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SOME BUGANDA PLACE-NAMES

By R. A. SNOXALL

"Books in the running brooks, Sermons in stones" – we need not go far in Buganda to find either. Long before the advent of writing and reading the stones were preaching their sermons and explaining their legendary or historical descent, and the rivers (for "running brooks" do not abound in Buganda) in their own names were publishing abroad a description of themselves, telling of pursuits which were followed on their banks, or giving in one word an explanation for which a later and more civilised age needed at least a sentence. Pursuits, history, legend, geography, geology – how often are they revealed in a place name! "Lives there a man with soul so dead", who has never been stirred by the sweetness of his country's place-names, an Englishman for instance, by the musical picture of rural tranquillity painted by the couplet of:

"Tring, Wing and Ivinghoe,
Three churches all in a row"

or by names of the beacon hills, of which Ivinghoe Beacon was one, which proclaimed in his country's history the coming of the Great Armada, and the beautiful crosses or monuments which Edward I caused to be erected in the country towns of England, where the body of his beloved Queen Eleanor of Castille rested on its last journey? What Londoner has never wondered what the original "Convent" garden was like, or how "chalky" Chalk Farm originally was? There is romance in England's place-names – Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Danish and Norman, which cannot be equalled in the length and breadth of the world, which can arouse a love, too great to be defined, for "this realm, this earth, this England". Let us attempt to pursue the romance, if we can, in the country of Buganda.

A mere catalogue of names, however comprehensive, however well tabulated, can only succeed in being dull, and within the scope of this paper I can but skim the surface, pausing for a moment here and there to dip into the collection and extract a name which appears more informative, leaving the final task to the people of the country themselves, in the hope that the pursuit will stir within them as great a love for their country's past, and as high a resolve for its future, as the sound of the place-names of England does within the hearts of Englishmen.

Since the place-names of Buganda so largely follow the Bantu noun prefix system, as is natural in the case of nouns or names, I have found it suitable to subdivide most of those which I shall quote under their class prefixes, and to try to see how the class prefixes and the nature of the places are connected.

At first sight one is struck by the number of place-names in Buganda which begin with the prefix KA-, and in some cases it has been correctly assumed that this is an abbreviated form of *Kasozi* – a hill, and there seems little doubt that *Kampala* itself was *Akasozi ka mpala* – the hill of the impala, since some Kabaka had found it a favourable hunting ground for that animal. The place name *Kasozi* itself has obviously the meaning of a small hill. There are a number of names, however, beginning with KA- where, although this may well be the prefix KA- of the KA-BU class of small and often pleasant things, it can, owing to the

nature of the places named, have no connection with *Kasozi*, and I very much doubt whether the assumption that KA- is an abbreviated form of *Kasozi* will hold good in many cases. Of course, there is the modern development of *Kasozi* into the meaning of "a cattle market" from the original one near Rubaga, which has even more recently changed into *Nalubabwe* after the big market on the Bugerere road. There are now places with this name in several parts of Buganda, e.g., in Gomba and two others in Kyagwe. *Kabira* is probably the nice little forest, *Kalungu*—the little desert, *Kasaka*—the small expanse of bush country, *Katosi*—the muddy place, *Kasenyi*—the sandy place, and *Kayanga*—the place near the lake, or where water collects. In fact, this class and the WA-class, as we shall see later, contain most of the "Sandgates, Chorley Woods and Chalk Farms" of Buganda. In this KA- prefix it is often difficult to see where the idea of smallness, if any, exists, and where it is simply descriptive of a good place in which to find certain things, in exactly the same way as we use the expression a "good place for" in English. Thus *Kabubbu* may be a good place for finding *mbubbu* grass, *Kasubi*—a good place for grass, *Kamuli*—a good place for reeds, *Kalisizo*—a good place for pasture (a Hima word), *Kakubansiri*—a good place for mosquitoes, where however "good" has definitely no connection with "pleasant"! For some time I was inclined to believe that *Kasawo*—a small bag, might come within this geographically descriptive class, and particularly since an old Muganda told me that *Kasawo* was like the *Entebbe* peninsula into which there was entry but from which there was no egress. It was a most attractive theory that French and Luganda had the same line of thought, and that *Kasawo* and *cul de sac* were the same things. However, a folk-saying appears to provide the true derivation and forces us to abandon an attractive theory. In place-names, as I have found, the most direct explanation often appearing the obvious one, is probably not the correct one.

In fairly recent times there was a great fisherman who ran a flourishing business at the river Lwajjali and many people went there to purchase fish, each carrying plenty of cowries or money in skin bags, from which arose the saying, "*Ogenda otya e Nakadindiri, n'ototwala kasawo*—How do you expect to go to *Nakadindiri* without a purse". Thus *Nakadindiri* became *Kasawo*, and the derivation was further obscured because the Katikiro, Martin Luther Nsibirwa, when he was appointed Gombolola chief of *Nakadindiri*, which had by then changed its name to *Kasawo*, moved the Gombolola headquarters several miles to the present site.

In such a name as *Kayunga* however (from *okuyunga*—to join), the name of a place in Bugerere which can be said to join the Nile and Sezibwa rivers, it is extremely difficult to detect any connection with the "KA-BU" class, and it is probably a personification and belongs to class IA, i.e., that of Kabaka—Kabona—Katikiro, etc. This explanation may very well account also for the KA- of *Kanabulemu*—"the place of trouble or difficulty" and for other KA- prefixes as well.

The very large class of WA- names contains as we should expect, since the prefix is proper to the idea of place, the majority of truly descriptive geographical names and gives us:—

Wandegeya—the place of weaver birds.

Watutuma—the place of the tutuma birds (Le Veux-Coucal).

Wampewo—the place of small antelope (the empewo).

Wakaliga—the place of lambs.

Wabusana – the place of thorny bushes.

Wankulukuku – the place of small ant hills.

Wabiyinja – the place of stones.

Wasozi – the place of a big hill.

Wabitembe – the place of “bitembe” plaintains.

