957), 41; and Roland Oliver. *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa.* 1957.

[2] *The Life and Letters of Sir Harry Johnston.* 1929. p. 114.

the one which caused a continual barrage of embarrassing questions in the House, resulted in Hill's backing the railway in almost every case when differences occurred. He was always ready to defend the *imperium in imperio* set up by the engineer-in-charge whenever his organization came into conflict with the Commissioners and their staffs. The causes of this friction have been set down elsewhere; they are so many and so sharp it was an amazing feat that, despite the dissipation of effort and enthusiasm thus caused, the railway was completed and the administration of the Protectorates carried on. This leads one to think that there must have been a deal of good will and give-and-take amongst the junior officers in the field, and that it was the senior officials of both administrations who sought, pursued and magnified grounds for complaint and bickering. Among the major causes of friction were: delays on the railway telegraph and the poor construction of the line; the provision of escorts for railway and telegraph parties; the policing and protection of rail and telegraph camps, staff and stores; thefts of material; the conditions in the coolie camps; the setting up of a separate police force and courts having jurisdiction over the railway zone and staff; rail facilities for officials on duty; difficulties over the movement of troops; and the payment by the railway for the protection afforded to it by the civil administration. Johnston naturally considered that the government of Uganda as a whole was at least as important as the advance of the railway through the Eastern Province, but Hill, always aware of the proddings of parliamentary and press critics, thought otherwise. There was much to be said on both sides and one wonders whether, if the antagonism between Hill and Johnston had not clouded the issues, these two men (together with the Commissioner of East Africa at Zanzibar and the Chief Engineer of the Railway) might not have contrived a satisfactory compromise.[3] Apart from the fact that Hill and the Railway Committee would have to deal with one Commissioner instead of two, there were many advantages in having the railway under one administration. Worthy of consideration on this score was the fact that the Lake formed a natural boundary and that the Government at Entebbe had found itself unable to undertake much development of its outlying Eastern Province.

On the maintenance of law and order, Johnston's policy was one of conciliation whenever possible coupled with the use of adequate force quickly and effectively whenever conciliation failed. Hill, on the other hand, was exceedingly touchy on the subject of police measures and punitive expeditions and several of his minutes imply that in some cases, where the men on the spot considered such measures were necessary and urgent, he thought they could have been avoided. It must be remembered that, both in Parliament and the press, he had to face the criticism of the Liberals, who were only too willing

[3] It was unfortunate that Johnston's first communication with Whitehouse, the Chief Engineer, was a personal letter in which he gave his impressions of rail and telegraph progress, construction methods, staff conduct, etc., and also, somewhat ungraciously as he admitted in a later letter, his views on the use of Whitehouse's wife's name, Florence, for the rail terminus on the lake. Johnston advocated either the local name, Kisumu, or one connected with a celebrated African explorer. The railway authorities balanced the account when one of the first steamers on Lake Victoria was named *Winifred* after Lady Johnston.

to make political capital out of Uganda's difficulties and to infer that disturbances had been created so that military action to quell them could be undertaken. He was opposed in principle to the use of native levies, although he appears not to have realized that without much larger military votes the intermittent and temporary employment of Masai levies was inevitable. He was always quick to compliment officials who were able to patch up a compromise, however manifestly unsatisfactory, insecurely based or short-lived. During the respite afforded by these compromises, however, the line nosed slowly forward towards the lake, and to that extent Hill's policy achieved its object and was successful. The culmination of this policy came during his visit to Uganda in 1900 at the time when Lieutenant-Colonel Evatt was recovering from the severe mauling his force had received from the Nandi. Hill repudiated Johnston's dictum, 'when you punish, punish severely', and gave instructions for peace to be made at almost any cost, so that construction of the railway could continue and thus hasten the long-desired announcement in Parliament that the line had reached the Lake. The effects of this intervention are well known and resulted in the continued insecurity of the railway route and the expenditure of much money and effort before the Nandi were eventually subdued six years later. Although Hill's action was regarded by the angry local officials as inefficient meddling, he could claim that the line was pushed through to Kisumu in 1901 and finally consolidated by the end of 1903.

Hill's expensive and somewhat extraordinary visit to Uganda did nothing to bring the two men closer together, as the impression was bound to be created that the Superintendent had been sent out to make sure that Johnston was carrying out his special commission within the limits set by the Foreign Office, and that he was not, in his enthusiasm and exuberance, committing the Home Government to a series of extravagant and costly ventures. Johnston had been sent out only the year before to investigate and advise on a list of specific problems, one of which was the question of the closer union of the two sister Protectorates. It must have been irksome to one of Johnston's calibre and seniority, with a fine record of achievement in other parts of Africa, to have his policy and acts subjected so openly to inspection by the administrator from Whitehall. It is probable that Hill's presence was resented by the staff throughout the country as a tactless insult to their chief. The visit was certainly ill-timed as the period of Johnston's Special Commission had already run half its short course, and as a result there was even less chance of the two men settling their differences and viewing Uganda's problems without personal prejudice.

Accustomed as we are to ever-increasing secretariats and a multiplicity of departments, it is surprising to note how the transfer of the Eastern Province was made with an absence of formalities, being treated rather as a normal incident of administration. There seem to have been no special files opened on the subject, there were a few letters and special despatches, and occasional meetings, but nothing approaching a handing-over ceremony. The military change-over was a more complicated operation than the civil transfer, especially in connection with the location and payment of troops. This fact

in itself emphasizes the important role played by the military in maintaining law and order in the troubled Province and in keeping open the rail and road routes.

One of the reasons why the change-over was completed so easily was that very little development had taken place in the Province. It was on the extreme eastern fringe of Uganda Protectorate, and there were more than enough problems to be tackled in Buganda and the west by the handful of staff available. Apart from the civil stations at Kisumu (Hobley and Partington), Mumias (Corbett), Nandi (Mayes), Ravine (Isaac), Baringo (Hyde Baker) and a civil and military centre at Fort Ternan, there were only military, railway, staging and store posts in the Nyandò and Rift Valley and over the Mau, and a Sub-Commissioner (Bagge) at Naivasha. These officials were transferred with their stations at the change-over and several of them benefited in status and pay as a result. From time to time officers made safaris into their districts, but for the most part administration was confined to the neighbourhood of the stations or bomas and to the country through which the connecting roads ran. There was no post south of Kisumu, and the plains east of the Gulf were known as South Kavirondo. A projected extension of the sphere of influence towards Elgon had come to nothing owing to the need to concentrate in face of the Nandi and Kipsigis threat to the railway. Johnston wished to establish a post north of Baringo to control ivory and other caravans, to protect the wild life, and to keep an eye on the Suk and Turkana. This was frowned on by the Foreign Office who wired Johnston on 7 March 1901: "Report further before taking any definite action north of Baringo, since H.M. Government do not at present desire to increase their responsibilities by establishing a permanent post in that district."[4]

A summary of the state of the Province on transfer shows clearly how little real administration had been undertaken, in face of the over-riding necessity for keeping the Nyando Valley clear and the construction of the railway up to schedule. A new administrative post had been sanctioned in September 1901 to house Hobley's headquarters at Kisumu and to take the place of the Ugowe Bay station. The port was open for traffic, a market had been started, and two European firms, Boustead, Ridley & Co. and a German company were trading there. The settlement of Indian farmers along the railway line from Kibigori to Kibos was being discussed in the early part of 1902, as a means of safeguarding the line and of providing some traffic for the railway. There was a small caravan trade from Mumias and Kavirondo with the countries to the north, and also from Ravine and Baringo to the ivory collecting tribes to the north and north-west. General trade consisted almost entirely in the supply of food for the civil and military posts, for the expeditions against the Nandi, and for porter caravans and railway construction parties. This was centred mainly on the depots at Kitoto's (near present-day Miwani), Kisumu, Kakumega and Mumia's. Indian traders were beginning to appear beyond railheads with their head porters and donkeys. In January 1901 the ubiquitous Allidina Visram was able to advertise branches at Naivasha, Shimoni (Ravine), Nandi and Port Ugowe.

[4] Foreign Office Prints. January-June 1901.

Communications were generally poor and the roads were in fact only caravan tracks, with the exception of Sclater's road, which had, however, been virtually abandoned from the Mau to Lessos, and of the service road which in 1900 had been pushed ahead of railway construction in the Nyando Valley. Although there were a few private contractors, most of the carriage was done by the Uganda Transport and all manner of experiments had been tried—oxen, mules, donkeys, camels, carts—with varying success. The railway was coming into use, although it was not finally completed until 1903, and Johnston had taken over the telegraph from the railway in 1901.

There were military posts at railhead and along the line while small garrisons of soldiers and police were stationed at the various bomas. Their duties were confined to the containment of the local tribes rather than to attempting any extension of the area under effective control, and most of the companies were split into small detachments engaged solely on escort duties. Concentration only took place to meet emergencies, such as the Nandi outrages of 1900 which were followed by Evatt's expedition. When the immediate object was achieved by the concentrated field force, or more often when it was only partially achieved, the troops were dispersed and resumed their normal escort and police duties.

Apart from the lack of staff and funds, there were many reasons why development of the Eastern Province had lagged behind the progress made in Uganda proper. The revenue produced east of the Lake was insignificant, although Johnston had instituted the Rs. 3 hut tax in some of the districts; apart from the areas around Kisumu and Mumia's, however, the tax was scarcely collected, as it was not Johnston's practice to levy tax on tribes which were not really controlled and protected by the Government. Also, despite the valiant efforts of Hobley and his small band, little was known of the tribal organization of the Province; there seemed to be no chiefs and, apart from the Wanga dynasty in the person of the young Mumia, there was nothing approaching the centralized, quasi-feudal government of the Uganda kingdoms. There had been very little missionary endeavour and scarcely anything was known of the numerous tribal tongues.

It was understandable that the Eastern Province tended to be looked on in Entebbe and London as a somewhat tiresome stretch of country on the eastern edge of the Protectorate which had to be crossed in order to reach Uganda proper. It had always been an unsettled area and more than once the need to divert men and money to the Province from development in Uganda had exasperated the Entebbe officials. There had been operations against the Nandi, Kamasia, Suk and Kipsigis and occasional small affrays with the Kitosh, Kakamega, Kikelelwa, Nyangori, Luo and other tribes. These were not conducive to peaceful administration and development, and it was in fact not until 1906, when the Nandi were finally subjugated, that any real progress was made and the way opened up for settlement of the 'waste lands' of the area, and for the improvement in the lot of the Nyanza tribes under peaceful rule.

The main emphasis had to be on protecting the communications between the Coast and the Lake and most of the stations had been sited and estab-

lished with this in mind. The Guaso Masa post had been built in 1895 to protect the then all-important northern caravan route from the Nandi warriors, and, shortly after the transfer of the Province, a station was opened at Kericho to attempt to contain the Kipsigis and to prevent any large scale combination of the Nandi and Kipsigis against the railway. For the past ten years administrative and military effort had been concentrated in the first place on securing the caravan routes and later on making roads, organizing and protecting the transport service across the Province, trying to give some protection to those tribes who had accepted Hobley's regime, and, finally, on pushing through the telegraph and railway with the least possible interference from the neighbouring tribes. With all this on their hands, it is not surprising that the few officers found little time to organize their districts, to get to know the people, their customs and languages, or to extend the area of effective jurisdiction. Whatever other factors may have engendered the idea, there can be no question that the demands of the Bantu Kavirondo to return to Uganda are prompted by nostalgic memories of the well-ordered and peaceful days their ancestors had spent under the Uganda Administration before the transfer.

It is now proposed to detail the steps by which the transfer was effected. Johnston had reorganized the western part of the Province in January 1901, and at the same time had appointed Hobley as Sub-Commissioner for the Eastern Province. His headquarters were at Port Ugowe, which was also the centre for the Nandi district, and the districts coming directly under his control were those of Mau, Baringo, Suk and Nandi. Very little is heard at this time of the eastern end of the Province, since it was mainly in the hands of the railway with a Sub-Commissioner, Bagge or J. P. Wilson, looking after civil matters from Naivasha. Johnston reported in February that he intended occupying the site for the proposed capital near Londiani and, to that end, he was transferring most of the Ravine staff there, since, whatever the outcome of his proposals for the joint capital, he considered it to be the place for the headquarters, administrative and military, of the Eastern Province and probably for the departmental capital of the Nandi District.[5]

Not until after his return to England in June 1901 did Johnston learn that the Foreign Office was having second thoughts regarding federation, and that the transfer of Uganda's Eastern Province to the East Africa Protectorate was being considered. In a letter to the Foreign Secretary (9 August 1901) he opposed any extension of the East Africa Protectorate to the Lake, and recommended that the sway of John Ainsworth, now Sub-Commissioner at Nairobi, should not be extended to include those sections of the Masai living in the Mau, Baringo and Nandi districts. But this arrived too late to alter the decision, and in the following month Hill minuted a letter from Jackson, who was Acting Commissioner of Uganda since Johnston's departure: "I want Jackson to be Deputy Commissioner of East Africa Protectorate so that he can have all Masai and Eastern Province under him."[6] Jackson was, of course, a natural choice as he had been stationed at Ravine from the end of 1895 until he took part and was wounded in the Mutiny operations, and

[5] Johnston to Foreign Office, 4 February 1901.
[6] F.O. 2/453 (Public Record Office).

he had been sent to the Eastern Province again with special powers during the 1900 Nandi expedition, while Johnston was touring the western marches of Uganda.[7] The decision was duly transmitted to East Africa, and on 17 November Jackson sent a message to the Collector at Fort Ternan that all officers should meet Sir Charles Eliot, Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate, when he passed through Fort Ternan on the 22nd. On the 18th Isaac, who was in charge of the Nandi District with headquarters at Ravine, left his station to meet Eliot at Londiani, and from there the two men went on to Njoro. At the end of November Jackson and Eliot met at Njoro to discuss the estimates for the Eastern Province.[8] The only question of any difficulty was that of deciding what troops should be retained in the Nyando Valley and what contribution Uganda should make to their upkeep. Major Gorges, O.C. Eastern Military District, was called in and it was decided that the two companies of Uganda's Indian Contingent should remain in the Nyando Valley and that they should be controlled by the Uganda Protectorate, which would continue to be responsible for their pay and upkeep. This detachment was essential as a reserve for the protection of the railway, to keep open the road to Uganda, to overawe the truculent Nandi and Kipsigis and to inspire the coolies with confidence.[9] It was agreed that in the event of hostilities taking place the two Indian companies would, while the operations lasted, form part of the Field Force and as such be under the control of the O.C. Troops, East Africa Protectorate. As far as local troops were concerned, Eliot insisted on retaining two companies of 4th (Uganda) Battalion K.A.R. in the Eastern Province, and he made provision for these in his draft estimates. Jackson who was still Acting Commissioner of Uganda was naturally not anxious to lose the Sudanese and the mixed Somali and Swahili companies stationed there. He particularly wished to return the Sudanese to Unyoro but, as the Uganda Protectorate was quiet, he agreed to leave them on loan until Eliot could recruit two full companies to take over the protection of the railway.[10]

On 5 January 1902, Eliot was in the Nandi country and held a meeting with the so-called chiefs, and on the 7th a mass meeting of over 1,000 tribesmen was with Jackson's consent, arranged at Muhoroni. Eliot warned the Nandi that, if thefts and raids by certain sections did not stop, severe punitive action would be taken against the tribe as a whole. As Hobley went to Entebbe in January, presumably to confer with the Acting Commissioner, Jackson, on the subject of the transfer, it is probable that Hobley did not meet his new chief, when Eliot visited the Kisumu district in that month. On 25 January 1902, Eliot informed the Foreign Office that Jackson and Hobley had discussed the inter-protectorate boundary question and had agreed on the River

[7] Jackson was already Deputy Commissioner of Uganda. He was transferred to the East Africa Protectorate service with the same rank from 1 April 1902.

[8] For some details of this meeting see H. B. Thomas. A Federal Capital for East Africa—Some Early Proposals, *Uganda J.*, **2** (1934-5), 247-9.

[9] From Uganda's point of view, it was convenient to keep the healthy Nyando stations, as it allowed the troops of the 5th (Uganda) Battalion (formerly the Indian Contingent of the Uganda Rifles) to have some months of their service away from the unhealthy areas of Uganda.

[10] Jackson to Foreign Office, 24 December 1901.

Sio. Tindi's and Mangiki's were to be transferred to the East Africa Protectorate, but no agreement was reached over the boundary near Elgon.

On 3 February 1902, Jackson wrote to inform Hobley that, as he would be in charge of the whole of Kavirondo, Nandi and Lumbwa from 1 April 1902, he should assume control over these districts now. Foaker at Mumias was ordered to send all correspondence dealing with the Elgon district to Hobley and not to William Grant in charge of the Central Province at Jinja. Grant and J. P. Wilson were also instructed to send any letters they had in their files concerning the Eastern province to Hobley. Jackson noted that the north-western and eastern boundaries of Hobley's charge had not yet been settled, but, in the case of the former, the Sio river and the southern slopes of Elgon would be sufficient for the moment and, for the latter, there was such a large extent of no man's land between Nandi and the Mau that there should be no difficulty in arriving at a workable boundary later on.[11] On 14 February, Eliot stated that he thought it essential that any tribe likely to cause trouble should be under one administration. This referred, of course, to the Masai, who were considered by Eliot at that time to be the great danger to the security of East Africa.[12]

On 15 March 1902, the following notice signed by Eliot as H.M. Commissioner appeared in the official Gazette: "Notice is hereby given that after the 31st instant the borders of the East Africa Protectorate will be extended to Lake Victoria. The territory taken over from Uganda includes the following stations: Naivasha, Ravine, Baringo, Fort Ternan, Kisumu, Nandi and Mumias." Before this, on 5 March, the Foreign Secretary (the Marquis of Lansdowne) had signed the Order-in-Council transferring the former Eastern Province to the East Africa Protectorate, under the title of Kisumu and Naivasha provinces.

On 28 March, Eliot gave his views on the division of the area into two provinces, and suggested that one province should comprise Mau and Rift Valley, as these districts were scarcely peopled at all and the land was considered suitable for European settlement; and the other should include Lumbwa, Nandi and Kavirondo, districts with a tropical climate unsuited to Europeans, and with a dense native population, not in all cases friendly. Hobley would take charge of both provinces as Assistant Deputy Commissioner, and he and Bagge would also act as Sub-Commissioner, Kisumu and Naivasha, respectively.[13] This arrangement was notified in the Gazette on 1 April 1902, when the districts in the Kisumu Province were set out as Kisumu, Mumias, Fort Nandi and Fort Ternan; and those in the Naivasha Province as Naivasha, Nakuru, the Ravine and Baringo. The same issue of the Gazette promulgated an amendment of the Hut Tax Regulations maintaining the tax at Rs. 3 per hut for the two new provinces. The final delineation of the boundary between the two provinces was approved by the Foreign Office on 8 July 1902; the line was described as running along the summit of the Elgeyo escarpment and cutting the railway line at mile 501, to the west

[11] Entebbe Archives file A/19.
[12] F.O. 2/569 (Public Record Office).
[13] F.O. 2/570 (Public Record Office).

of Londiani station, and thence continuing along the top of the Mau.[14]

Various results affecting the two provinces stemmed from the transfer, which also naturally affected policy and progress in Uganda. The most important of those taking effect immediately was the separation of the Uganda Railway from the Uganda Protectorate and the absorption into the East Africa police force of the 39 officers and 259 men of the Uganda Railway police.[15] This undoubtedly hastened the breakdown of the railway's *imperium* and led to a more healthy relationship between the railway and the administration. An incidental and not very important result was that free travel along the Sclater's and Nyando Valley roads was restored, as there was no East African legislation authorizing the tax on caravans, carts and animals previously levied by the Uganda authorities.

Of the long term results, the most important was probably that the 'waste lands' of the two new provinces were made available for white settlement, just at the time when Eliot was formulating and pressing his settlement proposals. In general the Uganda Government was doing little to further white settlement, and it may be that, had the Eastern Province remained under Entebbe, the Rift Valley, Mau, Kericho, Nandi and Plateau farms would not have been alienated.