Wabikokoma – the place of “bikokoma” plants,

and of course a host of others. Another locative prefix MU- is of interest, although it is far from common, since it derives the place-name (*Mu-nsa* – within the ditch), near Kakumiro in Mubende district, and discloses a sort of *Biggo bya Mugenyi*, for around the hill on which this pastorate of the Native Anglican Church now stands, there runs a man-made fosse or ditch some twenty miles in circumference. I have heard no theory as to who constructed this earthwork. It embraces a circumference of well over twenty miles and was probably therefore far too extensive to have encircled any position defended by a detachment of Soudanese. It is likely therefore to be of considerable antiquity.

Corresponding with the Bantu prefix WA-, of place, we have KA- in many Nilotic place-names outside Buganda, of which a most interesting example is *Kaberamaido*, which if we split the word into its three component parts, gives us *Ka ber amaido* – where there are good groundnuts. The name is of particular interest since it proves how mixed the Kumam area is, for the noun *amaido* is Lusoga and Teso but *ka* and *ber* are Lango. Instances of such mixed names in Buganda made up of Luganda and Lunyoro are naturally not uncommon.

I have suggested that the KA- prefix so common in Buganda place-names may in many cases have arisen from the tendency to personification, and weight is lent to this supposition by the numerous place-names beginning with NA-, the feminine form corresponding to the masculine KA- of class IA. One of the first of this type which springs to mind is *Namirembe* – the place of peace, a very well known place of sanctuary in old Buganda in which a fugitive could not be molested. One cannot resist in passing a comparison of this beautiful Buganda “Peacehaven” with the Sussex one, the latter designed to commemorate the end of the war of 1914–18 and to provide cheap homes for the people, since become the prey of the speculative builders and a track for countless charabanes.

How did the name *Nakasero* – the place of the little basket, comprising so much of the present Kampala township, arise? Omw. Ham Mukasa, to whom I am indebted for so much of my information puts forward the following derivation.

“The Kabaka wanted to make a lake out of the river *Nakivubo* and engaged a number of Bahima for the purpose, giving them for their camp the hill of *Nakasero*. In their excavations they used a number of little baskets (the forerunners of the metal *kerai*). When the Baganda went to sell food to them they found every man working at the lake had his little basket, so the name of *Nakasero* was given to the lake and from there spread to the hill near, where the labourers lived. There was a song or a saying which said:—

“*Ku Nakasero kwe nsanze Omuyima atabala ku nyanja* – it was on *Nakasero* where I found a Muhima busy working on the lake.”

The Kabaka was probably Mwanga II and the earthworks thrown up in connexion with the building are there to see to the present day in the long dykes

running across the flat expanse between the Kabaka's Lake and the short-cut to Entebbe running from the Makindye road intersection to Mulangira Suna's residence on the Entebbe road. Plausibility is given to the derivation in my opinion by the transference of the name from the actual lake to the camp hill, for the more direct derivation is often the less truthful in the case of place-names as I have already mentioned and shall endeavour again to show later.

Other place names beginning with NA- which are geographically descriptive are:—

Natete - the place of *etete* grass with which the local houses were thatched. With that we must compare *Lutete*, though it is extremely difficult to discover the true implications of the different prefixes, perhaps the LU- may be following after *lusozu* understood.

Namaiba - the place of doves.

Nakanyonyi - the place of the little bird.

Nabusanke - the place of *busanke*, the waxbill birds, diminutive little red-breasted birds which fly in dense flocks.

Namataba - the place of rain puddles.

Namaliga - the place of pasturage of fat sheep.

Nakonge - the place of tree stumps.

Nakawuka - the place of the insect.

Nakiwogo - the place of big cassava.

Nandere - the place of the *nandere* fish.

Nabitalo - the place of wonders (I doubt whether this name is older than the Mission establishment there).

These are but few of many names in this class. We can conveniently include within this category some names having the same prefix, but derived from folklore or from the occupations of the inhabitants, and amongst these we find that rivers are often represented. Thus:—

Nakivubo - from *okuvuba* - to fish. How times have changed!

Nabisasiro (a river in Kyadondo), so called from the *bisasiro* or rubbish which was brought down by it from the neighbouring hills. It is interesting here to refer to the letter from "K" in Vol. 8 of the *Uganda Journal* where *bisasiro* in connection with a strait conveys a different meaning of spume or foam.

Nankinga (another river in Kyadondo), which derives its name from the number of long-thorned *mikinga* trees which grew near it.

Nalukolongo (also a river in Kyadondo), takes its name from its length and breadth.

Namumira (in Kyagwe near Mukono) the place which swallows people, derives from the number of very deep pits which were found there, from which ore was extracted for the making of hoes and axes. Of further interest is the survival of the Lunyoro form *Nyamumira*, for the people who dug the pits were reputed to be more like Banyoro than Baganda.

Nasuti - the renowned place, from the old Luganda word *okusuta*, in more modern language *okutendereza* - to praise, seems to have deserved its renown for its people were not only skilful fishermen and potters but also noted iron-workers. Possibly we should allow a little for the natural tendency of my informant Omw. Ham Mukasa

to extol the excellency of his own abode – but Rupert Brooke had his Granchester!

Nakawa – the pretty place, was a *kibuga* of the Kabaka.

Namiryango – the place of the doors is stated to have got its name from a remarkable house there which had entrances both from the front and the back. It has become noteworthy since by years of usage it seems to have secured permission to transgress the rules of orthography and to retain the letter “l” after the vowel “i” in its place-name.

I should be interested to know whether the derivation which I have been given by the Rev. Fr. van Berkel for *Namalusu* the small island off Port Bell is generally accepted. Literally translated one could render it as “Spittle Islet” and I understand that it was a penal settlement of the Kabakas and thus obtained its opprobrious name.

The Kiganda influence in the place-name of *Nakuru* is an instructive reminder of the time when not so very long ago this part of Kenya was within the Uganda Protectorate, for whereas *Nairobi* and *Naivasha* retain the letter “i” as we expect to find (and do of course find in the name *Naigana*, in a Lunyoro speaking part of Buganda in the Saza of Buyaga in Mubende District) *Nakkuru* has come in for the double consonant of Luganda in place of the “i” of other languages. On some maps *Naigana* also has been adapted into Luganda and is printed *Nagana*.

Personifications give us some most interesting names thus:—

Seguku – the father of logs, which is the name of a hill in Kyadondo on which grew some very heavy trees which could not be carried away either by those who had cut them or by those who had not, but who came expecting to carry away firewood which they had not had the exertion of cutting. About this place and these people the saying survives:— “*Seguku ogwalema abatemi atagutema tagusobola* – the father of logs was too much for the wood-cutters and the people who did not cut it couldn’t carry it away”.

Semuto – the wonder child.

Sekanyonyi – the most wonderful of small birds.

Nalubale – the abode of the great spirit – which is the name for Lake Victoria, encourages us to continue our searches for *Lukwata* the lake monster who may personify the Lubale. Mr. Chorley in Vol. 5 of the *Uganda Journal* suggested his connection with water-spouts.

Lake Albert is also personified in Lunyoro as Ruitanzige – the killer of locusts. This interesting personification with the prefix RU- or LU-, to be found in the honorific Lunyoro titles such as *Rukidi* and *Rukirabasaija* and therefore having no connection probably with the LU- prefix of length, is reproduced in Luganda in the same connection in the two Kyagwe place-names of *Lutabazungu* or *Katabazungu* and *Lutabayindi*, i.e., “the killer of the Europeans” and “the killer of the Indians”. In the case of the former the name of the European killed in a collision between his motor cycle and a motor car is preserved. He was a Mr. Dümmer a planter who lived at a place called *Bugule* in the Mabira forest.

The BU- prefix of place-names is generally indicative of a somewhat larger area than of one place and indeed as we know is in Luganda generally

the prefix proper to countries. It is perhaps worth noting such names as *Bukusu* – the place of parrots, a place in Busiro County, the county itself being an example of this very type of name and meaning the county of tombs, where the masiro of the Kings of Buganda are found; *Bulyankuyege* – the place where people eat termites in Singo County; and *Buswa* – the place of ant-hills, which is very near *Bukusu* above.

Jinja – on the Bombo road, just beyond Kawempe, personified as “the stone”, was such a noticeably large one that it is now the site of a quarry of the Public Works Department.

Bira, also in the LI-MA class, is a large forest and the name also exists in its plural form *Mabira* which suggests a collection of large forests, which indeed it is. Names of natural objects are of course numerous in the LI-MA class (suggestive of size), as in the other classes, but the name *Bombo* is interesting not so much for its meaning of “creeping plant”, as by its transference throughout Uganda and Tanganyika, to an article of clothing worn by the inhabitants of Bombo. I refer to khaki shorts worn by the K.A.R. Officers and men before the evolution of the modern battle-dress. Among the post-war and between-the-wars generation of Africans throughout the area I have mentioned, short trousers are known as “Bombo”. It is interesting to find under the word Bombo in the new Swahili dictionary “a name given to a kind of very wide short trousers worn by some natives particularly young Nyasa men” – for might not the late Frederick Johnson who compiled this dictionary have taken Nyasa men as synonymous with K.A.R. in Tanganyika? In the dictionary the word is asterisked to show that he did not consider it was of Bantu origin.

Another example of a place giving its name to clothing is Gayaza for the special type of square-necked women’s robe is known as “*Kinagayaza*” from the place where it was evolved.

Instances are naturally numerous of the personification appearing in the MU- class of persons, although sometimes it is probable that the MU- prefix is from the second person plural of the verb, and came from the first word of the legendary or historical saying which gave the place its name. I have already given in the name *munsa* an example of the locative MU- and will confine myself to but a few examples of the other two derivations arising from the MU- prefix.

Mutungo – a village in Kyadondo, famous for its cultivation of *entungo* – simsim, is an instance of the former as is *Muyenga* – the hill on which Kampala’s high-level water tanks have been built. The origin of *Muyenga* – the preparer of medicine, lies in the legend which tells how great witch-doctors and seers came with the spirit Mukasa and slept on *Muyenga* hill while preparing medicine which should cure all ills. These were the renowned Sese doctors who provided Kabaka Semakokiro with his medicines.

The hill *Mutundwe* in Kyadondo is on the other hand an instance of the second person plural, meaning “you are to be sold”. This hill was a place used for imprisoning the victims for sacrificial human slaughter and those collected there had to await the Kabaka’s sentence in the words of his envoy:—

“*Sabasajja Kabaka alagidde nti ab’emisango emibi battibwe buttibwa, ob’emisango emirungi mutundwe. Muwulidde? Mutundwe Mutundwe*”! “His Highness the Kabaka has decreed that guilty ones are to be killed

outright. Those of you not guilty you are to be sold. You hear? You are to be sold – to be sold”!

What was *Mulago*? It is true that it was a royal Kibuga, and I incline to believe that it has its origin in the Lunyoro word *Murago* – a promise. There is as we have seen nothing innately impossible in the Lunyoro origin of a Buganda place-name, and one would like to feel that this royal Kibuga had lived so wonderfully up to its name and justified its promise in the healing and the comfort which it had distributed throughout the country.

As with the name *Kasozi* we should note in the case of *Mulago* also another transference of the particular to the general for hospitals and dispensaries of Government throughout Uganda are known as *Mulago*. The names of the Mission headquarters in Kampala have also been conferred upon even the smallest churches of the respective denominations up-country.

Next in order let us consider the large class of names which comes from proverbial or legendary sayings and provides us in Buganda, as elsewhere with those of the greatest interest.

First we will take the two well-known places of *Gayaza* (with this we can include *Kigayaza*), and *Mukono*. If we admit the truth of the derivations they would seem to imply great dissimilarity of character between their inhabitants, for *Gayaza* was such a fertile, bountiful place that it made its inhabitants lazy, since its name comes from the causative form of *okugayala* – to be lazy, whilst the inhabitants of *Mukono* when asked whence came the riches and prosperity of their village, were wont to reply with pride “*Mukono gumpadde* – from the work of my arm”.

Kauga in Kyagwe was so noted for its plentiful beer that as its name explains it was “swimming in it”, to use a strikingly similar English expression. It is interesting to compare this name with that of *Namalwa*, in Mubende District, from the Lunyoro *amarwa* – beer, meaning “the place of beer” and there is every reason to believe that the description is most apposite.

Kansanga – it finds me, the name of a river in Kyadondo, comes from the first word of the saying, *Kansanga n'embazzi nga ntema enku mu kibira eky'e Bunga* – it finds me with an axe cutting firewood in the forest of Bunga. Such names as this being abbreviations of Luganda sayings represent the very essence of the Luganda place-name and their exact implication is extremely difficult to convey in English.