The addition of this huge tract meant that the centre of gravity of the enlarged East Africa Protectorate had shifted to the west, with the result that in a few years Zanzibar was to lose much of its importance and the removal of the administration from Mombasa to some more central position was assured.

For a long time the western half of the transferred territories was to cause trouble to its new rulers, and to divert men, money and effort from the more rewarding enterprises being undertaken in the east. In fact hardly had the transfer been effected when, on 5 April 1902, the Nandi raided Kibigori station and carried off 30 steel sleepers. This was quickly followed in the same month by 500 Kipsigis warriors attacking a rail camp at mile 524 and, for a time, it looked as if the long-dreaded combination of Nandi and Kipsigis was about to take place. Troops were rushed up from Nairobi, General Manning, Inspector-General of the K.A.R., visited the area and drew up a scheme for defeating a combined attack, all railway camps from mile 516 to mile 560 (Lumbwa to Kibigori) were fortified, the line through the Nyando Valley was patrolled and permission was given for the establishment of a station at Kericho under Major Gorges. In the following year there was trouble with the Kamelilo Nandi which resulted in an expedition and the setting up of the Soba sub-station below Tinderet. In June, 1905, there was an expedition to Sotik, in September a column visited Kisii, and finally the large expedition to Nandi took place from late 1905 to early 1906. The subjugation of the Nandi brought peace at last to the troubled area and allowed the administration to consolidate and to begin positive government. The other side of the picture is, of course, that with this weight off their shoulders, the Uganda administrators and soldiers were able to push out from the central kingdoms

[14] Foreign Office Prints, 1902.
[15] It is often erroneously stated that the Uganda Railway never reached Uganda.

and for the 4th K.A.R. to bring security and ordered government into the hitherto lawless and largely unexplored countries to the north.

The question of a capital for the two protectorates, a project which was so near to Johnston's heart, was at first associated with the greater question of union or federation and later with the fate of the Eastern Province. As early as January 1900, Johnston informed Whitehouse he had selected a site just outside the Uganda Railway mile limit and not far from Mount Blackett. He did not let the grass grow under his feet and in April, Bagnall, who was then in charge at Ravine, asked for an assistant so that he could devote more time to supervising the construction of the new road from Ravine to the capital. The following month, James Wallace applied for a land grant of 3,000 acres for stock grazing and agriculture near to the new capital, and was prepared to surrender the grant already made to him of land near Ravine. In October 1900, Johnston was advocating to Hardinge, the Commissioner and Consul-General of East Africa, that the capital of the two merged Protectorates should be on the Mau, but Hardinge, in far-away Zanzibar, does not seem to have been drawn.

The project really began to take shape after Hill, Colonel Gracey who was engaged on an inspection of the railway, and Whitehouse visited the site and the railway authorities decided to build a station some 1½ miles from the centre of the area selected by Johnston. They also advised laying the site out immediately as the railway inevitably brought irregular settlers, squatters and other undesirables. Johnston had already taken possession on behalf of the Uganda Government because, as he put it, of its importance in connection with the railway, the water supply and the Uganda transport, A telegraph station had been set up for the use of the military, the railway and the administration and Johnston thought the time was opportune to transfer the Ravine staff to the new site. He proposed that the Government should sell some of the Ravine buildings and land to missionaries for a settlement and for a sanatorium.

The desirability of establishing a sanatorium in this healthy area was one of the many advantages Johnston saw in his scheme for the new capital, and one which was to be pressed several times in the next few years. In June 1901, Drs. Mackinnon and Macpherson recommended that a 10 to 12-bedded hospital, with a doctor and English nurses should be built on the Mau. In August that year, for some reason not given in the correspondence, the Foreign Office was trying to get money from the Treasury for a similar joint institution in the Kikuyu country. However, on 18 January 1902, a small joint committee chose a new site for the joint sanatorium at Njoro.

At no time did the Foreign Office show much enthusiasm about Johnston's plans for the new capital, despite the fact that Hill, on his visit to the site, gave the impression that the project had his approval. However that may be, by April 1901, Downing Street had decided to adopt a cautious attitude towards the suggested bestowal of the name of King Edward's Town to the new capital, and proposed to defer seeking His Majesty's pleasure in the matter until it was more certain that the site would prove in every way a success.

But Johnston was not to be deterred and on the 18th of the next month he appointed F. W. Isaac as Collector of the Nandi District to reside at the site of King Edward's Town. Isaac was instructed to leave Ravine as soon as possible to establish the new station; he was to refer all magisterial questions to J. P. Wilson, who was acting Sub-Commissioner in Kisumu while Hobley was on leave; and finally all matters regarding the sale or lease of land in the Nandi district and the allotment of the various divisions of the new capital to officials, European settlers, Indians and natives were to be decided by Jackson, who was to act as Commissioner when Johnston left for home. These orders were soon to be countermanded and three days later Johnston wrote to Isaac: "I have been examining the site of the new capital with the surveyors and Mr. Jackson. We have found parts of it very marshy. Of course this is the result of the abnormally heavy rains; still I have decided to wait a little longer before opening a new station at the site, until such time as Mr. Jackson has definitely decided in favour of the present site or has sanctioned the site being laid out a little higher up or lower down (as the case may be) to avoid proximity to swampy down. You had better therefore wait before moving from Ravine until Mr. Jackson definitely authorizes you to take the step."[16] The letter ends with an injunction to Isaac to have the road from the Ravine to the new capital put into a good state of repair. It must have been most galling to Johnston to leave the country before he had seen this cherished dream put into visible shape on the ground. It is evident from these letters, which were some of the last he wrote before leaving for home, that he had no idea there had been any change of policy, and that the Nandi Plateau, about which he always spoke in lyrical terms, was about to be severed from Uganda and, with it, the concept of federation or union was to cease to have any practical significance for many years.[17]

16 Entebbe Archives file A/19.

17 Some clamour for federation arose locally in 1905 when the Foreign Office handed over to the Colonial Office its responsibilities in East Africa. Struggling European settlers voiced, in letters to the *East African Standard*, the hope that under the new regime they would be treated more like their fellows in Canada, Australia and South Africa: and Lugard was suggested as an experienced first High Commissioner who would give effect to their wishful thinking. There is no evidence that this proposal made any impression on the Colonial Office.

SOME ASPECTS OF RUNYANKORE[1]

By H. F. Morris

Introduction

RUNYANKORE belongs to what is usually termed the 'Runyoro group' of languages which are spoken in the Western Province of Uganda and in Bukoba District of Tanganyika. It has, however, been recognized for some years that Runyankore is a separate language from Runyoro and not merely a dialect of it, there being wide differences phonetically, grammatically and in matters of vocabulary. In this essay I propose to deal chiefly with the phonetic structure of Runyankore, several aspects of which are of considerable interest when examined in relation to the allied Bantu languages of Uganda.

First it must be explained that 'Runyankore' is a word which was applied in this century to the language spoken by the inhabitants of the administrative district of Ankole—itself a creation, in its present form and extent, of the 20th and last decade of the 19th centuries. In fact, however, there are various dialects spoken in different parts of the district and though the grammatical differences are slight there are considerable differences in pronunciation. Similarly, in Kigezi, dialects of the same language are spoken (save in Bufumbira where Runyarwanda prevails), but because Kigezi was a separate administrative district, the language was known by a different name, being called Rukiga after the dominant Bakiga tribe of Ndorwa. The principal differences in pronunciation lie between the speech of the semi-Hamitic Bahima and that of the Bantu agriculturalists, whether they be the Bairu of Ankole or the Bakiga of Kigezi, and this has been the principal consideration in the task of evolving a common written language for the two districts. In Ankole this has not, in the main, presented any great difficulty since the Bairu have accepted without question that the speech of the Bahima, and in particular that of the Omugabe and his circle, is the standard to be followed and that the written language should, as far as possible, represent this pronunciation. There is, therefore, in Ankole, a form of 'received pronunciation', to use a useful piece of linguistic jargon, which the bulk of the population do not necessarily try to follow, but which is recognized as the ideal of an educated Munyankore and which is commonly referred to as 'the language of the court'. Throughout this essay, when wishing to distinguish between this and other variations of pronunciation, I have called it Kihinda speech from the name of Omugabe's clan, the Bahinda.

As might be expected, the Bakiga have been less ready to accept Kihinda speech as a determining factor in settling problems of how the common language should be written. At the Orthography Conference of 1954 the Kigezi representatives objected strongly to the adoption, for instance, of the *ts* which, though used by the Bahororo of Rujumbura, as well as by their fellow Bahima of Ankole, is unknown to the Bairu and the Bakiga. However, agreement was

[1] From the Uganda Government Essay Competition 1956.

finally reached and there is now one written language, officially recognized in both districts, though called Runyankore in Ankole and Rukiga in Kigezi.

The Bahima when they first entered Ankole, at least six centuries ago, may well have spoken at that time an Hamitic language, but, if they did, no vestige of it survives and it is profitless to try to trace the peculiarities of Bahima speech to such an origin. On the other hand, it can be shown that certain of these peculiarities represent an older form of the Bantu language than that now spoken by the Bairu and neighbouring people. A striking example of this is the use of the single consonant sound *ts*. The Bahima, like the Batusi of Ruanda, have both a *ts* and an *s* sound whereas the Bantu speakers of Uganda have only an *s*. A word such as *empitsi* (a hyena) in Runyankore, appears in Runyoro and Luganda and in the speech of the Bairu and Bakiga as *empisi*. The Ur-Bantu stem of this noun is, however, *–pîtî* [2] and in Lubwisi, a primitive Bantu language of the Ruwenzori mountains, the noun is *mpiti*. A sound change from the explosive consonant *t* to the affricative *ts* and so to the fricative *s* is not an uncommon linguistic phenomenon and it is reasonable to suppose that such a process has taken place in the Bantu languages of the Lacustrine area, and that at the time when the Bahima entered Ankole the process had reached the intermediate affricative stage. Living a life apart from the people whose language they had adopted, the Bahima retained this consonant sound as it was when they first began to speak the language, whilst among the Bantu the process has proceeded and the sound has become a fricative.

The Runyankore Vowel

Runyankore, like Runyoro and Luganda, is a five vowel language. These vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* may be either long or short. When they are long their pronunciation is substantially the same as that of the Luganda long vowels. In the case of short vowels, however, there are certain peculiarities of pronunciation which have no counterpart in Luganda.

The short vowel *i* has a centralized version, the articulation of which lies midway between that of a normal *i* and that of a *u*. This has led certain linguists to suppose that the Runyoro group of languages of which this is a common feature, is a seven vowel language group.[3] In fact, however, the different versions of the vowel all belong to one phoneme, that is to say the use of a particular version is governed simply by phonetic and not by grammatical or etymological criteria. A centralized *i* is only found in medial positions in a word and then only between certain consonants as, for example, the words *empikye* (an ant hill) and *okuzina* (to dance). There are varying degrees to which this centralization can be taken and when the following syllable contains a back vowel, that is to say *o* or *u*, the centralized *i* may be articulated so far back in the mouth as to be indistinguishable from a *u*. The word *harimu* (there is within) and *tindikumanya* (I do not know) are pronounced as though they were *harumu* and *tindukumanya* and indeed, in the

[2] The circumflex indicates that the vowel is close.
[3] Malcolm Guthrie *The Classification of Bantu Languages*. Oxford University Press, 1948.

past, they were usually spelt in this way. According to the present orthography rules, the grammatical structure of the word must determine the spelling in such cases, but sometimes it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion. The Runyankore word for 'completely', for example, is pronounced *kyarumwe* but it is doubtful whether its spelling should be *kyarumwe* or *kyarimwe*. If the *–rumwe* or *–rimwe* (once) is in agreement with *orubu* (a turn) then it contains a real *u*, but if it is in agreement with *eizooba* (a day) then it contains an *i* articulated so far back as to be indistinguishable from a *u*. No Munyankore can answer this question.

There are also variations of the vowel *a*. Between *b* or *m* and *h* it may become close and approximate to the centralized *i* mentioned above, as for example in *Abahima*. When a back vowel follows, it is heard as a *u*, as for example in *amahuri* (eggs) which is pronounced *amuhuri*.

In Kihinda speech there is a strong tendency to devoice or whisper short vowels. This characteristic is not only unknown among the Baganda and the Banyoro but also among the Bakiga. When in a final position in a phrase, a vowel is almost always whispered except after *r* and *n*. In medial positions this tendency is most marked between two voiceless consonants as, for example, in *ekitabo* (a book) in which the *i* and the *o* are whispered. The initial vowel of a phrase and a long vowel are never whispered.

In Kihinda speech not only are short vowels often devoiced but they are sometimes elided altogether. This occurs when a short vowel separates two homorganic consonants as, for example, in *ekikyere* (a frog), *ekyanira* (a white eagle) and *omuriro* (a fire) which are pronounced *ekkyere*, *ekyanda* and *omurro*. This elision is also found between certain other consonants as in the case of *okushutama* (to sit) and *amajuta* (oil) which are pronounced *okushtama* and *amajta*. Although this is a Kihinda characteristic, the elision of a short vowel between two *r*'s is also the general rule in Runyoro and is indeed recognized in the spelling of that language.

The Runyankore Consonant

There are twenty-one consonants and two semi-vowels and, in the case of five of these, two letters of the alphabet are used in writing to represent single consonant sounds. The consonants are *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *gy*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *ky*, *m*, *n*, *ny*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *sh*, *t*, *ts*, *v* and *z*, and the semi-vowels are *w* and *y*. Table I below

Table I

	Labial		Labio Dental		Dental		Alveolar		Post Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
	U.	V.	U.	V.	U.	V.	U.	V.	U.	V.	U.	V.	U.	V.	U.
Explosive	p	–	–	–	t	–	–	d	–	–	ky	gy	k	g	–
Fricative	–	b	f	v	–	–	s	z	sh	j	–	–	–	–	h
Affricative	–	–	–	–	–	–	ts	–	c	–	–	–	–	–	–
Nasal	–	m	–	–	–	–	–	n	–	–	–	ny	–	–	–
Liquid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	r	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Semi-vowel	–	w	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	y	–	–	–

U = Unvoiced. V. = Voiced

shows the manner in which each of the consonants and semi-vowels is articulated.

The pronunciation of these consonants in many ways differs considerably from Luganda and the following are notes on certain points of interest.

b As in Luganda and in most Bantu languages of this part of Africa, this consonant is normally a fricative, half-way between an English *b* and an English *v*. In the nasal compound *mb*, however, it becomes an explosive similar to the English *b*.

c This consonant is pronounced like the *ch* in the English word *church*.

d In Runyankore, this consonant only occurs in the nasal compound *nd* and in words of foreign origin.

g, gy, k, ky The representation of these consonant sounds has been the greatest single problem in the task of working out a practical orthography. In Runyankore, as in Luganda and Runyoro, the prefixes *gi* and *ki* immediately before a vowel produce the single palatal consonants *gy* and *ky* with consequent lengthening of the subsequent vowel, as for example *eki-aro* which appears as *ekyaro*, the *a* being long. So, too, in all three languages *g* and *k* when followed by *i* are palatals and the Luganda and Runyankore words for a door, *oluggi* and *orwigi*, are pronounced with a soft palatal final syllable. It might be argued that, for consistency, they should be written *oluggyi* and *orwigyi* and indeed in Ankole this spelling prevailed until recently; but since *g* and *k* must always be palatal before *i* it was decided at the Orthography Conference that the *y* was unnecessary. The real complication arises from the fact that in Runyankore, unlike Luganda and Runyoro, *g* and *k* are almost always also palatal before *e* and hence we have *okugenda* (to go) in Luganda and Runyoro but *okugyenda* in Runyankore. Were the *g* and *k* always palatal in Runyankore in such cases, then it would simply be a matter of following the convention for *gi* and *ki* and omitting the *y*. There are, however, cases where, because there has been contraction of an *a*, the *g* and *k* are velar before *e*, as for example in *okugenda* (<*oku-ga-enda*, to want it (milk)) and *okukenda* (<*oku-ka-enda*, to want it (a little thing)) and the Conference insisted on a distinction being maintained by the use of *gye* and *kye* where the consonants are palatal and *ge* and *ke* where they are velar. In the present orthography, therefore, *g* and *k* represent palatal consonants if followed by *i* but velar consonants if followed by any other vowel, whereas *gy* and *ky* can only represent palatal consonants. This, however, gravely affects the general orthographic rules for the representation of long vowels. In general, the combinations C*y*V and C*w*V represent a contraction of CV+V and the result is a lengthening of the vowel.[4] Since this is a rule with few exceptions, it is unnecessary to write the vowel double in such cases and this is the accepted practice in Luganda, Runyoro and Runyankore. In Runyankore, however, *ky*V and *gy*V do not now necessarily represent the result of *k*V+V and *g*V+V with an inevitable lengthening of the vowel, and the rule no longer holds in the case of these combinations. For example, in *okukyeta* (<*oku-ki-eta*, to call it) the *e* must be long but in *okukyeta* (from the verb stem *-kyeta*, to examine) the *e* is short. Since a vowel is invariably written single after

[4] C=consonant; V=vowel.

gy and *ky*, as after all C*y* combinations, there is, therefore, under the present orthography rules, no way of showing whether this vowel is long or short. To make matters even more complicated, the palatal *gy* and *ky* of Kihinda speech are not palatal at all in the speech of the Bairu and the Bakiga who pronounce these consonants even further forward in the mouth and make them post-alveolar, approximating to the English *j* and *ch*; hence the common spelling of Bachiga.

j In Runyankore, unlike Luganda and Runyoro, this consonant is pronounced like the French *j* and until recently was usually represented by *zh*. There is a tendency among the Bairu to replace it by *z*.

n In the compound *nt* the *n* is dental and not alveolar and in the compounds *ng* and *nk* it is velar. Since, however, in Runyankore, unlike Luganda, the velar nasal never appears except in *ng* and *nk* compounds, there is no need, as in Luganda, to use the long-tailed ŋ. There are a few words in which *n* is followed by a semi-vowel. This combination cannot be written *ny* as this is used to represent a single consonant sound, the palatal nasal. This problem also exists in Luganda where *nÿ* is used. In Runyankore, however, this combination is represented by *ni*, e.g. *eizinio* (the hindquarters of a cow).

p This consonant very rarely occurs except in the compound *mp* and in words of foreign origin.

r Though the Bakiga and some Banyankore use an *l* in their speech, this consonant is not accepted as a true Runyankore sound and it has been agreed that *r* alone shall be written except in foreign words including the name of the district which is a European corruption of Nkore.

s, sh The Banyankore have both the consonant *s* and *sh* but there is a tendency among the Bairu to replace *sh* with *s*.

t Throughout the Runyoro group of languages, though not in Luganda, this consonant is dental and is pronounced as in French.

ts As has already been mentioned, this consonant is a characteristic of Kihinda speech and the Bairu and Bakiga replace it with *s*.

The double consonant, which is an outstanding characteristic of Luganda, does not occur in the Runyoro group in which, in similar circumstances, the consonant is single and is preceded by *i*, as for example *omusajja* (a man) in Luganda and *omushaija* in Runyankore. The only consonants which are written double in Runyankore are *n* and *m* in cases where the first personal prefix *n* precedes a stem or another prefix beginning with a nasal, as for example, in *ninnaga* (I am throwing away) and *mmanya* (I know) (<*n-manya*). The reason for this spelling is merely to give clarity of meaning; in pronunciation the nasal is not doubled though it has the effect of lengthening the preceding vowel and *ninnaga* is actually pronounced as though it were written *niinaga*. In speech, however, double consonants will occur through the elision of a short vowel which has already been referred to, as for example in *ek(i)kyere* (a frog).