Naja, which is short for *Naja/na/nkumbi* – I came with a hoe, more clearly indicates the difficulty of conveying the true sense in English for it might best be rendered as “the home of the widower”, and tells us that when the man originally came there he had his wife to till the soil for him.

An interesting story is connected with *Nkutula*, the name of the site of the Indian shops at Nagalama. *Nkutula* means “I tear”, and in this case probably “I strip off”, for the story says that the place was frequented by a band of youths who used to strip women of their clothing. From their depredations at Nagalama arose the saying:—

“*Abatemu b'omu Nkutula onobayita wa*”? “The marauders of *Nkutula* where will you escape them”.

Mitiyana provides us with a derivation of great interest and further shows us how we must be chary of accepting what often appears to be a plausible

and obvious solution. It was thought that on the analogy *Mitiebiri* the place-name *Mitiyana* meant "forty trees", but against this is the tonal difference inherent in the two expressions *Mitiyana* and *Miti ana*, and also the survival of the semi-vowel "y" in the spelling of the name. Some time ago when I was addressing a refresher course at *Mitiyana* for the school masters of the Singo Deanery, I told them how worthwhile it was in schools to endeavour to interest both staff and pupils in local legends, and particularly in place-names, and when one afternoon as the guests of the Mukwenda we visited his headquarters at *Watutuma*, I enquired as to the origin of the name *Mitiyana*. What I feel is the true derivation was provided by an old man who was present, who told us that he had heard that the name came from the old Luganda form of *Miti-eyana* - the trees creak. This explanation accounts at the same time for the pronunciation of the word, and for the presence of the letter "y", and the archaic or Lunyoro pronominal prefix of "e", which in modern Luganda would be GI- provides by its antiquity further proof. The Lunyoro survivals in Singo names are numerous, and Singo, as history tells us, was the "march" country between Buganda and Bunyoro.

It is reassuring to note that no less an authority than the late Bishop Gorju in his book *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard*, states that it is probable that the forms *muggo gwange* and *mitala gikoya* have only replaced those of *muggo wange* and *mitala ekoya* within the last hundred years. We have already noted one Lunyoro form *Nyamumira* as surviving in Kyagwe and should perhaps mention the Kyagwe village name of *Ziba* from *Iziba* a well and *Kiziba* from the same root. I know of no place-name of *Luzzi*. Whilst on the subject of the LI-MA- class I must mention a derivation suggested for *Makerere*, which was that it was the plural of *Kelele* ("l's" and "r's" being confused as they often are), and therefore that it really meant "large noises"! On this analogy it would hardly be too fanciful to derive "ukelele" from Swahili and call it "a nice noise"!

On the road to Kazi or *Busabala* - the place whence the Kabaka's canoe journeys started (*Kabaka gy'asabalira amato ge*), is a place called *Ndikuttamada* - I will kill you on my return, concerning which the following story may provide the derivation. When the Kabaka was on his way to *Busabala* one of his followers annoyed him and he wished to kill him outright but one of his pages interceded for him and the Kabaka relented so far as to send the unfortunate man back to the capital to await his return with the ominous remark *Ndikuttamada*. There are other places in Buganda with the same name, which in their case probably came from the fact that they were places in the forest-hollows in which it was likely that robbers would be lurking, who while they might allow you to pass safely on the outward journey would get you on the return. Some places which have more recently received the same name lend weight to this theory, e.g., on the Kibanga road is a bad corner where motor cars have been known to overturn - this place is now called *Ndikuttamada*.

Does the name *Nkokonjeru* come within this category? I am inclined to think that it does, and that the first words of the proverb - *Nkokonjeru tiyebika kamunye* - the white chicken cannot be hid from the hawk, may have been conferred upon the places with this name, for reasons which I must admit are obscure. Against my theory is the number of places named *Ntenjeru* - the white cow, unless of course there is another proverb which would be applicable which begins thus.

Kyosimbonanya – what you plant you neglect, is another interesting Kyagwe name and perhaps hardly an advertisement for the private school of that name which is there.

Kyojomanyi – forewarned is forearmed (in Buddu County – Alexis Sebowa's headquarters, an ex-Pokino) is another curious place-name with a rather sinister inference which well-established local legend can alone explain. In the saza of Koki near Rakai is lake *Kijanabarora* meaning, "It comes and they see (it)" or "It comes when people are watching", probably indicating that it is another of the lakes like *Mutukula* – you are clean – which appeared to come so quickly that the story grew that it appeared almost overnight. The name, with its Lunyoro verb *Rora* – see, shows how closely archaic Luganda and Lunyoro resembled each other, and how common are Lunyoro names around the edges of the present kingdom of Buganda. Concerning Lake Mutukula above-mentioned, Mr. Watson has given us a short account in Vol. 8 of the *Uganda Journal*.

We cannot dwell too long on this class of place-names, interesting as they all are, but others will I have no doubt have occurred to many of you, sufficient to show how far the origin of the name is now often merely a question for surmise, and how if some of the old people now living have nothing to record from local history or legend to account for the name, the true meanings will become more and more mere matters of theory and conjecture. It is not sufficient to record that a Kabaka said or did something in a certain place, though that is all we shall probably be able to find out now of a number of places, where actually if oral tradition had preserved the story as well as it has preserved much of its country's history, we should have known the name of the actual Kabaka concerned, and clan history might have given us further details. It has been suggested that *Nyanjeradde*, which is in the form of a greeting to the lake after a long absence, were words said by a Kabaka who in coming from one of his abodes to another could not see Lake Nalubale or Victoria throughout his journey, but it would have been much more satisfactory to know which Kabaka thus gave a name to the hill on which the new laboratories of Makerere College now stand.

Let us pass from this class of names to another which is of more recent growth but none the less of interest, the derivations of which are already becoming obscured. In Buganda are a number of places, particularly Mission Stations, to which non-natives names have been given but which have been in most cases so well assimilated into Luganda that their origin has become already almost hidden. The name *Entebbe* may be mentioned here. It was derived, prior to the advent of Europeans, from *Entebe za Mugula* – the headquarters of Mugula, the head of the lung-fish clan, but the word has been so constantly pronounced by Europeans in their way that it will probably never lose the second "b" which in the true Luganda form should not be there.

The name *Villa Maria* needs no explanation as the headquarters of the Roman Catholic religion in Buddu, though one would like to know by whom it was originally given, as also that of *Mitala Maria*. *Bikira* from the Swahili word for Virgin, also in Buddu, is the place sacred to the memory of the Blessed Virgin. The two Mission names *Virika* and *Bukumi* (the place of safety), the former inside Fort Portal and the latter in Mubende District, are both of modern R.C. origin. *Virika* is dedicated to *Notre Dame de Neige* and *Bukumi* to *Notre Dame de la garde*.

Narozali is not however so obvious as "the place of the rosary", with the common NA- prefix to give a true Luganda form.

Bujuni - the place of help is another Mission in Mubende District, and *Busubizi* in Singo is the place of hope. With *Bujuni* we should compare *Kajuna*, the name of one of the oldest C.M.S. stations in Buddu, from the same root with different prefix.

The name of *Kijaguzo* - the joyous celebration or jubilee, which is also the name of a royal battery of the Kabaka's drums, was given to the recently founded Catholic Mission in Bulemezi in memory of the White Father's Jubilee in Uganda which coincided with the founding of the post.

Galiraya in Bugerere, which was the home of Semei Kakungulu, is the Uganda "Galilee". It was named by Kakungulu himself.

Interesting examples of misleading etymology are also to be found, for when a European, an early arrival at Mbarara, asked with a gesture "What is this"? He was told *Mburara* - *embubbu* grass, and he, thinking the whole hill was called by this name, was responsible for the change of the name from *Karokarungyi*. A second example is even more amusing, for there is an island of the Buvuma group whose real name was *Mpaita*, which has been marked on maps as "Yempaita", i.e., "It is Mpaita" which was the answer given to the European's question.

Here, I feel, after the modern importations, we must cease for the present from our survey of place-names, and I must leave you to decide whether we have been successful in extracting anything romantic from the somewhat cursory search which I have been able to conduct with you through this paper. As I have suggested at the start my aim is rather to stimulate further research and to arouse interest amongst the people of this country themselves than to attempt an exhaustive catalogue, so that, before the origins become completely obscured, we shall be able to seek and find the true derivations of names, which in their present form, may well differ as much from the original as Bozeat, B-o-z-e-a-t in Northamptonshire, does from the original - "Beau Site", or as Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire, from Burg-holm-stede - "the homestead on the hill", both in pronunciation and spelling.

To a people like the Baganda to whom the land means so much, whose wealth has so largely come from the peasant cultivator, and in whose country anything in the nature of a town is of such recent growth, the names of their villages, hills, rivers, swamps, forests and deserts must be fraught with meaning, but this meaning, so obvious to the people, particularly to the old ones, will become obscured with the passing of time and the increase in the number of town dwellers. Thus for example we have *Kabira* - a small forest, and *Mabira* which by its different prefix almost conveys the sense of "a collection of forests", but in the case of the former perhaps even the oldest inhabitants cannot remember where it was, and in the case of the latter, which has become so opened up, it is certain that its name conveys a different picture to the present day schoolboy from that of the vast gloomy abode of the barely authenticated *Banakalanga*, or dwarf men, who lived there in undisturbed possession in the time of his grandfather.

It must remain a true task of the Baganda to ensure that their place-names become none the less historical than the recent European importations of Fort Portal, Lugard's Fort, Port Alice, etc., the origins of which are revealed in any history book, and to endeavour before these origins become mere matters

of conjecture, to preserve the derivation of these names for their children to understand. Oral tradition becomes weaker with the increase of literacy and the time has thus come when oral tradition should be supplemented by written. As an example of what I mean I should like to digress here and to read a poem, of no poetic merit but rather in the nature of a nursery rhyme to show how some old names near my own home at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire have been preserved. This is the first time as far as I know that the poem has been written down, it was sent to me recently by my mother who had heard it from her father and thought it had been handed down to him in his family.

THE ENDS OF WEST HERTFORDSHIRE.

STRANGER:

I have a friend
Lives at some End
In Hertfordshire, I know;
Can you my friend,
Tell me the End,
That I may quickly go?

NATIVE:

Of places friend,	There's Piccotts End
That are called End,	And Water End
We have a score or so;	Stags End by Gaddesden Row
To which to send	Wards End on high,
My worthy friend,	Bods End close by,
I really do not know.	Bury Mill End down low.
There's Holtsmere End,	There's Gossoms End,
And Nevel End,	And Warners End,
Bennetts End by the kiln;	And Fields End in between;
And Potten End,	And Wood Lane End
And Harper's end,	Redbourn Church End,
And Bourne End by the Mill.	And Green End on the Green.
	There's Snatchups End
	And Frogmore End
	And Moor End in a row.
	"And now, my friend,
	Choose your own end,
	And say farewell, and go".

Already with town expansion and building schemes it would be difficult to recognise Wood Lane End and Green End and it is doubtful whether it would be much longer remembered without such a rhyme that there was a flour mill at Bury Mill End and a brick-kiln at Bennetts End.

In conclusion I should like again to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Omw. Ham Mukasa of the older generation who has recorded a number of place-names with the derivations commonly accepted, and of the younger generation to Messrs. Kakoza, Kasaja and Lubwama of the Education Department for the ready help which they have always given which has been by no means limited to the collection of local Buganda names. I must also acknowledge the encouragement and help which I have received from Mr. E. B. Haddon and Mr. J.T. Kennedy, M.B.E., the latter of whom has listed a very great number of names particularly in Buddu and on the borders of Ankole and whose knowledge of the subject is far greater than my own.

CLUES TO AFRICAN TRIBAL HISTORY

By MARGARET TROWELL

Uganda is one of the most interesting places in which to study material culture and the culture contact of race with race. Here, within our comparatively small borders, we have had wave after wave of immigrants of many tribes and races, and hundreds of years of unwritten and almost unguessed history. It is, perhaps, the most fascinating side of the work of the ethnologist to ferret out clues to this unwritten history. The clues may be of several kinds - there are the language clues, which the philologist is constantly tracking down; there are clues hidden away in myth and legend, pointing to some common origin, perhaps, between widely separated peoples; there are clues in social custom and taboo, clan organization and the like; and finally there are the clues of material culture.