Consonant Sound Change

The assimilation of a nasal to the following consonant in compounds is a common feature of Bantu languages and in Runyankore the nasal appears

as *m* before bilabial consonants (e.g. *embuzi* <*en-buzi* a goat); as a dental *n* before *t*, though this is not shown in the spelling (e.g. *ente* <*en-te* a cow); as a palatal *n* before a palatal consonant though this also is not shown in the spelling (e.g. *enkima* <*en-kima* a monkey); as a velar *n* before a velar consonant, again not shown in the spelling (e.g. *enkoko* <*en-koko* a fowl); and as an alveolar *n* before any other consonant. In such compounds the nasal also produces a variety of sound changes which are as follows:

n + *b* (fricative)	> *mb* (explosive)	– *embuzi* (stem *–buzi*) goat
m + *h*	> *mp*	– *empunu* (stem *–hunu*) pig
n + *r*	> *nd*	– *endwara* (stem *–rwara*) illness
n + *n*	> *n*	– *enana* (stem *–nana*) sickles
n + *m*	> *m*	– *emanzi* (stem *–manzi*) hero

These changes correspond to similar changes in Luganda and other Bantu languages. In Luganda, however, there is another nasal compound change *n* + *y* > *nj*. This sound change, with the exception of one word, does not operate in Runyankore where a regular formation is found such as *nyoora* < *n-yoora* (I scoop up). The one exception is the word *njeru* (a white cow or animal for sacrifice) which is formed from the stem *yeru* (white).

In Luganda there is, in addition to the sound changes referred to above, the operation of what is called the Ganda Law.[5] According to this law, when a nasal is prefixed to a stem beginning with *l*(*r*), *b*, *y* or *g*, the second syllable of which also begins with a nasal, the first consonant of the stem is dropped and the nasal, which is assimilated to the dropped consonant, is doubled: e.g. *n-bamba* > *mmamba* I peg out; *n-linda* > *nninda* I wait for. In Runyankore this law has no general application and 'I peg out' and 'I wait for' are *mbamba* and *ndinda*.

There is, however, a small group of nouns in the RU–N class with stems beginning with *b* which have plurals which conform to the Ganda Law except that the nasal is not doubled; these are:

orubanja	court case	plural	*emanja*
orubango	spear shaft	,,	*emango*
orubingo	elephant grass	,,	*emingo*
orubungo	dung heap	,,	*emungo*
orubambo	peg	,,	*emambo*
orubengo	lower grind stone	,,	*emengo*
orubanga	hill side	,,	*emanga*

Other nouns in this class with stems beginning with *b* the second syllable of which begins with a nasal do not follow this law, e.g. *orubindi* (pot) plural *embindi*. There is also the noun *emandwa* (a medium). This noun is clearly derived from the verb *okubandwa* (to consult an oracle) and in its formation the Ganda Law has been observed, but here there is no longer a conscious process and if a Munyankore is asked to put this noun into a diminutive class, he will say *akamandwa*, not *akabandwa*. In normal speech a diminutive of *emandwa* would not be used, but since in constructing this rather artificial noun he does not restore the *b*, although there is no longer a nasal

[5] The Ganda Law which was first so named by Meinhof is also found in varying degrees in other Bantu languages.

compound to bring the Ganda Law into operation, it is clear that the fact that *emandwa* is derived from the stem *–bandwa* has been lost sight of. In Runyoro there are no such vestiges of the Ganda Law when a nasal precedes a stem beginning with *b* and in that language 'a medium' is *embandwa.* In both Runyankore and Runyoro there is, however, one vestige of the operation of the law (again without the doubling of the nasal) when a nasal precedes a stem beginning with *r*. This is found when the adjectival stem *–rungi* (good) is in agreement with a noun in the N–N class or the plural of the RU–N class: e.g. *n-rungi* > *nungi* not *ndungi*.

Another linguistic law which, though not in general operation in Runyankore, appears to have had some effect upon the language, is Dahl's Law. This law, which has had no influence on Luganda, operates in many Bantu languages and is found operating to its full extent in Runyarwanda and Kikuyu. According to this law, if two succeeding syllables would otherwise contain an unvoiced explosive consonant, the first of these consonants is voiced and hence in Runyarwanda: e.g. *iki-tabo* > *igitabo* (a book); *tata* >*data* (father). There are few vestiges of this in Runyankore and those which exist are contained within the stems of words and not in prefixes. In Runyankore, for example, the word for middle is *ahagati*, whereas the Ur–Bantu stem is *–kati*, as it is in Luganda. Slight though the traces of the influence of this law are in Runyankore, there is evidence that its operation is still a conscious process and the Runyankore word for a coat, taken from the English, is sometimes pronounced *egooti* instead of *ekooti*.

Among the Bakiga there is a tendency to insert an extra consonant in consonant plus semi-vowel combinations. This is rarely heard in Runyankore and is unknown in Kihinda speech. It is clearly a result of the influence of Runyarwanda in which language there is a series of such consonant changes which invariably take place, although they are not shown in the spelling of the language; they are as follows:

bw ndw pw rw sw tw by ry sy ty are pronounced
bg ndgw pk rghw skw tkw bgy rgy sky tky

The degree to which the Bakiga are influenced by this phonetic rule varies and the whole range of these consonant changes is never found.

Tone

Runyankore, like Luganda but unlike Runyoro, is a tonal language. That is to say, to use the phraseology of the linguists, tone in Runyankore has a semantic value and one word can be distinguished from another with a different meaning merely by the difference in its tone:

e.g. *Omugongo* a ridge
Omugôngo a back
Tibarígura they will not buy
Tibarigura they do not buy (habitual present) it (RI–MA class).[6]

A knowledge of tone is, therefore, a help, though not essential, to a foreigner

[6] High tone syllables are marked ′; falling tone syllables are marked ˆ; low tone syllables are unmarked.

learning the language and, of course, it is only by its correct use that he can hope to 'speak like a native'.

A European on first hearing Luganda spoken is immediately struck by the cadence in a Muganda's speech and the early missionaries made frequent reference to the 'musical quality' of Luganda. The wide range between high and low tones in Luganda is not found in Runyankore, the tonal aspect of which is far less noticeable. Here the range is narrow and, unlike Luganda, a low tone is a far more common occurrence than a high one.[7] Furthermore, as has already been mentioned, there is a marked tendency to whisper vowels and if, therefore, a whispered vowel follows a voiceless consonant, the syllable can have no perceptible tonal quality and the tone it possesses is purely notional. That it does possess a tonal value can, however, be discovered by asking a Munyankore to whistle the word and observing that he will then give the syllable the tone which the grammar requires.

I do not propose here to make more than the briefest reference to the tonal grammar of Runyankore, a most complex subject, the study and understanding of which is in any case, as yet, far from complete. Nouns are divisible into three classes. Nouns of the first class have all their syllables on a low tone, e.g. *Omukungu* a chief.

Nouns of the second class have a high tone on the first syllable of the stem if this syllable contains a short vowel, and a falling tone if it contains a long vowel: e.g. *Omukama* a king; *Omushâija* a man; *Omutûmbi* a corpse.

Nouns of the third class consist

(a) of those which have a high tone on the second syllable of the stem: e.g. *Omushomésa* a school teacher;

(b) of those which, having a long vowel in the first syllable, have a high tone on this syllable: e.g. *Ruhánga* the Creator.

Verbs are divisible into two classes, those which, in the infinitive, have all their syllables on a low tone and those which, in the infinitive, have a high or falling tone on the first syllable of the stem:

e.g.	*Okugura*	to buy	Class I
	Okukóra	to do	Class II
	Okuréèba	to see	Class II

Each class has its own distinctive conjugation which differs tonally, not merely according to the tense and whether it is affirmative or negative but also according to whether or not there is an object prefix. On the other hand, the phonetic nature of the prefix does not alter the tonal behaviour as it does in Luganda:

e.g.	*Náágura*	I bought (this morning)	Class I
	Náákóra	I worked (this morning)	Class II
	Ndyákígura	I shall buy it	Class I
	Ndyákikóra	I shall do it	Class II

The tonal behaviour of words is quite different when they are in isolation or the last word of a phrase (as in the examples given above) from when they occur in a phrase with a word following. In the latter case a word will usually

[7] For this reason high tone syllables are marked and low tone syllables are not; in Luganda the opposite convention is used.

lose such high tones as it possesses in isolation and the initial vowel of the following word will take a high tone instead:

e.g. *Náákígura*	I bought it	*ahonáàho*	immediately
Náákikóra	I did it	*ahonáàho*	

become in sequence

Naakigura	*áhonáàho*	I bought it immediately
Naakikora	*áhonáàho*	I did it immediately

This is another factor in the reduction of the number of rises in tone in a Munyankore's speech.

There are variations in the tone employed by different speakers attributable to some extent, but not entirely, to dialectic differences in various parts of the district. There is a very marked tendency for certain speakers to ignore high tones in certain verb forms[8] and some will, for example, pronounce the praise-name meaning 'he who gambols like a calf' *Rukína* and some *Rukina.* It is possible that tone, too, is a survival of an older form of the Runyoro language group and that Runyankore is in the process of following Runyoro in dispensing with it as an essential part of the language.

Conclusion

Runyankore is a particularly interesting language to the Bantuist. On the one hand, he has the strange idiosyncrasies of pronunciation which the Bahima seem to have superimposed upon a Bantu language and which are without parallel in neighbouring languages. On the other hand, he has what appears to be a comparatively primitive language, the vocabulary of which reflects, to a greater extent than does, for example, Luganda, the stems of Ur–Bantu. Furthermore, this vocabulary contains a wealth of words connected with the keeping of cattle which again are without parallel in neighbouring languages. Much of this peculiar and vivid vocabulary is now in danger of extinction, being known only to the illiterate Bahima. The reason for this is that the early missionaries came mainly into contact with the Bairu who formed the vast majority of the population and to whom this vocabulary was unknown and it has, therefore, been their more limited vocabulary which has prevailed in the schools and which is now alone known among the educated, even those who are Bahima.

To the European learning the language, Runyankore is very difficult. Grammatically it is, like Runyoro, far more complicated than Luganda in its verbal conjugation. Luganda, though it has its own problems resulting from its use of double consonants and the sound change complications to which they give rise, has what appears to be a more developed, and certainly a very much simpler, verbal conjugation. For example, in Luganda all that is required to form the negative of a tense is, with very few exceptions, to prefix *si* or *te* to the affirmative form, whilst to obtain the relative form of a verb, the initial vowel is prefixed to the simple form. In Runyankore, however, to obtain the

[8] C. Taylor in the introduction to his *Runyankore Dictionary* (in the course of publication) refers to this and calls such Banyankore "low tone speakers" remarking that they are largely found in the towns. There does not, however, appear to be any complete consistency in this respect in the speech of any one speaker.

negative and relative, completely different forms of most tenses have to be learnt:

e.g.	They worked	they did not work	they who worked
Luganda:	*Baakola*	*tebaakola*	*abaakola*
Runyankore:	*Bakakora*	*tibarakozire*	*abaakozire*

The principal difficulty, however, which the European encounters is in understanding the language when it is spoken on account of the elision and devoicing of vowels. This makes words, which are familiar when written, often unrecognizable when spoken. As has already been mentioned, this peculiarity of Bahima speech is not found in Rukiga, in which each syllable is fully pronounced, and a European wanting to learn the language would be well advised to start with that dialect.

WEST NILE DISTRICT.
SOME SOIL AND VEGETATION TYPES

By D. J. GREENLAND and R. J. CHANCELLOR

THE West Nile District of Uganda forms the north-west corner of the Protectorate, bordering the Belgian Congo in the west and the Sudan in the north (Fig. 1). The Albert Nile forms the eastern boundary for all the District except for East Madi, with which the present paper is not concerned.

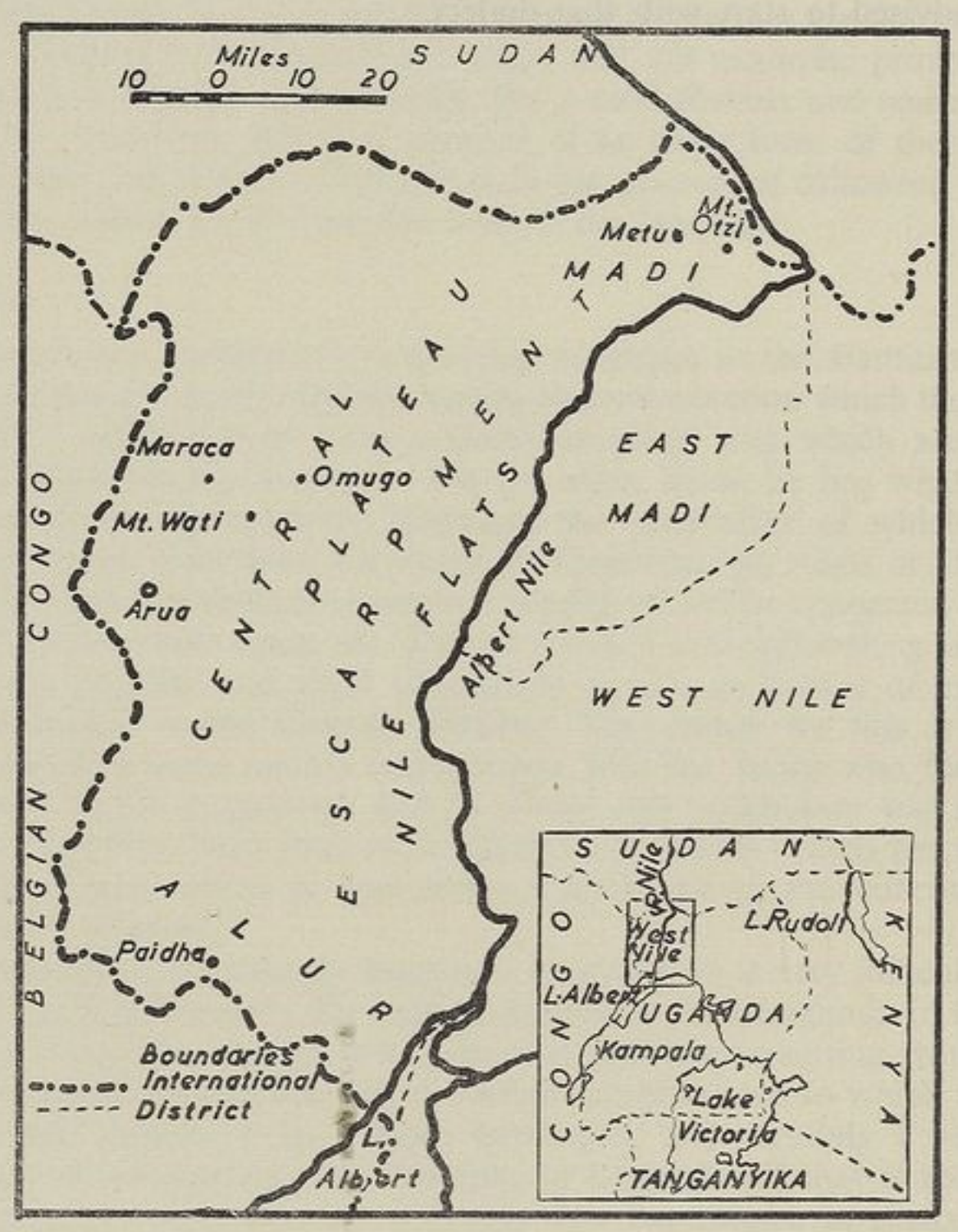


Fig. 1.
West Nile District.

The western boundary, shared with the Congo, is the Nile–Congo watershed. The Nile valley here lies at an altitude of 1,800 to 2,000 feet above sea level, and extends for 10 to 20 miles on either side of the river. On the western

side of the valley an ill-defined escarpment runs from north to south of the District, rising from the level of the valley floor to about 5,000 feet at the southern end of the District and to about 3,500 feet in the north. Beyond the escarpment, apart from the extreme northern and southern ends, there is a plateau rising gently to the watershed. Rainfall over much of the District is 40 to 60 inches per annum and is, for the tropics, well distributed, the only marked dry season being from December to February. A break usually occurs in the rains about June. Along the Nile valley the rainfall is rather less, and the effect of this on the vegetation is accentuated by the higher temperatures which prevail there. The rainfall distribution map (Fig. 2) was compiled by H. L. Manning on the basis of rainfall probability, and observation of vegetation

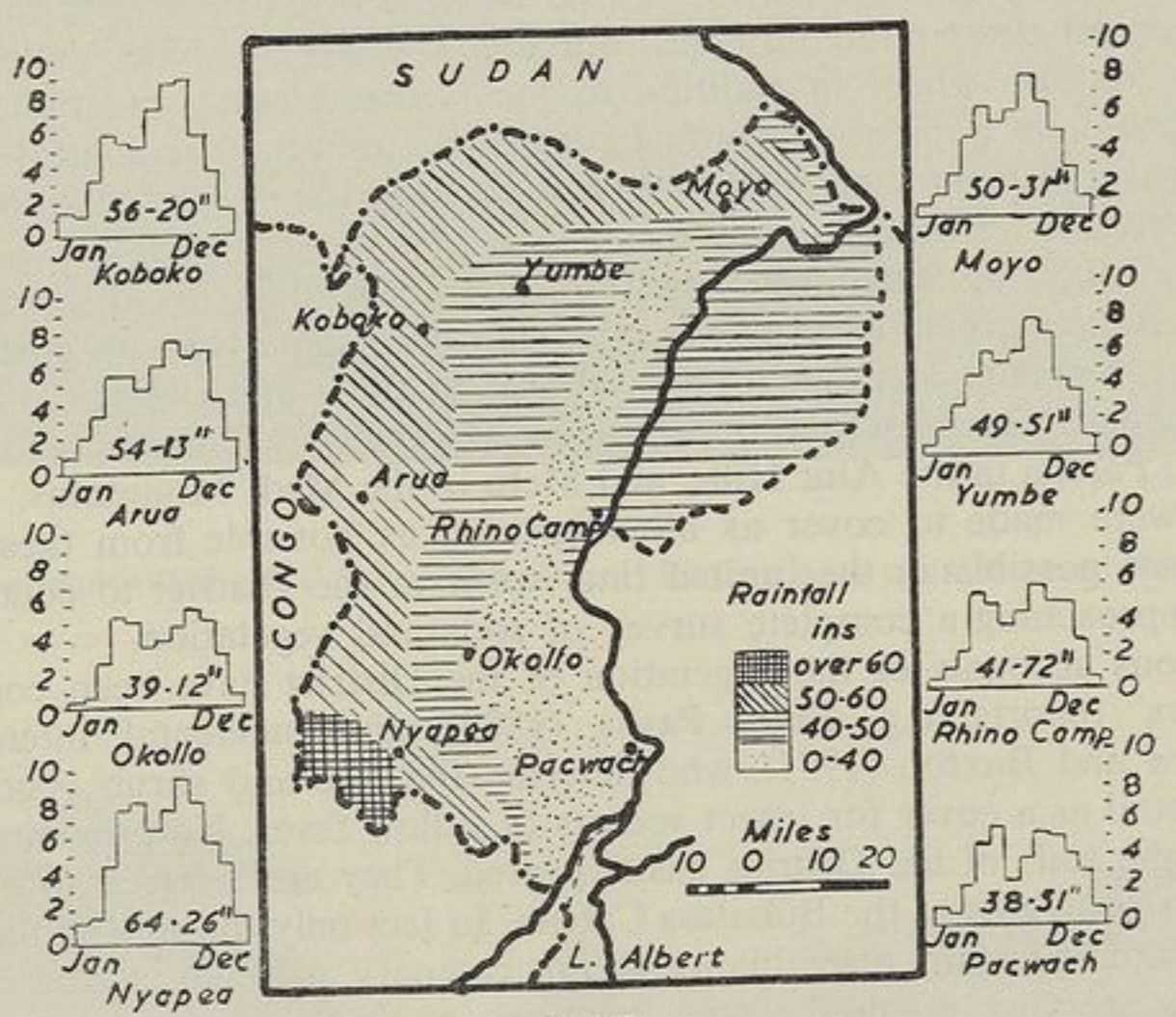


Fig. 2.
Rainfall Distribution in West Nile District.

types was used to assist in marking boundaries where actual data were scanty. Apart from rainfall very little meteorological data is available, but temperatures in the Nile Valley probably seldom fall outside the range 70–105°F., whilst on the plateau it is generally much cooler, night temperatures often being as low as 50°F. and maximum temperatures very seldom exceeding 90°F. Some more general climatic data are given by Henderson (1949.)