The racial groups in the country are distributed as follows: to the south of a line drawn through Lake Kyoga and the Nile we have the Bantu speaking peoples, comprising a number of agricultural tribes who are probably the earliest arrivals left in the country although they themselves were certainly not the original inhabitants. Away up in the hill country to the west and the east they have been least influenced by contact with later immigration; in the central plains their culture has been overlaid and profoundly altered by the influence of peoples of very different race and culture. Over this western and central area spread the flood of Hamitic people with whom this paper is chiefly concerned. To the north, and in broken groups in the east, we have the Nilotic tribes and a wedge of half-Hamites - both being negroid peoples with a high proportion of Hamitic blood, especially the half-Hamitic Teso and Karamojong.

Who are the Hamitic people, known to us chiefly through the Bahima of Ankole but comprising also many other groups in the Belgian Congo and away down south and west of Lake Victoria? They are a light-skinned, long-faced, fine-featured people of Caucasian stock coming from the north; but just how or when they arrived is a problem upon which much work has yet to be done.

Some suggest that these Hamitic tribes were a Galla people from Abyssinia who crossed the Nile in the region of Gondokoro, wandered south to the west of Lake Albert, and settled in the plains by Lake Kivu. From here different waves of immigrants wandered eastwards and entered Uganda. One group formed the wide-spread kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara, which at first had its centre at Mwenge in the north-west, and later at Bwera on the borders of Ankole. Then came fresh migrations of different peoples from the north-east - Kintu and his clans into Buganda, and the probable Nilotic dynasty of the Babito kings into Bunyoro. These broke up and stemmed the first Hamitic tide, and were followed by a fresh Hamitic wave flowing into Ankole as the Bahima, a tribe which has succeeded in preserving its racial integrity to a very great extent and has kept apart as a pastoral aristocracy from the agricultural Iru whom it found in the country and whom it treated as serfs. Amongst the Banyoro the ruling aristocracy would be more or less pure Hamites, but a mixed middle class came into being when Bantu serfs were made freemen and allowed to marry the daughters of the poorer Hamitic

herdsmen. In Buganda itself the Hamitic element left its mark in the physical features of the aristocracy and in the genius of the social organization of the kingdom; but here, probably because the country was unsuited to cattle, the Hamites never came or stayed in large numbers and were rapidly assimilated into the Bantu culture. Pere Gorju⁽¹⁾, who made a most minute study of clan history, claims that Ankole was only recently (in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries) occupied by the Bahima.

If these Hamities only arrived in Uganda comparatively recently how is it they have completely lost their Hamitic language? We may say that a certain amount of intermarriage was inevitable and that the children would naturally learn their mothers' tongue, but could this account for a complete change of language form and yet leave such clear-cut physical characteristics between the two groups?

The Nyoro insist that they entered the country from the north-east rather than the west, and certainly the present dynasty has strong connections with the Acholi and Lango. But Crazzolaro⁽²⁾, suggests from linguistic and legendary evidence that the Bachwezi, those mysterious beings - a former dynasty of kings - who appeared, ruled, and disappeared again, no one knows where, were also a Nilotic strain from the north-east.

Crabtree⁽³⁾ suggested some twenty years ago that the Bahima were not a Galla people at all but were related to the Fula of West Africa, a pastoral people, invaders and conquerors, who likewise founded royal dynasties while their poorer tribesmen tended the cattle of the negroid peoples. It is interesting to note that Lord Lugard also leaned towards this theory. According to Crabtree, the Bahima came south after a long sojourn in the Zande country north-west of the West Nile district of Uganda. This theory he based on the absence of a Hamitic language and on certain similarities between the Zande and Ganda languages.

It is interesting to note at the same time Seligman's theory⁽⁴⁾ of an eastward migration of people from this same Zande area, which met and intermarried with the Nilotic and half-Hamitic peoples in the extreme north of Uganda, thus profoundly changing the physical characteristics and the culture of the Bari speaking people (together with the Madi, Acholi and Lango) from those of the Shilluk with whom they originally must have had far more in common.

I do not feel competent to pass judgment on these various theories, all I wish to do is to point out that the problem is still unsettled and that several theories indicate more connection between our western Uganda peoples and those living north and west of the Nile than is sometimes suspected.

I believe that eventually the material cultures may have as valuable a contribution to make to the solution of such problems as may language or social custom. The craftsman is one of the most conservative of peoples with the result that technical methods of construction, as well as definite types of objects, persist in a culture despite much wandering throughout the centuries. Material evidence should thus be able to show the common origin of people now

(1) *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard.*

(2) *The Lwoo People.* Uganda Journal, Vol. 5.

(3) *The Origin of the Bahima.* Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 53.

(4) *Some Little Known Tribes of the Southern Sudan.* Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 55.

widely separated. Man will also tend to adopt objects from the material culture of people with whom he comes in contact long before he adopts their language or social custom. An interesting example of this can be seen in the Chopi, a Nilotic people who have crossed the Nile and settled in the Buruli district of Bunyoro. Here, to a large extent, the tools, domestic utensils and other objects used are Nyoro, that is to say Bantu types, but they are called by Nilotic names with no careful discrimination or choice of the nearest equivalent terms. Thus any kind of Bantu knife will be called by any Nilotic word for knife, regardless of the fact that there are several types of knives which are always distinguished from each other, to the endless confusion of the student.

As our first example of a clue to tribal history let us consider something which is not material culture but rather a person or an idea – the Fool or Jester at the Royal Court. We are all familiar with the Court Jester in mediæval England with his cap and bells, his bladder on a stick, and his license to act in a way which would not be considered seemly for the ordinary mortal.

Attached to the Court of the Omukama of Bunyoro we find the Court Jester. At all such traditional ceremonies as the lengthy Mpango (accession anniversary) celebrations, and the short ceremonies which take place daily in the early morning, his part is to play the fool. He postures and acts, raises a laugh by his remarks and stories, and seems to be free to interrupt with a witticism at any point in the proceedings. He carries, slung from his left wrist, three flutes (*ensegu*) which give him his name "the man of the flutes" (*omusegu*): these flutes are made of a cow's larynx stretched over a framework of wood. On his right hand he wears a puppet of the skin of some small animal, *akasoro kabasegu*, with a false forelock and mane of hair, strings of beads round the neck, and red beans for eyes (*Plate I*). It is this puppet which is supposed to speak when he speaks, and with which he raises the mirth of the crowd.