The plateau and highland areas of the District are underlain by rocks of the Ancient Basement Complex. The main plateau area in the centre of the District is an old erosion surface, interlaced by a great number of tiny streams which unite further from the watershed, and eventually reach the Nile as six main rivers. On this part of the plateau there are frequent outcrops of a grey granitic gneiss composed mostly of feldspar and quartz. In the south of

the District the soils are more commonly derived from various schists; actinolite, mica, kyanite and chlorite schists are all found (Harris, 1941). The more rapid weathering of these softer rocks has given rise to the steep hills and deeply cut river valleys which are typical of this area. In the extreme north of the District there is again a change in topography. A massive quartzite ridge, terminating in the peak of Otze dominates the landscape. Besides this ridge which rises from an almost level plain, other rocky hills are present, formed from later intrusions into the more general rocks of the Basement Complex. These intruded rocks include granites, pegmatites and an augite rock (Dawkins, 1944). The Nile Flats are deeply overlain by alluvial material.

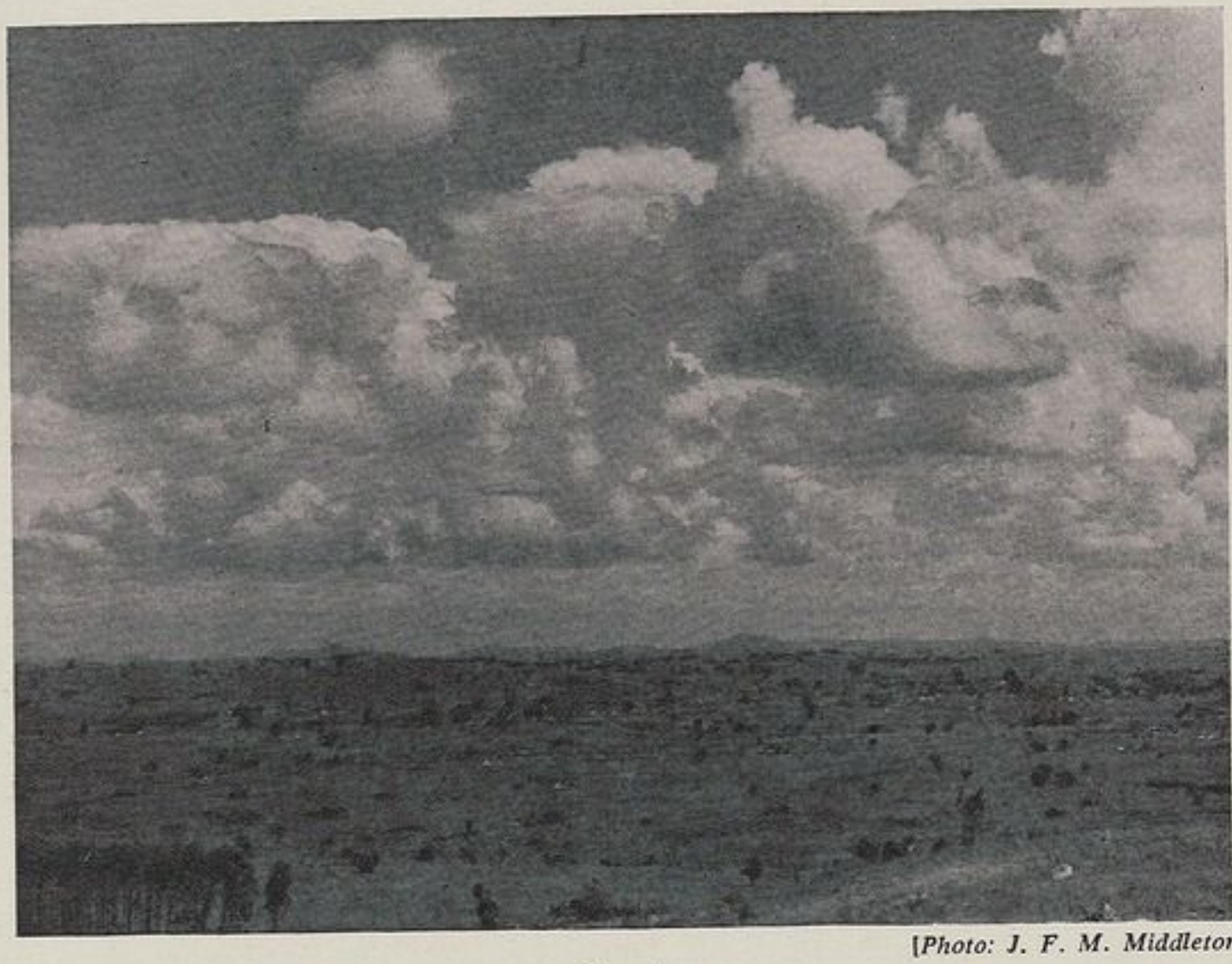
The topographical variations in the area are accompanied by ecological differences, so that the District may be conveniently divided for the purpose of ecological description into the four areas of (1) the Nile Valley; (2) the Central Plateau, where in addition to the factors already mentioned a high concentration of population exerts an extremely important ecological influence; (3) the Alur Hills at the southern end of the District; (4) the Madi Mountains in the extreme north.

In the following account we shall not attempt to describe all types of soils and vegetation occurring in the District, but only some typical associations of the three highland areas mentioned above. In these areas the accounts given refer primarily to those parts centred on Maraca and Omugo in the Central Plateau, Paidha in the Alur Hills, and Metu in the Madi Mountains. Although efforts were made to cover as much ground as possible from these centres it was not possible in the limited time spent in the District to conduct anything approaching a complete survey of soils and vegetation.

Previous accounts of the vegetation of the District have been confined to travellers' reports, e.g. Emin Pasha (1888), and incidental interests, e.g. Lumsden and Buxton (1951), who describe the tree and shrub vegetation in some detail as a cover for insect vectors of yellow fever. No previous description of the soils of the District has appeared. They are referred to by Tothill (1950) as belonging to the Bukalasa Catena. In fact only the soils of the Central Plateau area bear any resemblance to this catenary association, and even here the soils are very much the poor relations of the rich red loams and deep black clays typical of the Bukalasa Catena in central Uganda. Griffith (1948) mentions the soils of the West Nile Highlands in the stony phase of the Buganda Catena. However a closer relationship exists between the soils of the Central Plateau area and those of the adjoining areas of the Sudan, described by Greene (1948), and the soils found in the Alur Hills are closely related to the soils found in the immediately adjacent parts of the Belgian Congo, described by Holowaychuk et al. (1954).

The Central Plateau

This large area, which includes the major part of the district, contains two main types of vegetation, typified by the area of intense cultivation around Arua, and the rather lower northern and eastern part of the plateau which is less densely settled. Although these areas will be described separately it must



[*Photo: J. F. M. Middleton*

FIG. 3

Open-cultivated grassland on the Central Plateau area near Maraca, West Nile.

[*Photo: R. J. Chancellor*

FIG. 4

Riverine forest on the Alur Hills near Paidha, with typical hillside covered with *Hyparrhenia* grasses and bushes in the background.

be remembered that the differentiation is only a convenience and that they interpenetrate.

The intensely cultivated part of the plateau around Arua is divided into small convex hills by many streams. The soils on these hills conform to a catenary pattern, although only the central member of the catena is widespread. This generally consists of clearly divided creep and sedentary horizons (using Nye's terminology, 1954). The creep (Cr) horizon is formed of about 8 inches to 1 foot of a dark, brownish-grey loamy sand, and the sedentary (S) horizon of 2 to 3 feet of a uniform, compact red-clay-loam, which overlies fragmentary quartzite. This soil is generally acid (*c*.pH 5·5). The subsoil often contains orange and mauve mottles, which are sometimes found to have hardened to form a pisolitic ironstone. Nowhere in this part of the plateau however are there areas of indurated laterite.

The grey topsoil has a loose, powdery consistency and is very liable to erode if exposed during the rainy season. Where this has happened the red subsoil appears at the surface, and a moderately hard crust is formed, but beneath this the subsoil remains soft. In one place gulleying was observed to have followed the loss of topsoil. Such eroded areas support no vegetation apart from an occasional thorn-bush. They are not very common and at the moment not extensive.

The upper slope member of the catena is often absent. Where it does occur it consists of a shallow layer of coarse, dark-grey sand, often mixed with quartzite fragments and lying directly on the parent rock. The depth of soil is seldom as much as one foot and over much of the area the tops of the slopes have been completely denuded. The rocky outcrops so formed are a noticeable feature of the landscape. It is likely that the gradual erosion of the higher land has taken place by a process of soil creep, and that the grey sandy topsoil of the midslope member of the catena is to be attributed primarily to this process.

The valley bottom soils generally consist of a layer of dark grey coarse sand, one to two feet thick, which merges into a sticky, very plastic blue-grey clay, used for pot-making, i.e. a kaolinitic and not a montmorillonitic clay. These soils are slightly less acid and more fertile than the others of the catena. They are however very limited in extent, seldom covering more than a few yards on either side of the stream.

On all the soils in this area there is a very considerable response to fertilization by kraal manure, ashes and household refuse, which gives the impression that all the soils are low in fertility. This is confirmed by figures given by the local Agricultural Officer, but it is very difficult to obtain an accurate estimate of actual crop yields, as the normal practice is to sow in mixed stands. With the abundant rainfall and short dry season it would be expected that adequate fertilization would produce much higher yields.

The vegetation associated with these soils is very poor. All the land surface is or has recently been cultivated (Fig. 3). There are virtually no trees except those preserved for ritual reasons and the recent Eucalyptus plantations of the Forest Department. On grazing and eroded areas Acacia bushes (*A. hockii* De Wild and *A. macrothyrsa* Harms), sometimes associated with other species,

are found. The grasses of the uncultivated land rarely exceed 2 to 3 feet in height, and the number of species is small. *Setaria* is by far the commonest genus. It is usually associated with one or more of *Hyparrhenia* spp., *Brachiaria brizantha* (Hochst. ex A. Rich.) Stapf, *Sporobolus pyramidalis* Beauv., *Chloris gayana* Kunth, *Pennisetum polystachyon* (L.) Schult., *Eragrostis* spp. and others. Although common these species rarely approach the frequency even locally of *Setaria* spp. In wetter situations *Echinochloa pyramidalis* (Lam.) Hitchc. and Chase, although infrequent when compared with other marshy plants, is very noticeable because of its large size. *Imperata cylindrica* Beauv. and *Brachiaria* spp. are also common on wetter ground.

To the north and east of this densely settled area a more typical open savannah woodland type of vegetation is found. Although the change in vegetation is clearly determined by the decrease in population density and not by factors of climate or soil, there is also a difference in the soils of this area compared with those of the densely settled area. A variant of the typical catena is commonly found on the lower and more gently undulating parts of the plateau, the variant being obviously related to Greene's Ironstone Catena of the Southern Sudan, and the typical catena to his Red Loam Catena. The upper slope soil of the Ironstone Catena is a dark to buff-grey loamy sand overlying a mottled red-brown clay loam. Down the slope from this soil an area of exposed or thinly-covered indurated ironstone is found. Where there is a soil covering to the 'cuirasse' it usually consists of a few inches of pinkish-grey sand containing much pisolitic ironstone. Below this soil on the slope a heavier topsoil occurs, usually a grey-brown clay-loam, which merges into a tough, compact and frequently mottled loamy clay. Drainage is often impeded by the compactness of the subsoil, and the water-table is often near the surface. The valley-bottom soils associated with the Ironstone Catena consist of black loamy clays. They are rather more extensive than in the Arua area.

The underlying rock is the same grey granitic gneiss as at Arua. Hence it is considered that the soil differences are due to differences in topography and drainage conditions, although a slight change in parent material may have resulted in the formation of the rather heavier soils which are typical of this region. It is known (D'Hoore, 1954) that the formation of indurated lateritic soils is closely related to the movements of soil water, and relatively independent of soil composition. Thus it seems most likely that the formation of sheet ironstone in this area is to be associated with the particular type of slowly undulating topography.

The density of tree growth here varies very considerably, in places achieving a patchily closed canopy and in others having an open parklike appearance. The variation is probably related to previous cultivation, although open grassland may be somewhat commoner on the shallower soils of the Ironstone Catena than on the other soils. The grass flora is similar to that in the more densely populated area, with *Setaria* spp. as the most common dominants, but *Hyparrhenia* spp. are more frequent generally and *Sporobolus pyramidalis* Beauv. on the Ironstone soils. On poorly-drained soils of this catena *Imperata cylindrica* Beauv. often forms pure stands.

In the more open grassland on the Ironstone Catena soils *Borassus aethio-*

pum Mart. is common, the other prominent trees being *Ficus* spp., and *Butyrospermum parkii* Kotschy. Where the woodland is more dense *Acacia* spp. are common, together with *Combretum* spp. and *Terminalia* spp. Tree height seldom exceeds 20 to 30 feet.

In the more broken country around Mount Wati and on the escarpment deeper more fertile soils are found, doubtless due to the more considerable additions of soil material from higher ground. There is a corresponding change in the vegetation. *Pennisetum purpureum* Schumach., occasionally appears among the grasses, and the sizes of trees, shrubs and crops all indicate more vigorous growth.

The Alur Hills

This is the highest part of West Nile, and also has the highest rainfall. The general level of the area is *c.* 5,000 feet with hills rising to 5,600 feet. The rocks are chiefly schists, with some gneisses and quartzites. The more highly metamorphosed rocks are commoner near the escarpment. The river valleys are mostly sharply cut and lined with 'gallery forest'. Not only is the landscape more sharply sculpted than around Arua, but also the rocks are more deeply weathered, so that on more level ground very deep soils are often found. However the commonest soil type, which covers almost all the steeper hillsides, is a free-draining very shallow grey sandy loam, seldom more than 1 foot thick, overlying fragmentary quartzite and decomposing rock. The loss of soil from these hillsides has undoubtedly been accelerated by their cultivation, with at best very inadequate anti-erosion measures. This soil type clearly corresponds to the Niagaki Series described by Holowaychuk et al. (1954) in the adjoining part of the Belgian Congo. The erosion of the hillsides has contributed to the formation of deep, rich soils in the valley bottoms. These are black loams, sometimes mixed with coarse sand, and overlying a grey clay. The recent cutting of drainage ditches through these soils in settled areas has enabled their stored fertility to be used, and they are now largely employed for continuous maize or vegetable cultivation.

The deep soils generally found on the more level ground usually consist of a brownish-red loamy horizon overlying a very uniform red clay loam, sometimes more than 10 feet deep, usually with gritty quartzite fragments in the lower portion and occasionally containing quartz veins. These soils merge into soft decomposing rock. Drainage is generally free throughout the profile. No mottling was observed, but mica flakes are occasionally found. They are rather more fertile than other soils in West Nile, being less acid (pH *c.* 6·5) and better supplied with nutrients. They correspond to the Zeu Series of Holowaychuk et al. (1954).

The higher rainfall, lower population density and higher soil fertility all contribute to the notable differences in the vegetation compared with the rest of the District. Thus along the valley bottoms riverine or gallery forest is found, characterized by tall trees, reaching 100 to 120 feet in height (Fig. 4). The commonest of these are probably *Syzygium* spp. On the shallow hillside soils which have not been too recently cultivated, *Hyparrhenia* spp. are dominant, associated with *Brachiaria brizantha* (Hochst. ex A. Rich.) Stapf as

undergrass. These grasses usually occur with considerable small tree and bush cover. Common species in this cover include *Acacia hockii* De Wild., *Acacia eggelingii* Bak. f., *Entada abyssinica* Steud. ex A. Rich., *Erythrina abyssinica* Lam, and *Ficus* sp. (*natalensis*?). On more recently cultivated land less bush and tree growth is found, and the grass *Loudetia arundinacea* Steud. var. *tricantha* C. E. Hubbard ex Hutch. is often dominant. Other grasses found on cultivated or recently cultivated land in this area include *Andropogon schirensis* Hochst. ex A. Rich., *Imperata cylindrica* Beauv., *Panicum maximum* Jacq., *Pennisetum purpureum* Schumach., *Eragrostis aspera* (Jacq.) Nees, *E. tenuifolia* Hochst. ex Steud., *Chloris pynothrix* Trin., *Digitaria velutina* (Forsk.) Beauv., *Eleusine indica* (L.) Gaertn. (said to be an indicator of poor land) and less commonly *Hackelochloa granularis* O. Kuntze and *Melinis tenuissima* Stapf.. *Setaria* spp. are only rarely found, those identified being *S. longiseta* Beauv., and *S. kagerensis* Mez which grows mainly in the shade of trees. Liben and Sperry (1954) have described the savannah vegetation of the adjoining area of the Congo, but although they also distinguish grasslands dominated by *Loudetia arundinacea* and *Hyparrhenia* spp., they ascribe the two grassland types to different soils. In agreement with the findings reported here the *Hyparrhenia* spp. are reported to be dominant on the better soils. The floristic composition of the grasslands given by Liben and Sperry differs considerably from that found in the Alur Hills in West Nile. This grassland flora also differs very considerably from that of the Central Plateau area. In addition to the differences in climate and soil already mentioned it is probable that the different grazing systems of the Alur and Lugbara are important in determining the respective floras. Although the Lugbara keep relatively few cattle, these are traditionally grazed near the homestead on the older fallows. The present density of population means that most of the available grassland is heavily grazed. The Alur on the other hand usually claim a greater ownership of cattle than the Lugbara, but their cattle are not to be seen near the homesteads as there are areas reserved for grazing purposes where the cattle are herded and grazed together.

The Madi Mountains

This area in the north-east corner of the District consists of a broad plateau at *c.* 3,000 feet which is overshadowed by the massive quartzite ridge of Otze-Urudri. To the west of the area there is a series of small granite hills probably originating from a single intrusion into the biotite gneisses and schists of the Basement Complex which form the underlying rock of the plateau. The soils on the quartzite ridge are mostly brown or grey-brown sands. These sands have crept or drifted to cover all the neighbouring area to a depth of 2 feet or more. Below the sand on the plateau there is the usual sedentary horizon of compact red-brown clay-loam, in this region often mottled and sometimes containing pisolitic ironstone. Indurated laterite was seen in only one limited locality. Even along many of the streams the expected dark clay soils are overlain by the brown sandy soil.

The granite hills to the west of the area are largely denuded but at their

foot and where soil does remain on the hills there is a grey sandy soil overlying a grey-brown loamy clay. The surface soil is generally mixed with rock fragments.

All the surface soils so far described are acid (pH 6·0–6·5) with the acidity increasing with depth. As mentioned earlier however there are a number of intrusive rocks besides the granites in this area. Of these a hill of basic augite rock is prominent. This is now covered by only a very thin layer of soil mixed with rocky fragments, but the remains of a rudimentary form of terracing can be seen here, and it is evident that at one time the soils on the hill were intensively cultivated, and were recognized as sufficiently superior to the other soils of the area to merit an attempt at preservation by terracing.[1]

This region is much more afforested than others in the District. Cultivation and grazing are at present mostly confined to the level areas of land between the hills, and the hillsides carry a rich deciduous forest flora. Dawkins (1944) has described this in some detail. The principal components of the tree flora, which he describes as "very much an association" are:

Bridelia scleroneuroides Pax,
Butyrospermum parkii Kotschy,
Combretum binderanum Kotschy,
Combretum ghasalense Engl. & Diels,
Ficus dicranostyla Mildbr.,
Ficus glumosa Del.,
Ficus gnaphalocarpa (Miq.) A. Rich.,
Ficus sp.?
Grewia mollis Juss.,
Khaya senegalensis (Desr.) A. Juss.,
Lannea kerstingii Engl. & Krause,
Lonchocarpus laxiflorus Guill. & Perr.,
Oxytenanthera abyssinica (A. Rich.) Munro,
Tamarindus indica L.,
Vitex doniana Sweet,
Ziziphus mauritiana Lam.

In the valley bottoms narrow belts of high-forest are found. The tree flora here is at present different from that of the hillsides, the characteristic species being *Khaya grandifoliola* C.DC., *Mitragyna stipulosa* (DC.)O. Kuntze, *Phoenix reclinata* Jacq., *Syzygium guineense* (Wild.) DC. and *Pandanus* sp.

Fallow and very recently cultivated land support associations of grasses containing most of the species common in the Central Plateau area. There are however some exceptions. *Brachiaria comata* (Hochst. ex A. Rich.) Stapf is locally very common, apparently occurring very early in post-cultivation series. It is often found co-dominant with *Setaria sphacelata* Stapf and C. E. Hubbard ex M. B. Moss. *Pennisetum polystachyon* (L.) Schult. is also much more common here than elsewhere. A species of Ctenium occurs in nearly pure stands near the bases of the hills of the intruded granite, but was found nowhere else in the District.

Conclusions

The climax vegetation of the West Nile District, apart from the Nile Valley, must be presumed to be high forest, as the District enjoys a rainfall of 40 to 60 inches with only a short dry season. But this vegetation is now only found as riverine or gallery forest in small areas of the Alur Hills and West

[1] A similar type of rudimentary, indigenous, terracing is practised on soils derived from the 'greenstones'—a metamorphosed basic intrusion—in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. It does not occur in other soils of the area.

Madi. Elsewhere the vegetation has been modified very considerably by the effects of cultivation, which have given rise to the *Setaria* dominated grasslands of the densely settled Central Plateau area. Grasslands are also found in the less densely populated Alur Hills, but here the characteristic dominants are *Hyparrhenia* spp. on the better soils and *Loudetia arundinacea* on the poorer soils. These grasslands have probably also been formed under the influence of cultivation. Their recolonization by woody species has been slow because of the thinness of the hillside soils. The poor management of these soils by the Alur has frequently produced considerable erosion (cf. Middleton and Greenland, 1954), and this has doubtless contributed further to their slow recolonization. Thus even where the population density is at present low, the effects of previous settlement are evident in the vegetation, as Thomas (1946) has emphasized for other parts of Uganda. Where no previous intensive cultivation has occurred as in the northern part of the Central Plateau area, where the typical vegetation is wooded savannah grassland, the effect of the biotic factor is still evident in that the development of the vegetation is restricted by annual burning. The biotic factor also influences the composition of the flora, notably in the determination of the grassland dominant by different grazing methods, and by the selective encouragement and introduction of useful species.

It has been pointed out that the thin hillside soils exert an important effect on the vegetation in delaying recolonization by woody species. The riverine forests are also determined by the nature of the soil, as is the composition of the flora of the hills of intruded basic rocks in Madi. A more intensive study than this might have confirmed a difference in the floras associated with the Red Loam and Ironstone soils of the Central Plateau, but on the whole the effects of soil on vegetation are much less important than the effects of human settlement.

The most important effect of settlement on the soils of the region has been to accelerate the erosion of soil from the steeper hillsides. The occasional truncation of the midslope member of the Red Loam Catena must also be attributed to the effects of cultivation, as well as the occasional exposure of the indurated horizon of the Ironstone Catena. The formation of indurated laterite in this area is however an entirely natural process. The laterites are dense, relatively impermeable, indurated to a considerable depth and clearly formed *in situ*. To use d'Hoore's classification (1954) they are laterites of "absolute accumulation with negligible relative enrichment" i.e. they are formed by the precipitation of sesquioxides after their mobilization in a soil horizon nearer the surface or further up the slope. The upper horizons have been lost at a later date. It is possible that a more intense dry season than occurs in West Nile at the moment is required for the induration of the lower soil horizons of sesquioxide accumulation. Such a climatic change is by no means improbable, and while the savannah type vegetation is at present biotically controlled, it may in the past have been climatically determined.

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NOTES

THE MUTINY MEMORIAL AT BUKALEBA

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

JUST sixty years ago, at sundown on 19 October 1897, three Europeans, held by the Sudanese mutineers in Luba's Fort at Bukaleba within sight of what is now Jinja, were murdered. The circumstances are related in J. V. Wild's *The Uganda Mutiny 1897*, published in 1954 in the 'Treasury of East African History' series. A memorial cairn with three inscribed marble tablets was shortly afterwards erected near the spot by relatives and friends of the victims.

Since 1893 Luba's Fort, besides being the administrative centre for Busoga, had become a busy staging post on the main caravan road from the Coast and Kavirondo through southern Busoga to Buganda. For here was the landing place for the canoes by which men and goods were ferried to and from the Kyagwe shore.

After the mutiny, Luba's Fort was abandoned and a new Fort Thruston was constructed hard-by. But in 1900 district headquarters were moved to Iganga and in the following year to Jinja, and thereafter caravans tended to cross the Nile at Jinja. A few years later the neighbourhood was depopulated by sleeping sickness and became a closed area. Bukaleba was henceforward far removed from any beaten track. Thus this cairn has been seen by very few people and it will be fitting to put on record the inscriptions on the three tablets. The accompanying photograph taken in 1901 by Mr. T. J. Spooner, District Engineer, of the Uganda Railway Construction staff[1] shows the cairn as it was soon after its erection.

A recent inspection shows that the memorial remains today in generally good condition, though the area is still unpeopled, and is 'alive' with game—buffalo, elephant and hippopotamus. In a recess below Norman Wilson's tablet a number of cent pieces were noticed, placed there, it is understood, by Africans who, from time to time pass the spot. This may be a parallel to the urge—of piety or propitiation—to which are probably due the Cairns of Koki, which are described at *U.J.*, **21** (1957), 176.

Major Thruston is also commemorated in London, in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, by a white marble mural tablet framed by red marble columns. This was erected by the officers of his old regiment, the Oxfordshire Light Infantry. The inscription is printed at page 34 of Thruston's posthumously published *African Incidents*, 1900. The numbers 43 and 52 within bugle badges which are displayed at the foot of the tablet refer to the amalgamation of the 43rd Foot (Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry) with the 52nd Regiment (Oxfordshire Light Infantry).

[1] There is an account of some of his lion-hunting adventures in Lieut.-Col. J. H. Patterson's *The Man-eaters of Tsavo*. The lettering of the tablets is somewhat inexpertly executed. Perhaps they were engraved, not in England, but by a *fundi* in East Africa.

[*Photo : T. J. Spooner*

Fig. 1.
The Mutiny Memorial at Bukaleba in 1901.

On east side:

NEAR THIS SPOT
ON THE EVENING OF OCT 19 OR 20, 1897, WAS SHOT BY THE
MUTINOUS NATIVE OFFICERS FROM THE MACDONALD EXPEDITION
HAVING PREVIOUSLY (OCT 17, 4.30 a.m.) BEEN
TREACHEROUSLY CAPTURED BY THEM
ARTHUR BLYFORD THRUSTON
SON OF C. A. AND C. S. M. THRUSTON
PENNAL TOWER, WALES
BT. MAJ. OXF. L.I.
APPT. COMMAND UGANDA RIFLES SEPT 1897
WHO DELIBERATELY RISKED AND LOST HIS LIFE IN THE
ENDEAVOUR TO SAVE THE ENGLISH FROM THE GREAT PERIL
AND RECALL THE MUTINEERS TO DO THEIR DUTY, AETAT 32
(Line of Arabic writing which translates)
BLESSED LORD, THIS SERVANT OF GOD WAS A JUST RULER
ERECTED BY RELATIVES OF
A. B. THRUSTON, B. F. P. FEILDING & N. A. WILSON

On south side:

IN MEMORY OF
NORMAN ALEXANDER WILSON
OF CASTLE PARK, HUNTLY, SCOTLAND
WHO LOST HIS LIFE HERE
AT THE AGE OF 25 WHEN IN CHARGE
OF THIS PROVINCE DURING THE SOUDANESE
REBELLION. HE WAS TREACHEROUSLY MADE
PRISONER AND WAS SHOT BY BILAL EFFENDI
ON THE 19TH OCTOBER, 1897
ALSO TO THE MEMORY OF
WILLIAM NEIL SCOTT
ENGINEER OF CAMPBELTOWN N.B. AETAT 35, MURDERED
AT THE SAME TIME AND PLACE

On the north side:

TO THE MEMORY OF
BERTRAM FRANCIS PERCY FEILDING
LIEUTENANT 1st BATTALION THE WILTSHIRE
REGIMENT WHO IN THE ACTION HERE AGAINST
THE SOUDANESE MUTINEERS
ON OCTOBER 19th 1897 GALLANTLY EXPOSED
HIMSELF TO GREAT DANGER AND PERIL
A KEEN SOLDIER, A TRUE SPORTSMAN,
A SINCERE FRIEND, AND COMRADE HE LIVED A
SOLDIER'S LIFE AND DIED A SOLDIER'S DEATH.

ARABS ON LAKE VICTORIA. SOME REVISIONS

By Sir J. M. Gray

In two articles in *The Uganda Journal*. The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda (*U.J.*, **14** (1950), 28-9), and Mackay's Canoe Voyage on Lake Victoria in 1883 (*U.J.*, **18** (1954), 19 note 3), I sought to equate "le petit boutre de Songoura" (Nicq, *Le Père Siméon Lourdel*, 480), which sank in flames near Entebbe on 2 September 1889 with Songoro's dhow which had been purchased in 1877 by Shergold Smith, the leader of the first C.M.S. expedition to Lake Victoria; and I failed to distinguish the respective owners of these craft. A re-examination of contemporary authorities indicates that there were two distinct vessels with unrelated owners bearing the same name, or rather nickname ("The Rabbit"), though variously spelt.

When Stanley reached Kagehyi (Kagei) at the south of the Lake on 27 February 1875 he was well received by "Sungoro Tarib, an Arab resident". He had been for "a long time constructing a dhow" (Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*). There is no record of any such earlier vessel on Lake Victoria. Songoro was not perhaps a full Arab, for the Rev. C. T. Wilson who saw him early in 1877 speaks of him as "a negro trader" (Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, i. 85), and he had apparently been trading round the Lake for some years. In my account of "Ahmed bin Ibrahim" (*U.J.*, **11** (1947), 85, note 7), I pointed out that neither Speke nor Grant makes any mention of Arabs in Buganda at the time of their visit in 1862. It is interesting therefore to find in Shergold Smith's diary for 23 November 1877 that Songoro "had warmly eulogized Speke, who, he said had bought cloth and beads of him in Uganda, and, when he presented the paper at Zanzibar, it was immediately cashed" (*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, July 1878, 424).

There would appear to be some corroboration of this in a remark by Wilson that Songoro "had been to Uganda several times" (Wilson and Felkin, ibid., i. 97). Further circumstantial evidence as to the truth of Songoro's assertion is forthcoming from a file entitled "Captain Speke's Expedition 1863-4, vol. 3" which is now in the Peace Memorial Museum, Zanzibar (see *U.J.*, **17** (1953), 146). In that file is a paper, which is signed by Speke and dated 31 May 1863. It is headed "My account with Ladha Customs Master Zanzibar by orders sent in I.O.U. from Central Africa." It gives copies of the I.O.U.s which extend from 1 October 1860 to 29 May 1863. No particulars are given in them beyond the dates and amounts of each debt, but one dated 6 July 1862, for fifty dollars almost certainly must have been given in favour of Songoro for his cloth and beads whilst Speke was at Mutesa's capital (Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile*, 449). Another dated 10 October 1862, for 210 dollars was evidently issued to Msalima when Speke was in Bunyoro. (ibid., 548). These are the only I.O.U.s which according to their dates, were issued by Speke during the period in which he was in Buganda and Bunyoro.

O'Neill, one of the original C.M.S. party, noted immediately on their arrival

at Kagei on 29 January 1877, that "the king of this place, in conjunction with Songoro, the slave trader is building a dhow on the island of Ukerewe. This has been in progress for the last three years, and is not yet finished: this is the same vessel referred to by Stanley" (*C.M.I.* Aug. 1877, 467).

At length in June 1877 Songoro agreed to sell the still unfinished dhow to Shergold Smith for £100. O'Neill was left to complete it, while Smith and Wilson set off to visit Mutesa, in the *Daisy*, a small cedar boat which had been brought up in sections from the coast and assembled at Kagei.

After a month at Rubaga, Smith rejoined O'Neill on Ukerewe in August. At length, on 14 November, the dhow—now named *Chimosi*, being bad Swahili for 'The First' and also embodying the initials C.M.S. (*C.M.I.* July 1878, 422)—was successfully launched. O'Neill, who had also built a dinghy dubbed the *O'Neill*, was on the best of terms with Lukonge, the "young handsome-looking" but avaricious chief of Ukerewe.

At this juncture the latter interposed with a claim for payment for timber which Songoro had used in the original construction of the dhow. Negotiations followed, and on an undertaking by Songoro to pay three frasilas of ivory against which he was to deposit pledges, Lukonge, with good grace towards Smith and O'Neill, allowed the *Chimosi* to sail on 22 November. Only two days later when lying off the pier at Kageyi she was driven on to the rocks and became a total wreck. Her contents were salved, and some of her timbers used to fence the mission burial ground.

Here, parenthetically, one may pause to remark that this pier built of stone by Smith in the previous June (*C.M.I.* Dec. 1877, 754) must have been the very first jetty to be constructed on Lake Victoria, and thus the first sign of a revolution in the use of its waterways as a means of communication.

The record regarding the course of events which ended some three weeks later with the death of Shergold Smith, O'Neill and Songoro on probably 13 December 1877—the date is discussed in an addendum to this note—has been confused by the accidents of erratic communications; only gradually was the story pieced together. Briefly on 5 December the *Daisy* with the *O'Neill* in tow left Kagei for Uganda But they soon had to return on account of the weather and the inability of the *Daisy* to tow the dinghy. On the 8th Songoro came to see Smith complaining that Lukonge was threatening his establishment on Ukerewe. Smith agreed that provided Songoro would faithfully redeem his pledges he would go to Ukerewe to see fair play.

Probably on the 12th Smith and O'Neill went in the *Daisy* with a small party of six or seven men to Songoro's establishment at Bukindo north of the Rugezi Passage. It seems that the ivory was paid to Lukonge and pledges restored. But Lukonge was in a truculent mood; that this had been provoked by Songoro's own shiftiness seems more than likely. Songoro prevailed upon Smith to assist in the removal of his women and children who were sent across the island to Nasso, a landing place on its south-western shore, while the *Daisy*, under her native captain Hassani, went round to Nasso to await orders.

The *Daisy* and the women arrived at Nasso at much the same time. Hassani, without awaiting orders, shipped the women and children. Smith,

O'Neill and Songoro following, reached Nasso to find the *Daisy* in the offing but refusing to return. Lukonge's men closed in; Smith and O'Neill decided that they could not stand aside, and when their ammunition was exhausted all were massacred, except two of Songoro's men who escaped and one C.M.S. man whose life was spared. Hassani despatched two survivors from among Songoro's men to Unyanyembe (Tabora) with messages for Mackay, and himself sailed to Uganda to inform Wilson. It was some time before the facts of Hassani's dereliction were realized, whereupon he was dismissed.

So ends the story of Songoro the first and his dhow.

* * * *

Wilson, who was alone at Rubaga awaiting news of his fellow missionaries from the south of the Lake states that, towards the end of December 1877 (when Songoro the first was already dead) "I was overtaken by a negro trader Sungura, who lived in Uganda" and who told him that Emin had arrived at Mutesa's court (Wilson and Felkin, op. cit., i. 112).

This Sungura continued in Buganda for some time. Emin encountered him on 7 January and 19 March 1878 (Stuhlmann, *Die Tagebücher von Emin Pascha*, i. 374, 469) and Dr. Felkin's diary of 6 April 1879 refers to "Songoro, a coast man" (*C.M.I.* Dec. 1879, 720). The entry in Emin's diary for 7 January 1878, translates as follows: "Sungura is much travelled and knows the land from Zanzibar to Tanganyika (he was with Burton in Kirira) and from Zanzibar to here quite well and I hope to get some information from him."

Kirira lies slightly off the direct route from Tabora to Ujiji. Burton and Speke arrived there in December 1857, and it was there that they met Ahmed bin Ibrahim el Amuri, who claimed to have reached Buganda in 1844 (*U.J.*, **11** (1947), 83) Emin's diary unfortunately tells us no more about the past history of Sungura the second. Burton does not mention Sungura in his *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, i. 392–4—very probably because his hosts were Ahmed bin Ibrahim and another full-blooded Arab while Sungura was, as Wilson states, "a negro trader".

The next reference comes from *A l'assaut des pays nègres*, the journal of the White Fathers' first expedition to Uganda, where (p. 256) is an entry dated at Kagei 10 March 1879. Père Lourdel and Frère Amans had set off for Uganda on 20 January, and the rest of the party was awaiting news from them.

"Towards mid-day the lake was covered with canoes from Uganda . . . [thinking that these] had been sent to us by Père Lourdel we ran to the shore. We were bitterly deceived. The chief of the fleet told us that these craft had been sent by Mr. Mackay to meet his colleagues . . . [He said he had met our brethren] on the lake close to Uganda . . . Bad weather had prolonged their voyage and his; it was already twenty days since he had set sail.

"This commodore . . . is called Songoura and is a native of Zanzibar. He left the coast some twenty years ago to take service under Mtesa. He told us everything that was good about this king and his kingdom. We offered him a trifling present of beads; but he politely thanked us, saying his illustrious master had provided generously for all his needs . . . Songoura was in a hurry to finish his business with Kaduma [the chief of Kagei] and in company

with the English take his way back as soon as possible. The reverend ministers [sc. the C.M.S. missionaries A. J. Copplestone and Charles Stokes] came to say farewell and were, as always, most pleasant."

Mackay notes on 2 November 1879 that "Said-ben-Saif is now building a dhow on the coast of Uzongora—just on 1°S. lat." (*C.M.I.* July 1880, 411), and later on 9 July 1880, that "Said bin Saif's dhow is almost ready for launching . . . He allowed that he meant to trade with the coast of Bugaya, where Songoro [sc. Songoro the first] used to get slaves so cheaply . . . Another vessel, but rather smaller, is now being built at Kagei, by a coast man named Sungura. This will also be a slaver." (*C.M.I.* Nov. 1880, 679). It is reasonable to conclude that this latter is the man Wilson met in Rubaga in December 1877.

On 1 July 1883 Mackay, who was on his way by canoe to the south of the Lake, states that, at a small island between Sese and Bujaju (Buddu), he came upon "Sungura's boat at anchor, *en route* for Usukuma [with] a cargo of ivory and slaves in stocks" (*U.J.*, **18** (1954), 14).

Nothing more emerges from the record until Mackay writing from Usambiro on 6 June 1889 remarks that "in the neighbouring district of Mwanza there has settled a mischievous coastman, named Sungura, whom I know well, and who has already threatened to kill the white men at Nassa [the near-by C.M.S. station] in revenge for his native town of Whindi (near Saadani) having been bombarded by the Germans" (*C.M.I.* Jan. 1890, 24).

Three months later, 2 September 1889, the dhows of Said bin Saif and Sungura came to their richly merited end off Entebbe as a result of well-timed operations led by Gabulieri Kintu, one of Mwanga's chiefs. These are described in detail in *U.J.*, **14** (1950), 38–40; and from Nicq's Life of Lourdel (op. cit.), it seems that Songoro himself was present and was killed.

The second Songoro and his dhow may thus also be written off.