I have met with one jester only at the Bunyoro court but there are suggestions of more, or at any rate of more flute players: in other tribes there are usually a number of these men. Roscoe⁽¹⁾, writing on the Banyoro, mentions a royal band of flutes under the leadership of the Omusegu consisting of about twenty players who served in relays. They were serfs but possessed estates in the country: when they received gifts from the King they kissed his feet, not his hands as was the usual custom.

Roscoe tells of a legend amongst the Banyoro which accounts for the privileged position of the Omusegu. The Omukama Chwa of the present dynasty, the fourteenth king before the present Omukama, was lost on an expedition into Ankole. Apparently he had no child so his sister reigned in his stead. Later, a wife of Chwa's called Arapenyi turned up with a child who was unmistakably Chwa's son. The ruling queen, fearing that her power would come to an end, sent for the little prince, plotting secretly to kill him. But Omusegu the flute player heard of this and warned the friends of the prince, and the child was told that if during his interview with the queen he heard the sound of a pipe he was to flee. The day came, and the queen, outwardly friendly, gave the sign for the prince to be speared, but Omusegu sounded his pipe and the child escaped. When the young prince became king he immediately rewarded Omusegu by adopting him into his own clan,

(1) The Bakitara or Banyoro.

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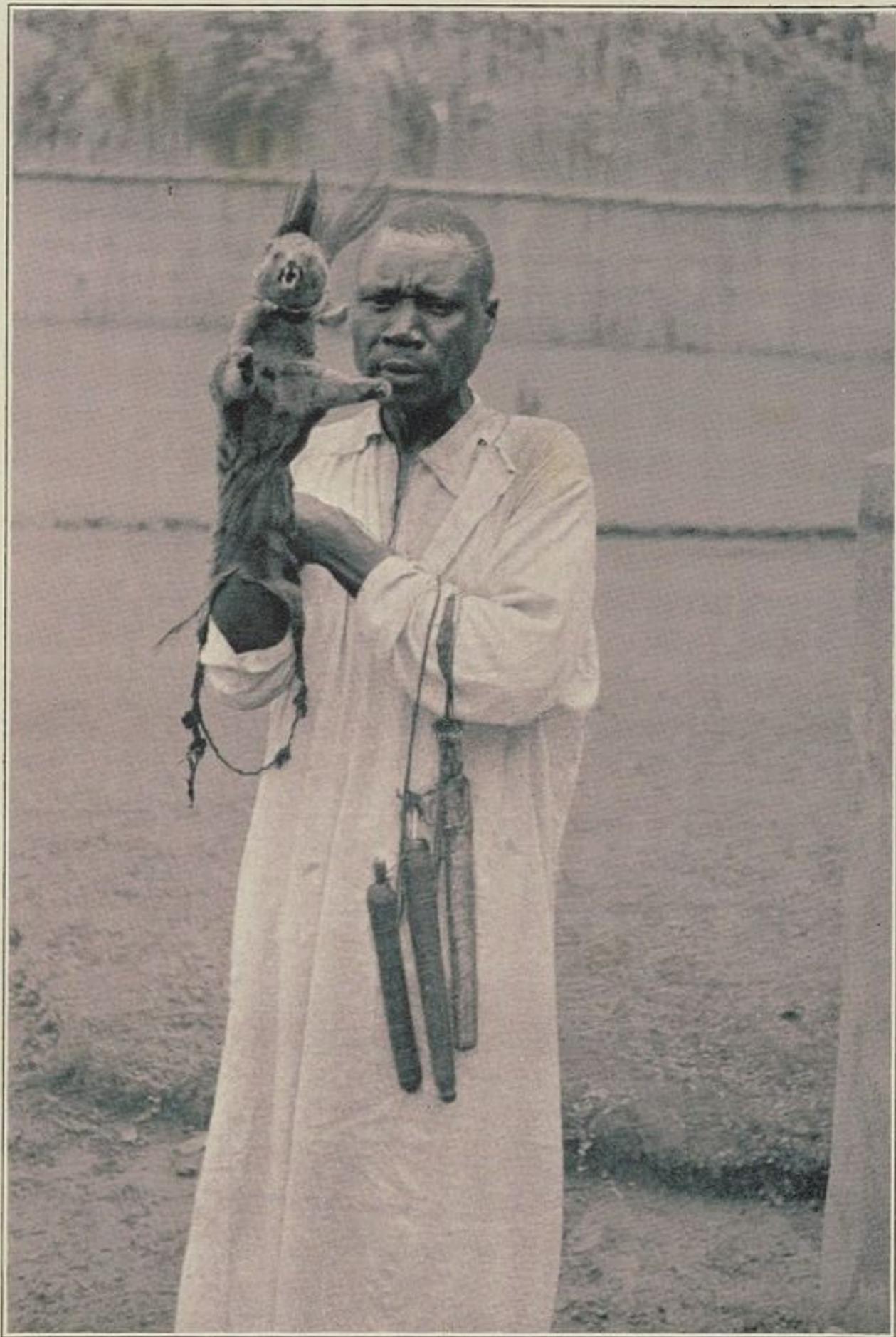
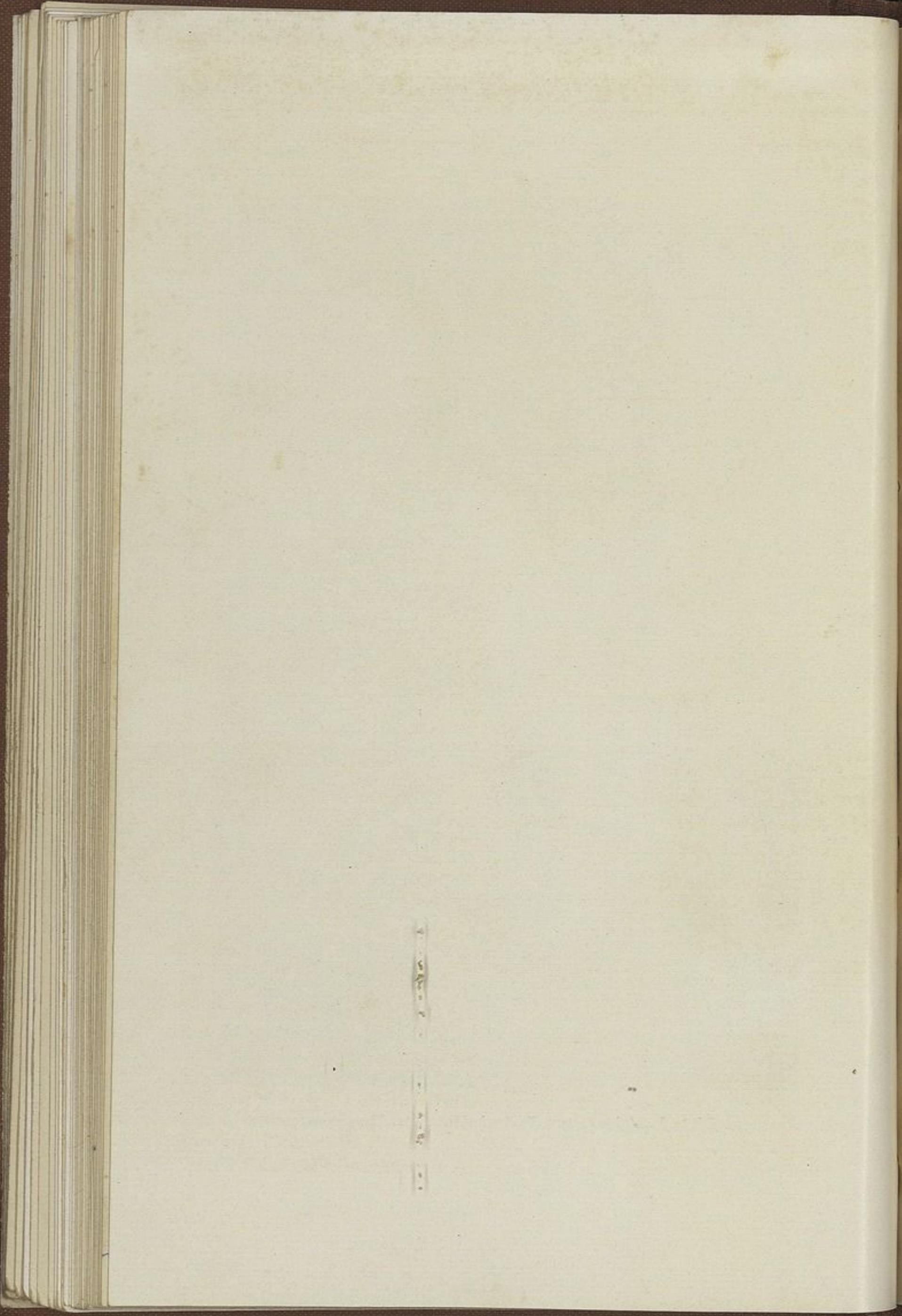