* * * *

An interesting comment upon early Arab contacts with Uganda appears in a letter from Shergold Smith dated 27 August 1877. "One of Songoro's men here [Ukerewe] has traversed the Masai country twice. Eight years ago he did the distance from the borders of the Waruri's country [roughly around the present port of Musoma] to Tanga in twenty-four days, but says it has been done in fifteen. The chief difficulty is the hatred of the Masai to any stranger. Since his time, travelling became more hazardous and had to be abandoned. Hamad bin Ibrahim, [see *U.J.*, **11** (1947), 80–97], to go back twenty-five years, tells me that when he first went to Uganda, an Arab caravan, numerous and well armed, tried to force a passage through the Masai country. They did so but arrived in Uganda with a loss of six Arabs killed and 300 men killed, captured, or rendered unable to proceed." (*C.M.I.* Mar. 1878, 159). Disregarding a few years discrepancy in date this last might well be the Arab caravan which "came across the Masai as far as Usoga" shortly after the death of Suna, of which Speke learned from Mutesa's ambassador in November 1861. (Speke, op. cit., 187.)

* * * *

Conflicting rumours of the disaster on Ukerewe Island in December 1877 began to circulate in Zanzibar early in March 1878, and Smith,

Mackenzie and Co., as agents for the C.M.S. telegraphed the bare report to London on 19 March, which was published in *C.M.I.* April 1878, 251.

Meanwhile Dr. Kirk, the Consul-General at Zanzibar, received a coherent and creditably accurate account of the affair from Mr. Morton, an Englishman who had left the coast in the previous March to take a caravan of supplies up-country for the C.M.S. (He committed suicide later in 1878), and this account Dr. Kirk transmitted to Lord Derby at the Foreign Office in a despatch dated 6 March 1878 (a copy is in Zanzibar archives). Morton writing from Unyanyembe on 16 January 1878, whence he was about to return to the coast with a caravan of ivory from Mirambo, had his account from the two survivors sent off to Unyanyembe by Hassani and he dated the affair about 7 December. He gave details of the final attack which was said to have lasted from morning until afternoon when the defenders' ammunition ran out. Not until next morning did the *Daisy* return, when three survivors who had concealed themselves swam off and got on board. The bodies of Smith, O'Neill and Songoro were seen naked and mutilated on the shore but could not be recovered.

This despatch reached London on 1 April and is summarized in *C.M.I.* May 1878, 313–4; and this is substantially the only account that was current for some months.

As soon as the news reached C. T. Wilson in Uganda he set off for the south of the Lake reaching Kagei on 12 January 1878. Here he made all possible enquiries, and was thus the earliest and nearest investigator. The report he then made reached London on 27 April (summarized in *C.M.I.* June 1878, 380–1) and did not greatly modify or amplify Morton's understanding of the affair. At this date the last communication to hand from Shergold Smith was dated 5 December (*C.M.I.* July 1878, 427).

But Wilson continued his enquiries as later opportunities offered, in the course of which he learned of Hassani's desertion. Later a dispatch box of Smith came to him in which he found an uncompleted letter from Smith dated 10/11 December 1877 which was published in *C.M.I.* November 1878, 701–4. Only then was it recognized that the date of the disaster was probably 13 or 14 December 1877. But the earlier date had already gained wide currency (e.g. in C.M.S. *Gleaner* July 1878, 73–4).

Wilson's considered conclusions are given in his book, Wilson and Felkin op. cit. i, 120–5. This and *C.M.I.* for November 1878 should therefore be referred to for the most authoritative statement of the whole affair.

In one particular only may Wilson's emphasis be questioned. He put the major part of the blame on Lukonge. In July 1878, Mackay was waiting at Kagei to cross to Uganda. In response to an invitation, alone and unarmed, he visited Lukonge, and was satisfied that the latter, as he protested, had no intention of killing Smith and O'Neill who died "only because they got mixed up with a bad Arab—Songoro". (*C.M.I.* Feb. 1879, 88–91.)

Evidence to much the same effect comes from another direction. As has been noted above, early in 1879 a party of White Fathers was waiting at Kagei. The party's diarist, who is almost certainly its able and open-minded leader Père Livinhac, took the opportunity to enquire into the Ukerewe

disaster, and gives his account in *A l'assaut des pays nègres*, 248–9. He was satisfied that Lukonge's attack was precipitated by the bad faith of Songoro.[1] The islanders who fell upon Songoro and his men gave Smith to understand that they intended nothing against him (Smith), and that he had only to stand aside. Smith replied that he could not abandon Songoro, the attack then became general and only when their ammunition ran out were they inevitably massacred.

* * * *

In conclusion I wish to express my indebtedness to Mr. H. B. Thomas for drawing my attention to the fact that there were two Songoro dhow-builders, as also to the extracts from the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* which go to prove this fact.

[1] An extract from Shergold Smith's last letter provides an illuminating comment on Songoro's conduct and helps to explain Lukonge's attitude.

"Two days ago, Songoro came to say that Lukonge was threatening his establishment in Ukerewe . . . I promised that, if he would faithfully redeem his pledge, I would go over and settle it with him . . . today [10th Dec.] he brought, as he said, the ivory; but on weighing it, it was found to be only 70 lb. [i.e. two frasilas instead of the promised three]; when asked for more, he observed, 'Oh, those Washensi won't know the difference'. Compelled to bring more, he reluctantly added another tusk, and made up the amount."

ON PAYING A VISIT IN BUNYORO[2]

By Sarah Nyendwoha

IF you had visited the home of a well-to-do Munyoro about forty years ago, you would have been received in a grass hut with the women and children peeping at you through the reed partition. If the family knew you well, the children, their mothers and their father, if he happened to be at home, would all rush out to greet you. If they did not know you well, they would see if they were tidy and presentable before coming to welcome you. In addressing you, they would use your 'pet name'. In Bunyoro the young greet the old and the inferior the superior.

There are eleven pet names[3] (*empako*) one of which is given to children of either sex at the time they receive their other names. These names are of Lwo origin and each *empako* is supposed to indicate something about its holder's personality. Nothing is known of their origin, although they were presumably introduced by the Babito, who were related to the Lwo-speaking peoples. *Empako* are used in greetings and at times when in English terms of endearment would be used. These are the names:

Aboki	Apuli
Abwoli	Arali
Acali	Atenyi

[2] Part of a lecture entitled 'The Peoples of Bunyoro' delivered at a joint meeting of the Uganda Society and the Extra-Mural Department of Makerere College.

[3] Beattie (*Uganda J.*, **21** (1957), 99) refers to 12 *empako* which he translates as 'praise names'. He may, however, have included the name, Okali, among the twelve. Okali is not an *empako* in the ordinary sense. It is used only for the Omukama and with one greeting, *Zona Okali, waitu.*

Adyeti	Atwoti
Akiiki	Bala
Amoti	

When people who are closely related greet each other the younger sits on the elder's lap and, among the Babito, the one who sits on the other's lap touches his friend's forehead and chin with the tips of the fingers of his right hand.

After greetings, coffee berries, specially kept for guests, would have been offered to you in a small basket made of raffia and soft papyrus. Then would come a pipe or tobacco for chewing and the neighbours who would have been told about your visit, would perhaps call in to see you.

Meanwhile the women would be preparing a meal for you. A guest must be given some kind of meal, no matter at what time he arrives—even if it is in the middle of the night. If you were an honoured guest, you would be given a cow or a goat, but if you were a close friend of the family you would be given a chicken, because you would not be likely to take offence at such a small present. The present would be brought to you and your host would ask you to accept it, but you would beg your host to kill it. It would be a very strange guest indeed who asked to take such a present home. Your meal would consist of millet or bananas and meat. The millet would be served in a small basket (*endiiro*) and the meat in a wooden bowl (*orucuba*). Potatoes were never given to a guest except in times of scarcity.

If your host lived near the capital and he thought you were a presentable guest he might take you to the Omukama's palace. The Omukama, when he is in residence, must by custom sit in an advertised place for certain specified hours so that any of his subjects can go and see him (*okukurata*). The guest, if he knew Runyoro, would immediately notice that his host used different words when addressing the Omukama. There are more than twenty different ways of greeting the Omukama and appropriate greetings can be said to him at appropriate times by any man. The Omukama is not expected to answer these greetings verbally; indeed, he never does. Women do not take part in this type of greeting (*okuramya.*). They merely kneel down and greet the Omukama in the normal way and he is expected to answer them. When addressing the Omukama the third person singular must be used. Nearly all verbs and some nouns used in addressing the Omukama are different from those used for commoners.

If this visit to the Omukama coincided with the new moon ceremonies, the guest would have found hundreds of people assembled in the *kikali*, dancing to music provided by the royal bandsmen. The people would have been rejoicing because the King had outlived the moon. The royal band consisted of about twenty men who served in relays playing drums, flutes and other wind instruments. These festivities used to go on for only a few days in the *kikali*. But an annual celebration used to go on for nine days—seven days in the Omukama's palace, one day in King's mother's enclosure, and the ninth day in the enclosure of the chief medicine-man. It was held in the dry season (*ekyanda*), between the months of December and February. Today *empango*

is celebrated on the Omukama's accession celebrations on 12 April once in three years, and only for two or three days.

Our guest would end his day sitting by the fire in the evening listening perhaps to stories of the brave deeds of Banyoro warriors who used to raid Buganda and the neighbouring tribes and bring devastation in their train. Or perhaps they would talk of the different activities carried on in Bunyoro throughout the year. The year was divided up according to the activities of the people, and these divisions come very near to a 12-month calendar.

Igesa	...	January	...	the month for harvesting millet.
Nkarakarwe	...	February	...	the month of white ants.
Ijubyamiyonga	...	March	...	the month of the rain which comes after the dry season.
Isiga-Macande	...	April	...	the month for planting simsim.
Revenseizere	...	May	...	when the white ants (*enseizere*) appear.
Rwenkonzi	...	June	...	when the edible grasshoppers (*enkozikonzi*) arrive.
Isenya-maro	...	July	...	the month when women start to prepare fields for planting millet.
Ikokoba	...	August	...	the month for burning grass in the millet fields.
Isiga	...	September	...	the month for planting millet.
Ijuba	...	October	...	the month for weeding millet.
Rwensenene	...	November	...	the month of edible grasshoppers.
Nyamiganuro or Katuruko	...	December	...	the month for rejoicing and festivities because there is little work to be done in the fields.

Or perhaps our guest would be told the story of how Ruhanga the creator gave his children their names and the work they and their descendants were to do after them.

These evening discussions round the glowing fire were an important part of the day's activities. The whole family would gather together after the day's work to discuss all kinds of subjects and to tell stories for instruction and amusement. Since there was no formal education this was the opportunity for passing on information of historical interest to the next generation.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SUICIDE OF MUSINGA

Mr. Morris in his interesting article, The Making of Ankole, (*U.J.*, **21** (1957), 1-15) refers to Macallister and R. R. Racey as men of energy and determination, and later mentions the Mukama of Igara, Musinga, who committed suicide by disembowelling himself in 1901. An interesting sidelight on this statement is a letter written to H.E. the Governor of Uganda by R. R. Racey from Winnipeg, Manitoba, on 12 August 1930, describing the suicide in more detail and mentioning also the attempt on his own life at the same time. I quote it in full.

"Sir,

May I be permitted the honour of placing the enclosed instrument in your hands for disposal.

The explanation is the following given briefly. By Command of the late Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston, when Her Majesty's Special Commissioner and Commander in Chief for Uganda, given me on August 6 1900, at Mbarara, Collectorate of Ankole, invitation was extended to Chief Msinga of Egara to visit at Mbarara. This he promised to do at some favourable opportunity. Our objective was to ultimately gather the lesser chiefs of the collectorate in one baraza under Kahia (later King Solomon Edward, I believe). Some time afterwards I was engaged in Egara in connection with the settlement of a boundary dispute. This was on 3 January 1901. Chief Mbaguta (Kahia's representative) and Chief Msinga accompanied me. In the course of the work of demarcation my safari was to have passed a certain point. The following morning Chief Mbaguta approached who informed me an 'ambush' was lying in wait with the evident intention of trying to spear me, whereupon I caused my men to deflect and saw what apparently was the ambush party come out of hiding. I closed my work and invited Chief Msinga to come with me to Mbarara suggesting it would be a favourable opportunity to pay the promised visit. This he agreed to do. He was carried by bearers in a large basket. We began the journey towards Mbarara and were passing through a papyrus swamp, Msinga being ahead, when a cry was raised to the effect Msinga had killed himself. Immediately I ran forward and by so doing escaped a spear-thrust from Msinga's sub-chief who had come back and who speared an unfortunate nafar [soldier] belonging to my escort who had lingered behind contrary to orders. On coming up to Msinga he was found to be disembowelled and the knife which is returned herewith was lying alongside of his body in the basket. This knife I retained. It passed from my hands and was subsequently returned to me. Owing to the gruesomeness of the story attached to it and the unpleasantness of the memories connected with it, it occurred to me to ask you if you will graciously cause it to be disposed of, wherever it may seem best to place it. I have the honour, etc."

The letter and the knife were sent to the then District Commissioner of Ankole, G. L. Maitland Warne, and there is a note on the covering letter from the Chief Secretary that the knife was handed on to W. F. Poulton, Director of Veterinary Services. It seems a pity that it could not have been preserved in the Uganda Museum as a kind of modern deodand. The correspondence is contained in the District records at Mbarara.

M. T. MALONEY.

Mbarara,
18 July 1957.

EDITORIAL NOTE: A letter received from Mr. F. Lukyn Williams confirms that the knife was, at the instance of P. W. Perryman, the Chief Secretary, sent to Mbarara and later passed into the possession of W. F. Poulton. He died on 15 March 1941, and it has not been possible to ascertain what has since become of it. At the time the Kampala Museum was in a moribund condition and regarded as no fit repository for such a relic. It is recorded in *U.J.*, **2** (1934-5) that after 1920 practically no new specimens had been added to its collections, for the reason that there was no space left in which to put them.

Another point of interest arises from Mr. Racey's letter. In his recent life of *Sir Harry Johnston*, Dr. Oliver remarks that there is virtually no direct record of Johnston's visit to Mbarara. "It is a matter about which less is known than any other in Johnston's African life." (p. 323.) Here is first-hand evidence of that visit.

EARLY DAYS IN KAMPALA

Two points in Mr. Hoyle's interesting article in vol. **21** (1957) call for correction:

p. 93. The fire at the Uganda Company Stores building occurred not in 1921 but in 1925.

p. 97. Sir Winston Churchill was Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, not for Foreign Affairs.

J. SYKES.

Crowthorne, Berks.
19 August 1957.

CONURBATION

English is a living language, adapting itself to expanding needs. Twenty odd years ago in the handbook *Uganda* (1935), Robert Scott and I, with *avant-garde* daring, ventured to refer to Kampala and its environs collectively as a *conurbation*. The Oxford University Press proof-readers questioned the word which did not appear in any Oxford dictionary. We stood firm, for it expressed what we had in mind; but the Press registered its disapproval by ignoring the word's fairly obvious component parts, breaking it at the end of a line into conur-bation (p. 426).

A distinguished reviewer in *U.J.*, **3** (1935-6), 325, considered that "for the

use of such a word . . . there is no excuse"; and later, in a letter to the *Journal*, a Makerere professor administered a magisterial reproof for this *jeu d'esprit*. (*U.J.*, **4** (1936-7), 98-9.)

During the 1940s the word was found to meet a definite need, as applying to "a cluster of contiguous towns forming (for some purposes) one great community". In 1948 it graduated as the title of a major report emanating from the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. And when an article in *The Times* (10 January 1949) recognized its formal adoption into the English language, Stalky and Co's immortal but not very adult exclamation, "I gloat!" came, somewhat improperly, to mind. The word is now common currency and may be encountered in respectable company on any day in the week.

H. B. THOMAS.

Bexhill-on-Sea.

THE SUSPENSION OF THE ANKOLE AGREEMENT IN 1905

Referring to the murder of Mr. H. St. G. Galt in 'The History of Western Uganda' (*Uganda J.*, **21** (1957), 141), Dr. K. Ingham says "This evil deed was the work of certain chiefs who superstitiously attributed the difficulties which Ankole was undergoing to British intervention. The chiefs were banished and a communal fine was paid by the people of Ankole."

In actual fact the two chiefs were convicted in the High Court of Uganda of abetment of Mr. Galt's murder by one Lutaraka, who subsequently committed suicide. That conviction was set aside by the Eastern Africa Court of Appeal on the ground that the evidence against the accused was "made up of contradictions and inconsistencies incapable of reconciliation". That acquittal must in the circumstances stand for all time. Not only so, but having examined the record of the proceedings carefully and critically, I may perhaps after thirty-six years' experience of trials of Africans in Africa be allowed to say that in my opinion the conclusion reached by the Court of Appeal was the only one which could be reached in accordance with justice, reason and common sense.

The evidence at the trial showed that the chiefs in question had not rendered assistance which they ought to have given in the investigation of the offence. The order for their deportation on this ground met the justice of the case.

The enquiry which provided the basis of the case for the prosecution had been conducted by George Wilson, and there is extant an indignant letter from him to the Colonial Office protesting at the Appeal Court's judgment. But, not for the first nor last time, the standards of evidence acceptable to the administrative officer failed to convince the judiciary.

Writing of Nuwa Mbaguta, Nganzi of Ankole, Mr. F. Lukyn Williams has said (*Uganda J.*, **10** (1946), 134) that "this crime was always a sore point with Mbaguta, and he was unwilling to discuss the matter in later years. He shared the suspicion and the opprobrium of the Government with the rest of the Ankole chiefs and suffered with them." In justice to his memory, I think it should be recorded that the evidence discloses that Mbaguta promptly and

to the best of his ability did everything that he was allowed to do to assist in detecting the possible offenders.

One of the tragedies of the whole affair was that the evidence disclosed that there was reason to believe that Lutaraka, the actual murderer, was suffering from sleeping sickness and certainly had been behaving in a very queer manner shortly before the murder. It is very possible that, if he had been arrested and brought to trial, he might have been found "guilty, but insane".

The greatest tragedy of all was that Galt, who was a capable administrative officer with a promising career before him, was respected and extremely popular amongst the majority of the people in the Western Province.

J. M. GRAY.

Zanzibar.

REVIEWS

BANTU BUREAUCRACY. By L. A. FALLERS. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1956. xiv+283 pp., 13 plates, 8 maps. 30s.

Dr. Fallers set out to study the results of contact with western influence on the Basoga over the last sixty or seventy years and with this end in view he spent some twenty months living in the District. He divided his time more or less equally between two small areas, one in the centre and one in the north, with short visits to other parts, and consequently a certain amount of what he has written is not generally applicable throughout Busoga. Much of what he was told by the 'vested interests' in these two areas he did not take with a sufficiently large grain of salt; as a result he does not give an accurate picture of Busoga in the past. His references to 'kingdom states', 'rulers' and their 'palaces', 'prime ministers' and 'princes of royal birth' give a false and grandiose idea of some three hundred thousand people divided, at the end of the nineteenth century, into not less than fifty-two major clans, each acting more or less independently of the others and each having its ups and downs in the scale of power. In fact, as is clear from past records including despatches 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 in contact with them was their skill at thieving from the caravans which passed through the country.

There are a number of inaccuracies in the book. For example on page 149 Dr. Fallers states that in 1919 one of the 'rulers' was chosen by the 'Council' to be its permanent president. At that time there was no council, although there was a sort of committee consisting of only the Saza Chiefs. In 1919 one of the Saza Chiefs was appointed by Government to be president of the District Native Court for a period of three years. His appointment was later renewed and in due course, when a council was brought into being in 1938, he became president of it. In 1939 he was given the title of *Kyabazinga* and by 1944 he was claiming to be the hereditary *Kyabazinga* of Busoga. Dr. Fallers spent much of his stay in the north of the district with this gentleman, now living in retirement.

Another inaccuracy is the statement on page 249 that "though local loyalties continue to exist, persons living within the District think of themselves first as Basoga". The reverse is the case and one of the difficulties in administering Busoga is that the people consider themselves first and foremost as Baisemenya, Balamogi, Basiki, Badiope, etc, rather than as Basoga. A district commissioner was told by the people in more than one area that they would prefer as a chief a bad man from their own clan rather than a good man from elsewhere.

On page 60 Dr. Fallers makes the astonishing statement that the peasant meets the European only in the context of formal authority relations carried on across a desk in the central offices in Jinja, or at formal meetings held by officers on tour. Nothing could be further from the truth, as will be borne out by the scores of Administrative officers and the officers of the Agricultural,

Co-operative, Community Development, Veterinary and other departments who have spent and are still spending so much of their time amongst the peasants in their gardens, in their homes and on the field of sport.

Bantu Bureaucracy really needs two reviewers, a social scientist and a layman with experience of the Basoga. The social scientific (if there is such a term) sections are in a language foreign to the ordinary individual who probably cannot understand even such a simple sentence as "the state hierarchy was not a solidary group but rather consisted in chains of dyadic relationships of subordination and superordination".

In a short review it is not possible to do full justice to Dr. Fallers's book. Despite the criticisms above it is generally sound and shows a shrewd appreciation of the subject. It is a most valuable addition to the meagre supply of literature on Busoga and will be a very useful guide to any future wider study of the tribe. T. R. F. Cox.

THE ITESO—FIFTY YEARS OF CHANGE IN A NILO-HAMITIC TRIBE OF UGANDA. By J. C. D. Lawrance. London: Oxford University Press, 1957. xi+280 pp., 1 map, 22 diagrams, 11 plates. 36s.

This is a most useful contribution to Uganda literature, in that little information has been available hitherto outside Uganda about the important and numerous Teso tribe except in Government reports and in one or two out-of-print missionary publications. Its chief value to the general reader will be found in its first fifty pages, which comprise a summary of the annual reports of Teso District for the period in question together with much historical material from other sources. This condensation is a most useful piece of work, the substance of which has already appeared in *Uganda Journal*, **19** (1955), 7-40.

As regards the history of administration, the author tends to give a slightly anachronistic impression, in that he does not stress the remarkable change, which has taken place in the attitude of Government (and of public opinion as a whole) towards the Iteso in the last ten years. Until the late nineteen-thirties they were hardly thought of as a Nilo-Hamitic tribe, but as a community of doubtful (query Bantu) origin. The discovery of their relationship to the Karamojong cluster of tribes and to the Topotha in particular was due to private inquiries made in 1936 and subsequently published in *Uganda J.*, **9** (1941-2), 57.[1] These inquiries showed that the Teso language and social structure so closely resembled these somewhat remote people that the practice hitherto maintained by British officers of treating the Iteso as a kind of second-rate Bantu tribe was obviously inappropriate. This discovery was naturally unpopular since in twenty-five years of administration the Eastern Province of Uganda had come to be regarded as a sacrosanct unit of accepted social pattern. It was not, however, necessary to pay particular attention to

[1] The priority of this claim appears to be disproved in favour of Seligman who, in the first (1930) edition of *The Races of Africa*, p. 161, classifies the Iteso as Half-Hamites and notes the close relationship between them and, among others, the Karamojong and Topotha. Ed.

this discovery in the flux of the war years, and it was only subsequent to World War II that these facts began to have political relevance.

Another criticism which may be advanced is that, though the title refers to the Teso tribe, the book deals only with the inhabitants of Teso district. The important migration of Iteso down through Bukedea and Pallisa into Bugwere and Budama and over the border into Kenya (Elgon Nyanza) forms an essential piece of tribal history, which could advantageously have been included in a book of this title. The aim of a monograph of this size must surely be to give the general reader a broad conspectus of the whole tribal community and of its social background. In these circumstances, Teso political relationships with the Sebei and Bagisu tribes along the foothills of Masaba (Mt. Elgon), with the Bagwere and Jo pa Dhola in the plains of Mbale and Tororo Districts and with the Jo pa Owiny and the Baluhya, as they spread over what is now the Kenya border, are of importance. Old kraal sites are still known and the lines and approximate dating of the successive migrations southward have been recorded by some of the older Mill Hill fathers.

To a modern Etesot this book is flattering. It suggests by implication the rather improbable thesis that the Iteso had a considerable cultural heritage of their own. It thus makes them the obvious political leaders of 'the Karamojong Cluster' from the point of view of future social and economic development.

As regards culture, though all the objects illustrated—granaries, baskets, milk-pots, stools, hoes, knives, spears—can, or could, be found at one time or another in one or other part of Teso district, it would be unwise to suggest that they were mostly of Teso origin. The early European travellers in this region were chiefly struck by the absence of culture and the techniques which support it around Lake Salisbury and Lake Gedge.

In fact most of the ironwork (as the author states on p. 134) and pottery were directly of Bunyoro origin—either the result of trade across Lake Kyoga, or the work of immigrant Banyoro smiths and potters. By contrast, in the north of the district, ironwork was generally of Labwor origin. The cotton-reel or bobbin stool was an artifact of Hima origin and the three or four-legged round stools were probably learnt from contact with the Lwoo. The true Teso stools, where they existed, were unsymmetrical objects made of a Y-shaped branch. The fishing apparatus was mostly derived from the lacustrine Bakenyi or Baruli. Much the same can be said of the musical instruments; but the Iteso certainly developed a speciality in their huge *atenus* drum and the tiny *itelele*. They had also an arched harp *adeudeu* which was closer than that of any contemporary tribe to the old Egyptian prototype, and some special wind instruments. One important male ornament I do not see recorded here is the carved ivory armlet (of which the modern wooden beaded *apel* is a development). This was functionally related to the armlet still worn by the Masai moran and also to a Meroitic ivory armlet dug up in Nubia some years ago. A specimen of this old type of armlet is in the Uganda Museum, and several were in the possession of the Foster family of Kaptagat.

As regards the anthropological and legal sections, *ne supra crepidam sutor* is the cry. The author has fallen into this difficulty, that both law and anthropology have now become such highly technical studies that to publish literary material without submitting to accepted disciplines and definitions is to invite criticism; (the sections dealing with 'user' pp. 249-50 are a case in point). H. Cory's legislative compendia of tribal law for the Bahaya, Basukuma, Banyamwezi and others are probably not the best practical models in a rapidly changing economy. The customary detail given so soon becomes obsolete with the change in social sanctions and ideas, and the method omits the essential social sanctions which support the verdicts. Such handbooks of tribal law indeed rapidly become extinct reference books, which are only used in appeal courts to support claims, which the common-sense *de facto* judgments of the lower courts have often already dismissed as absurd.

One final observation. Somehow from all these pages of detailed facts emerges a feeling that the character of the Iteso people themselves has escaped description; for example, their record of a persistently high murder rate all through the nineteen thirties and (it is presumed) up till the present time, the tempo of their most typical dances, which rise like a breaking wave and crash in the same way; their tendency to personal hysteria associated either with murder or suicide; their odd inconsequential folk tales (partly recorded by Father Schut) which read like a queer dream. All these suggest that the developing mind of the 'simple savage' was not as simple a process as might be gathered from the bureaucratic outlines of development here related. Instead one would presume that there are real and persistent anxieties and repressions disturbing this communal life. The tale of the development of Teso District as here related sounds too easy. A stranger might think that this district was really managed by an ordinary local government; but 'local governments', as the term is used in England, do not spend hours discussing whether adultery is implied if a woman sits on a man's cycle carrier. The Teso Council does, and finds it stimulating. It remains therefore a 'council' which is still far more 'tribal' than 'local'.

Nevertheless Mr. Lawrance must be credited with a valuable achievement in getting this material collected and printed, while still occupying the busy post of an administrative officer. No other contemporary administrative officer in East Africa has achieved as much. The book is not perfect; but how much better than none at all! Its publication at this stage will place considerable ammunition in the hands of those Iteso who see no reason why their affairs should be dominated from Kampala or Entebbe. It may indeed be that Mr. Lawrance's book will find its great significance as a weapon in the post-British stage of political relationships. For this, its weighty format may well be a positive advantage.

A. C. A. WRIGHT.

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON and the Scramble for Africa. *By* ROLAND OLIVER. London: Chatto & Windus, 1957. xv + 368 pp., 30s.

'Prancing Proconsul', the sobriquet bestowed by his contemporaries on Sir Harry Johnston, is, when shorn of its more frivolous insinuations, a remarkably appropriate label for a truly remarkable man.

In Uganda he will be best remembered as the architect of the Uganda Agreement, 1900, and although he spent only eighteen months in the country he had yet time to revolutionize the system of administration and to lay foundations upon which the present organization of government has been erected.

One of a well-to-do mid-Victorian family, he was brought up in a London suburb. A precocious youth, seemingly frail and well below average height he had no formal education after leaving the local grammar school. Instead of Oxford or Cambridge he elected to enter the university of the world: and, much as he gained thereby, in the deployment of the immense stores of knowledge to which he was adding throughout his life he was undoubtedly handicapped by this absence of academic tradition and discipline.

Yet, despite this most unlikely background, he attained a deservedly high place among the builders of Britain's nineteenth century empire, and he brought to bear upon the problems of emergent Africa and its peoples an enlightened vision, often far in advance of his contemporaries.

He had planned to make a career as an artist, and it was with this end in view that he visited first Tunis and later travelled in Angola and the Congo, followed by an expedition to Kilimanjaro, where by accident he found himself involved on the outskirts of international politics—for the German penetration of East Africa had begun. Thereafter he took a consistently zestful part in sustaining Britain's case in the scramble for Africa.

At the end of 1885 came his first official assignment, as vice-consul for the Oil Rivers and the Cameroons. He proved himself resolute and nimble-witted, ready to act first and seek authority later, and he began to treat the Foreign Office to despatches of startling length, but admirably informative and stimulating. He propounded the idea of a belt of British influence from the Cape to Cairo some time before that slogan was popularized by Cecil Rhodes. He became known to Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, whose perspicacity saw through Johnston's ebullience and showmanship to his real grit and merits. Salisbury's consistent support was one of the major factors of Johnston's career.

The most eventful chapter of his life began in 1889 with his appointment to the vaguely defined post of Consul at Mozambique. He finally left southern Africa in 1896—after his third bout of blackwater fever—as Imperial Commissioner and Consul-General for British Central Africa. He had defended and stabilized British control in what is now Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: he had smashed the slave-trade; and had refused to be browbeaten by Rhodes, whose ruthless projects he regarded as contrary to the best interests of the territories for which he was responsible. He was only thirty-eight years of age and as a K.C.B.—the honour has seldom been more fully earned—was the youngest member of any order of knighthood. He did not then know that, largely through the machinations of officialdom, his active participation in imperial affairs was, apart from his special commission to Uganda, at an end.

The last 26 years of his life were spent, busy but frustrated, for the most part in assembling and publishing the collections of a life-time, above all in the field of African languages. His total literary output—he was the author of at least forty volumes—was prodigious.

This is not 'just another biography', though its subject was above all colourful. Dr. Oliver has provided an invaluable guide to an understanding of the present pattern of the map of Africa, and of the political 'fall-out' resulting from the scramble for Africa which so vitally concerns its peoples today. Woven from hitherto unexplored documentation it is a scholarly work, but none the less exceptionally readable for through it all run strands of unobtrusive wisdom, of sincere criticism, and of a sympathetic 'feel' for Africa.

Some of its revelations are of unusual interest. Such are the role allotted to Johnston in the face of German claims upon Kilimanjaro; and the story of his clash with Rhodes, the imperial pawnbroker, into whose financial clutches he had, for the sake of a few thousand pounds, been thrust by the government of the then wealthiest country in the world. Here is rounded off the story of Rhodes's short flirtation with Lugard as related in Miss Perham's recent *Lugard The Years of Adventure*.

How came it that Johnston was relegated to obscurity when he was at the summit of his mental powers and experience? It is a fascinating story of incompatible temperaments, with Sir Clement Hill, the humourless industrious bureaucrat, who had spent a life-time in the Foreign Office as the spider waiting in his web to thwart, if may be, Johnston's every reform in Uganda, and to compass his eventual eclipse.

Some aver that history is a cosmic process, moving inexorably towards its destined goal. Yet often some unplanned conjunction of circumstances seems irretrievably to have diverted a well-mapped course of events.

Johnston's original instructions for Uganda had enjoined him to study the possibilities of a federation of the two Eastern African Protectorates. He submitted well-conceived plans to that end. It is a fair supposition that had any more open-minded person than Sir Clement Hill occupied the chair of Superintendent of African Protectorates at the Foreign Office in August 1901 these plans would have been adopted, perhaps with Johnston as first Governor-General. Federation, launched by his imaginative hand, would today have been operating for over fifty years, and many of the tensions which continue to harass East Africa might never have been created.

H. B. THOMAS.

MODERN COFFEE PRODUCTION. By A. L. HAARER. London: Leonard Hill (Books) Ltd., 1956. iv+463 pp., 36 figures, 75 plates. 56s.

Those concerned with coffee production, whether planters, agricultural officers or research workers, have in the past been handicapped by the absence of any monograph on the crop. Within the past year, the gap has been filled by two publications, *Les Caféiers et les Cafés dans le Monde* edited by M. Réné Coste, and A. L. Haarer's *Modern Coffee Production*, which is reviewed here. The French publication is an objective review of the world literature on coffee production. Mr. Haarer's book attempts the same function and is also a practical manual for the planter.

The author surveys the whole field of coffee production, its early history,

cytology, genetics, physiology, cultivation, processing, marketing and economics, and contains a survey of world production. There is, of course, a strong East African bias, as a result both of the author's personal experience and of the extremely high standard of production achieved in Kenya. The book is well illustrated in half-tone and line, and the tables of statistics are clearly laid out. The tables contained in the chapter on the economy of coffee production are likely to provoke deep thought in those concerned with increasing coffee production in East African territories in the face of mounting world competition. Those concerned with the marketing of the crop should read and take to heart Mr. Haarer's observations on means of increasing consumption and demand in the United Kingdom and Europe.

In the face of so much excellence and the prodigious amount of work which must have gone to the compilation of this book, criticism is largely disarmed. I found it difficult, however, to distinguish opinion from fact throughout the book, particularly where the various aspects of research are discussed. The chapters on the systematics, cytology and genetics of coffee are overcrowded, often with irrelevant detail, and tend to confuse subjects already in need of clarification. One must also regret the omission of all mention of the work of L. R. Doughty on the cytogenetics of coffee prior to 1940. It is difficult to agree with Mr. Haarer's views on the environmental requirements of the two main species, particularly when seen against the background of their centres of origin; and to follow them to their logical conclusion would be to invite the abandonment of the cultivation of coffee in Uganda.

These are, however, small flaws in a generally excellent and valuable book, which can be recommended to all who are interested in coffee. The author's opinions are expressed so forcibly that even those who disagree heartily with them must perforce take stock of their own preconceived notions.

J. F. ARCHIBALD.

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOTANY OF TROPICAL CROPS. By LESLIE S. COBLEY. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956. xv+357 pp., 82 plates, 37s. 6d.

This is quite the best book on the subject that I have read. No tropical crop is missed out and all are dealt with in a clear and concise manner. It will be a mine of information for agriculturists, especially agricultural officers and should remain the standard text-book for many years to come. I can think of only one improvement, which would be a simple matter to add to future editions, namely that in the "Index of Botanical Names" the full authority should be given for all names. Research workers often have to spend time finding this information and it could very conveniently be included here.

E. M. CHENERY.

AFRICAN TAPESTRY. By MARGARET TROWELL. Faber & Faber, 1957. 164 pp., 16 illustrations. 21s.

'Fabric in which a weft of coloured wools or silks forming pictures or designs is worked into a warp of hemp or flax.'

Thus tapestry is described in the pocket Oxford Dictionary.

I think Mrs. Trowell could not have found a more understanding title for her book. It is full of colour and pictures and pattern of life. As one reads the pages the many and varied threads of life in Africa get woven into a fascinating story.

I am intrigued by the way she has skipped from domestic matters to really deep human problems, from descriptions of holiday episodes to consideration of quite weighty race relationships, just as if she were picking up one coloured thread after another. She can understand and sympathize fully with any English housewife confronted with cooking difficulties in unaccustomed conditions, and she can equally feel, with an intense longing, for the African art-student who has a yearning to express something deep within him. It is the mark of a true lover of men as well as a real teacher that she held back from taking the paint brush out of an African student's hand and of showing him how to do it in *her* way. Having tried a little to teach drawing myself, I know how fatal it has been to take the short-cut because the pupil finds it easy to copy and so the line of least resistance—so common to us all—has meant that my pupil was not really helped; he did not labour on and on until he was able to produce in picture form what was urgent within him.

I am struck with the humility with which she described her great achievement—that of founding a School of Fine Arts in East Africa—and all the vicissitudes she experienced in the patient bringing to fulfilment of her dreams.

Here, in her book, we find her portraying in words vivid scenes with details of birds and plants which conjure up in our mind's eye pictures no less colourful than the painted ones we would expect from her brush.

There must be many, like myself, who have stayed in the house of Mrs. Trowell and her distinguished doctor husband, and enjoyed long chats and hearty laughs with them. The common bond of bringing up our families in this country and of sending them to the same schools in Kenya has linked us together. We have shared the same interest, which she brings out in this book, of watching and of trying to help Africans weave their own distinctive strands into the world's tapestry. She has reminded us of the importance of living a Christian life in their midst because only so can we be of real service to the people whose country has been our home for these many years.

To her contemporaries much of what she writes about 'rings a bell' in our own memories and does not seem so strange or heroic for it was the common pattern of life. To those more recently come to East Africa her book, so simply written, so easily read, gives a true and colourful background for their life here. It will help many to a better understanding of Africans in Uganda and also to a realization of how worth while is all true-hearted endeavour in service and friendship for others. M. C. USHER-WILSON.

THE FOUNTAIN OF THE SUN. By DOUGLAS BUSK. London: Max Parrish, 1957. 240 pp., 45 illustrations (including 24 in 4-colour photogravure), 4 maps. 35s.

To those of us for whom travel is an adventure this book will be almost as interesting as a journey to an unknown land. Mr. Busk himself belongs

to this coterie of travellers and we have no difficulty in understanding him. He knows the early morning scents, the noonday noises, the evening views of blue ranges where tomorrow we may be camping. That his book has in places something of the tourist quality of Baedeker is perhaps inevitable.

When he was appointed British ambassador to Ethiopia Mr. Busk absorbed the literature on the country and especially that of earlier British emissaries. It was not long before he set out to quarter the country in a series of tours on which we accompany him to learn something of this little-known and fascinating land. The acquaintance we make with it may be superficial and jejune; but we get a taste of the country, and for this we owe much to the remarkable colour photographs which distinguish this book. The exquisite pictures of an Arussi girl, of a Boran elder from the Northern Frontier Province, and of two Galla gravestones; and the aching beauty of the landscapes—such as Lake Wonchi, Gondar, and the 'Portuguese Bridge' which adorns the dust-cover—leave one thirsting for closer acquaintance. In addition there are drawings and one vivid oil painting by Mrs. Busk.

Their journeys around Ethiopia are described from a personal viewpoint and form an appetizing aperitif to any more serious study, by giving a sense of the local atmosphere in the different regions and among the different tribes. There are glimpses of the Ethiopian administration at work in the field, and the contrast with the closely knit and organized system in Uganda is striking —and at times refreshing. The liberty of an Ambassador in Ethiopia to go freely on tour, much as a Provincial Commissioner in Uganda, is a pleasant indication of confidence to which one has grown unaccustomed in modern times.

One chapter of the book deals with the country between Addis Ababa and Nairobi, in which there has recently been fighting near the Kenya border. The last three chapters are devoted to a climb of Kilimanjaro and two expeditions to Ruwenzori. Although in some respects the more convincing parts of the book, these are at the same time of less interest in that they tell us little new. But that is perhaps a parochial complaint. Mr. Busk has collected for us material from a number of different and less easily available sources; and he does not suffer from the reticence of so many mountaineers (such as Dr. Humphreys whose self-effacement was equalled only by the determination with which he explored the Ruwenzori to become the greatest single expert upon the range). Mr. Busk's showmanship is at times endangered by fanciful conceits, as in his account of the day with Firmin on Ruwenzori when they made the first ascent of Elizabeth peak (which was named with gracious permission after Her Majesty the Queen). However, there is much good information and anecdote and an interesting appendix on the mountains of Ethiopia.

Although the author does not rank with Mummery or Rébuffat, and lacks the erudition and language of Arnold Lunn, those interested in Africa, in travel, or in mountains will find the book thoroughly absorbing with its genuine interest, its superb illustrations, and its power to convey both the fascination of safari in new country and the misery of a Ruwenzori valley in rain.

R. N. POSNETT.

OBITUARIES

MICHAEL MOSES, O.B.E.

In an application, which he made in 1903 for naturalization as a British subject, Michael Moses wrote "I am a Turkish subject born in Baghdad on 15 May 1874. I have been in British territory since 1887 and employed in this [sc. the Uganda] Administration since May 1896." Despite over sixty years of more or less continuous residence in East Africa, and more particularly in Uganda, he kept in touch with his kinsfolk in Baghdad, to whom from time to time he paid brief visits, and it was at Baghdad that he died in October 1957 at the age of 83.

I have very little knowledge of his early days. Michael himself never spoke about them to me—probably because I never enquired; and, though report has it that he attended the famous Robert Noble School of the C.M.S. at Bombay, he was, I understand, to a large extent a self-educated man. It is said that he was a clerk or purser on a steamer plying along the Indian coasts when, in 1896, he was appointed to the post of store-keeper in the Uganda Administration; and, seeing that the British India Steam Navigation Company's agents in Bombay, Mackinnon, Mackenzie and Co., were also the agents in India for the East African Protectorate Governments and recruited Asian staff for their services, this is not improbable.

Like so many of his contemporaries, he had to walk the whole of the way from Mombasa to his first station, which was at Masindi and involved a journey of close on a thousand miles. At this date Kabarega had only recently been driven out of Bunyoro and had taken refuge in the Acholi country, but his supporters still made occasional raids across the Nile into his former dominions, killing people and carrying off slaves and cattle. The country was therefore under a military administration and was garrisoned by about five hundred Sudanese, with headquarters at Masindi. At the time of Moses' arrival the troops were commanded by Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir) William Pulteney, who had previously served in Egypt, but he was shortly afterwards sent to settle affairs in what was called Southern Unyoro and embraced the present counties of Buyaga, Bugangadzi, Buwekula and Nyakabimba. The command of the troops then devolved upon Lieutenant (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) Radclyffe Dugmore of the North Staffordshire Regiment who had no previous experience of handling Sudanese troops.

There was one other European official at Masindi, William John Ansorge, a civilian medical officer and the author of *Under the African Sun* (published in 1899). Like so many of his contemporaries in the Uganda service he was from time to time called upon to perform another role than that to which he had been appointed. For a while he had been in charge of the fort at Kampala. He was considerably older than Dugmore and his previous administrative service and his knowledge of the habits and ways of thought of his Sudanese patients made him a useful mentor to his younger and less experienced commanding officer.

It had been found necessary to maintain no less than seven outlying posts in addition to the headquarters at Masindi. Of these Hoima, Kitanwa and Kibiro lay to the south-west towards Lake Albert, another was at Mahagi Saghir at the north-west end of that lake in what is now Belgian territory, while Fajao, Foweira and Mruli were spaced along the southern bank of the Nile. The inspection of these posts and the payment of the troops naturally took up a great deal of Dugmore's time. The result was that Michael Moses very soon became much more than a military store-keeper. He had acquired a good knowledge of Nilotic Arabic and his services as interpreter between the commanding officer and his men were constantly in demand. In addition he was more than once specially deputed to go to isolated posts and report on incidents which had occurred in outlying parts of the Unyoro command. One of these reports has been printed in *Uganda J.*, **18** (1954), 21-3. *A History of Wadelai*, which he compiled at a later date for the benefit of the Sub-Commissioner, Nile Province, is also to be found in *Uganda J.*, **17** (1953), 78-80.

From May to August 1897, Major A. B. Thruston was in command at Masindi. At the end of the latter month he left to take over command of the whole regiment at Entebbe. He had a long previous experience of dealing with Sudanese troops and had quickly sensed that there was a great deal of discontent amongst the troops in Bunyoro. The fault did not lie at Dugmore's door, who had taken a real interest in his men and was beginning to acquire a considerable influence over them. Their pay was no more than four rupees a month, which had originally been granted to them by the impecunious I.B.E.A. Company, and was issued as often as not in cloth of an inferior quality. Porters bringing loads to Masindi were receiving as much as ten or twelve rupees a month, whilst Sudanese soldiers in the British East Africa Protectorate were being paid twenty-six rupees a month and, except when on active service, were living under far better conditions than their compatriots in Uganda. Uniforms and boots were most irregularly doled out with the result that the men began to lose that soldierly pride which helps to create a proper sense of discipline. Paucity of British officers made inspection of outlying posts infrequent and this again led to further slackness and deterioration of discipline.

The spark which actually set the Sudanese mutiny ablaze occurred near the Eldoma Ravine Station at the end of September 1897. When news of this reached Dugmore at Masindi he paraded his men and inquired if they had any grievances and later reported to the Commissioner that "I am happy to say that they all say they are perfectly contented." His subsequent letters to the Commissioner continued in the same optimistic vein until 1 January 1898, when he had to relate that the Sudanese officer in charge at Mruli had been reported as having uttered disloyal sentiments.

This news reached Dugmore at the same time as a report that Mwanga, who after an unsuccessful attempt at rebellion had fled to German territory, had escaped and was believed to be trying to make his way across Bunyoro to join forces with Kabarega. Dugmore and Ansorge were then at Foweira and the former resolved that no time must be lost in arresting the officer at

Mruli. In reporting this to headquarters he felt constrained to say that "there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that the continued delay in settling the business of the mutineers at Luba's is having a very bad effect on my men. I need help badly".

In the meantime disturbing news reached him from Masindi, where Michael Moses was in sole charge. The Sudanese garrison there had been reinforced by a number of armed Baganda levies. On the night of 10 January these all deserted their posts. This was followed the next morning by a similar desertion *en masse* of the Lendu porters. Moses sent out soldiers to bring them back, but only a few were caught, the rest managing to get away in the long grass. Those who were recaptured explained that rumours were abroad that Kabarega was coming to attack Masindi. It was undoubtedly true that some of his adherents from across the Nile had a few days previously been raiding near Masindi. Moreover, news had reached that place that the mutineers had escaped from Luba's and were making their way towards Mruli with the apparent object of joining forces with Kabarega. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that Michael Moses informed Dugmore that he thought "it would be very difficult to hold our troops much longer".

Dugmore saw that his duty detained him at Mruli in order to do all he could to ensure that that place should not fall into the hands of the approaching mutineers. He accordingly sent word to Ansorge at Foweira to proceed at once to Masindi and to take charge of the fort. At the same time he informed the Commissioner that "there is a general state of unrest throughout the district and want of confidence in our resources and powers . . . I cannot guarantee holding the district any longer, single-handed."

Ansorge, who had been opening up a hospital at Foweira, arrived at Masindi on 17 January. Whilst still at Foweira, he learned of a midnight meeting at that station at which it was proposed to murder Dugmore and to kidnap himself, but the project had been abandoned thanks to the firm attitude taken up by the Sudanese commanding officer, Surer Effendi. The disturbed state of the countryside is revealed by the fact that three messengers, whom Moses had sent to Foweira, had been waylaid by adherents of Kabarega and one of their number killed.

At 8.30 p.m. that night Fadlmulla Effendi, the senior Sudanese officer at Masindi, rushed into Ansorge's room and informed him that the Sudanese sergeant-major had been attacked and dangerously wounded whilst going his rounds outside the fort. The Effendi at once left the fort to deal with the situation. Ansorge, accompanied by Michael Moses set out to follow him. At the entrance gate they were met by a mob of armed soldiers, who forced them back into the fort. Most of the Sudanese at Masindi were recruits with very little sense of discipline. They were shouting and gesticulating and pointing their weapons at the two men. It was surprising that in this pushing and surging mob one of these rifles did not go off by accident. None of the Sudanese seemed to know exactly what was the next step and had not quite made up their minds whether or not they really wanted to kill the two men. Fortunately during this momentary indecision Fadlmulla Effendi returned and managed to make himself heard repeatedly shouting

"It is not war against the fort." One by one of the men lowered their weapons and turned to listen to reason. Ansorge, Moses and the Effendi eventually persuaded them to go and man their posts in the fort.

It then transpired that outside the fort the Sudanese sergeant-major had been shot and dangerously wounded close to the hut of a friendly Munyoro chief; excited soldiers had thereupon shot the chief dead and set fire to his and a number of other huts. Eventually order was restored.

It had at one time been a very ugly situation. The greatest credit must go to Fadlmulla Effendi for his handling of it, but a share is due also to Ansorge and Moses for keeping their heads in an extremely dangerous ordeal. Had either of them made a wrong move, it would inevitably have cost them their lives; it would also have committed the men, once and for all, to throwing in their lot with their mutinous compatriots who were then on their way to join up with Kabarega and might thus well have sealed the fate of the Uganda Protectorate for a long time.

After this incident Ansorge sent for Dugmore post-haste. On his arrival he decided to draft Ansorge with fifty Sudanese suspects and all the Swahili troops down into Singo on the pretext of closing the road to Bunyoro for Mwanga, but in reality to ensure that they could be met there and disarmed and disbanded. On the very day that the trouble had occurred at Masindi, he had had to report that he had sent instructions to the Sudanese officer commanding at Hoima to establish a picket near the road to Uganda south of that station to prevent Mwanga from passing. The officer had refused to comply with the order, telling the clerk who delivered it that "his duty was to look after the fort and not to go about the country". A few days later a false report had reached Hoima that Ansorge and Moses had been murdered at Masindi, whereupon Byabachwezi, a friendly Munyoro chief living about a mile from Hoima, decided to put himself on the defensive. The Sudanese officer ordered him to the fort and, on his refusal to do so, attacked his village, killing some fifty Bunyoro and carrying off fifty-four women as prisoners. Byabachwezi himself managed to escape over the border into Buganda.

A day or so after this incident S. D. Shawe, a civilian clerk, in the administration, arrived at Masindi. This officer who had little more than six months' service, had willingly agreed to accept the post of assistant to Dugmore. In the words of Mr. Commissioner Berkeley, "his arrival, and the way in which he carried out his duties contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of order until the more effective measures of disarmament could be carried out."

Shawe's arrival enabled Dugmore to send Moses to Hoima, but by this time the situation had got very much out of hand. Less than a fortnight after his arrival Moses reported that the commanding officer and about half the Sudanese were "practically in a state of mutiny, that is to say, there is but a nominal pretence of obedience and loyalty" and that there was little doubt that "at first chance they will break away".

Very fortunately, further help was near at hand. On 31 January Lieutenant (afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir) Thomas Scott of the Indian Staff Corps, set out from Kampala with a party comprising four Europeans, one maxim,

one hundred Sikhs and sixty Swahili troops to disarm the Sudanese garrisons in Bunyoro. The Hoima garrison was disarmed on 8 February and the whole operation was completed by the end of that month. Subsequently a series of operations conducted by Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) E. G. Harrison cleared Bunyoro of the mutineers and also of raiding parties sent into the land by Kabarega. During these operations Michael Moses acted as Sudanese interpreter and was eventually mentioned in despatches for his services. (See Command Papers, Africa. No. 7 (1898), p. 42 and Africa. No. 1 (1899), p. 14.)

I have gone into all these incidents in the early career of Michael Moses for two reasons. Firstly, though he could sometimes be drawn out to talk a little about them, he was not given to saying much about his early experiences. In fact much of what I have set down here has been obtained from other sources. Secondly, though there was little glamour about it, in this crisis Michael Moses did the State some service and this should be known.

After the close of the Sudanese rebellion Moses was employed as a clerk and interpreter in what was then the Nile Province, extending along the east bank of the Nile from Lake Albert to Gondokoro. The climate was trying and the casualty list very high, but Michael Moses 'stuck it' until 1903, when he decided to go into commerce. The Sub-Commissioner, Nile Province, wrote to headquarters to point out that he was being paid a very inadequate salary for his services and that he was too valuable a man to lose. He urged that he should be tempted to remain by the offer of an increase in pay. But Treasury Regulations being like the law of the Medes and Persians which changeth not, this was impossible. So Michael Moses went into business.

Moses's first commercial enterprise took him across the Nile trading for ivory in the Lado Enclave, which at that date formed part of the Congo Free State. It was one of the remotest districts of that State and had yet to be brought under effective administration. John Boyes, who first arrived in the Enclave six years after Moses, has given a vivid description of life there as it then was in *The Company of Adventurers*. Briefly it may be summed up as having been a very tough time. In his latter years it was difficult to draw out Michael Moses about his adventures during his two years' sojourn in the Enclave. With his usual reticence he used to say that he emerged from it "not altogether without profit".

Arriving back in Kampala in 1905 Moses for the first time met Henry Hamilton Hunter, who had recently arrived in Uganda to practise as an advocate, and was to become the 'father' of the Uganda Legislative Council and the doyen of the local bar. The two soon became close friends and formed a partnership—the H.M. Syndicate—which was only dissolved by Hunter's death some forty years later. Their first interests were coffee and rubber planting, but in the course of years their operations extended to a general import and export trade, cotton buying and ginning and many other forms of agriculture such as vanilla and pyrethrum. The remarkable thing about this partnership was not so much the diverse nature of its activities as the fact that during all the forty years of its existence the parties never entered into any written partnership agreement. As Hunter once told the writer of

this obituary, at some date prior to the World War I, when Moses was about to proceed to Europe, he (Hunter) drafted such an agreement, but Moses declined to sign it saying he could trust his friend without putting anything into writing.

Neither Moses nor Hunter was prepared to control the manifold interests of the H.M. Syndicate from an office chair. Both were constantly touring not only Uganda, but also the adjacent territories, watching over existing interests and exploring the possibilities of further fields of activity. Dr. Hunter's means of locomotion was, I believe, a mule. Michael Moses continued these safaris almost to the end of his long life. The writer remembers meeting him, when he must have been at least 78, at the end of a long journey into the Belgian Congo, which included a visit to a tin mine, which he had helped to start in Ruanda-Urundi. He told me that he was more easily tired than he had been a few years previously but that he still enjoyed these safaris.

Among Moses' other interests was the *Uganda Herald*, the first newspaper to be published in Uganda, which he started in 1912. Like Moses himself, the paper had no political brand, but it was an outspoken critic of what it believed was wrong in the state of the Protectorate. Its criticisms were not always right, but were never venomous. Some government officials may not have liked them, but the 'Herald' served the useful purpose of sub-consciously making them mind their Ps and Qs. Old timers regretted the day, when after over half a century of useful public service, the paper had perforce to close down in the face of other journals with the all-powerful backing of 'big business'.

Not everything that Michael Moses touched turned to profit. More than one of his ventures ended in a loss and in the disastrous world slump of the 1930s he lost the greater part of a large fortune which it took a deal of time and hard work to restore. But whether in prosperity or adversity he was always the most generous of men. Whilst he could be lavish in his hospitality, he himself led a very simple life and much of the money which he made was used to help people of all races and creeds in their times of distress and adversity. The extent of this generosity will never be fully known because Michael Moses always believed in doing good by stealth.

Having enlisted in Uganda Volunteer Reserve, Moses took part in the German East Africa campaign during the first World War; but since he was born outside the British Empire and since his more than sixty years under the British flag had been spent in a Protectorate, and not in a Colony, he was never able to qualify for naturalization as a British subject. For that reason he was never appointed a member of Legislative Council, but he served on numerous public boards and committees. For these services he was awarded an honorary M.B.E. and later an O.B.E.

He was long a member of the Royal Automobile Club where he would entertain old friends during his visits to London; and one of his joys until recent years was to attend a quiet reunion dinner with the few remaining officers under whom he had served in the stirring days of the Uganda Mutiny.

In his later years his ripe experience of people and things in Uganda made him the Nestor of the Protectorate. His information on matters of public

importance was always unobtrusively at the disposal of those who sought it, and more than one Governor of Uganda has paid tribute to the valuable information which he was able to impart.

As in the past a crock of gold may still await enterprise and determination at the end of the way: but future journeys by this road are not likely to be made in such romantic circumstances as marked the beginnings and career of Michael Moses.

J. M. GRAY.

MOTHER MARY KEVIN, C.B.E.

Tereza Mary Kearney, in religion Mother Mary Kevin, was born in 1876 at Arklow, County Wicklow; and her Irish vivacity and charm never left her. She came to England and, after serving her novitiate at St. Mary's Abbey, Mill Hill, entered the Order of Saint Francis. In 1902 the Mother Abbess was approached by Bishop Hanlon, Vicar Apostolic of the Upper Nile, with a request that she would send Sisters to help the Mill Hill Fathers in Uganda. After due consideration the Mother Abbess and her Council decided to send six sisters to Uganda. The head of this party was Mother Mary Paul, of Boston, U.S.A. (who died at Nsambya in 1921). One of the remaining five was Mother Mary Kevin. The party reached Uganda on 15 January 1903, and first took up residence at Nsambya. In June 1906, Mother Kevin with two other sisters were sent to open a station at Nagalama, about thirty miles north-east of Nsambya. In later years she established numerous schools, training colleges, and hospitals in other parts of the Vicariate, including two hospitals for lepers. During World War I she worked in the mission hospital at Nsambya amongst the wounded from the German East Africa Campaign and her services were recognized by the award of the M.B.E.

From time to time certain of her pupils at Nsambya had asked that they might be trained as religious. After some hesitation she consented to approach Bishop Biermans, who supported the proposal. The first aspirants were duly received in 1923. In 1926 the Bishop formally instituted the novitiate of the Little Sisters of Saint Francis and in the same year the foundation stone of their convent was laid at Nkokonjeru. In 1928 Mother Kevin went on a special mission to England and, through the generosity of the Duchess of Norfolk, was able to establish a novitiate for missionaries at Holme Hall in Yorkshire and later on a postulancy at Dundalk in Ireland. For these services she received the cross *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* in 1929; and later, in 1955, she was promoted C.B.E. After over fifty years service in Uganda she retired to Boston, U.S.A., where she died in October 1957 in the convent of the Missionary Sisters which she had founded.

Such is the bald narrative of the achievements of Mother Mary Kevin, but behind it all is a wonderful story of hardships, trouble, toil and even at times tears which will perhaps never be told in full. It is true that she was not one of those 'who walked up from the coast', but the journey from Kisumu to Uganda had to be made in a very small steam-launch in command

of an African captain-cum-stoker, who at one stage proceeded to go completely off his course. The Mill Hill Fathers had prepared a temporary sun-dried brick building covered with grass. We are told that "for breakfast the Sisters had bananas, and twice a week the Fathers sent them a very bony and scraggy leg of mutton. For three years their diet knew very little change, and all that time they never had a morsel of bread".

When Mother Kevin and her two companions went to Nagalama, they had to live in a mud hut for six months, whilst better buildings were being erected. Conditions were little better when she and the first party of Sisters arrived twenty years later at Nkokonjeru. Here again everything had to start from the very beginning and in addition to many other roles Mother Kevin had to be her own clerk of works. That she achieved so much under so many difficulties was due very largely to the fact that she was Mother Kevin, tireless in her devotion to the tasks to which she had dedicated her life and at the same time practical and possessed of rare common sense.

Perhaps she is chiefly remembered for her unceasing labours to bring comfort and relief to thousands of sick and suffering. *Mama Kevina* became a household word in Uganda amongst all classes and creeds—so much so that during the last world war soldiers from Uganda fighting in the dense Burmese jungle gave that name to the Dakotas which brought them their supplies and carried away their wounded.

After her death her mortal remains were brought back to be buried in the land which she loved and amongst the people for whom she had given so many years of devoted service. It was altogether fitting and proper that it should be so.

J. M. GRAY.