Plate I.—The Court Jester's Puppet—Bunyoro.



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Ababito, decreeing that he and his sons for ever would be the royal flute players and have access to the king at any time.

The terms of familiarity of the Omusegu with the Omukama are thus satisfactorily accounted for in legend.

Not long ago I received permission from the Omugabe of Ankole to visit the Royal Drums. During my visit I noted an old skin bag poked away in the background and asked one of the old men in charge what it might be. It was hauled out – the jester's puppet again, mane, beads, eyes and all, identical with the specimen already obtained from the Omukama of Bunyoro. Fishing inside, the old man brought out the three flutes, but there seemed to be no sign of a jester, no one knew of his existence, the skin was merely a bag (*omutemere*) used to hold the old flutes which were somehow connected with the drums, no one knew why or how. Just as I was about to give up my questioning, an even older man, who had previously taken no notice of me, joined in. He knew all about the flutes and the old bag, there had been many of them once, and when the royal drums had been moved from place to place men of the *Abasingo* clan had danced in front blowing the flutes, yes, and they had carried the skins on their hands, but the drums had not been moved for many years now and few men were left who could remember anything about what happened in those days.

The following extracts are taken from a monograph on the Ziba written by Hermann Rehse in 1910⁽¹⁾:—

“A court fool with an exceptional gift for the comic gets his effects by telling humorous things with a solemn countenance . . . He has various stock-in-trades . . . The first a small horn consisting of two slightly hollowed pieces of wood laid against each other, with this he wakes the king in the morning. The instrument looks simple but is difficult to play; the fool puts it in a vertical position against his lower lip and blows lightly over the opening. The instrument is held in the right hand in a ‘foolish’ posture. The court fool has no prescribed costume but is recognised by a number of comic ornaments, one carried in his hair a carved wooden snake with red painted eyes. Another day he appeared with a black wooden mask with a cleverly carved ‘European-like’ nose, openings for the eyes and a mouth full of human teeth. The mask had a long beard made of a cow's tail and was decorated with white lines on the nose and cheeks.”

The only other references I have found to a court jester in East Central Africa are in Schweinfurth and Czekanowski. Schweinfurth⁽²⁾, when describing his visit to the Court of the Nyam-Nyam or Zande in 1868, says:—

“Next appeared a number of professional singers and jesters, amongst them a little plump fellow, who acted the part of a pantomime clown, and jumped about and turned somersaults . . . He was covered from head to foot with bushy tufts and pigtails . . . his jokes and pranks seemed never ending and he was permitted to take liberties with everyone including the king (Munza) himself.”

The pantomime clown here might have no connection with our court jester, and certainly there is no mention of flute, puppet or mask, but Czekanowski⁽³⁾ speaking of the *Mabudu* just south of part of the Zande country

⁽¹⁾ *Kiziba Land und Leute.*

⁽²⁾ *The Heart of Africa.*

⁽³⁾ *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Deutschen Zentral-Africa Expedition 1907-1908.*

says: "The court fool with a small ivory horn is included in the orchestra". This flute or horn would certainly seem to be a very constant part of his equipment further south where, for example, *Tusi* kings keep bands of the Twa pigmies who entertain them by dancing, music, impersonations and other jests. Seligman⁽¹⁾ quotes a passage relating to the ruling Pharaoh sending south for "a dancing dwarf from the land of spirits" to entertain his court in the third millenium B.C.

Now let us turn to another type of clue to tribal history - objects which have a widespread distribution and are consistent in shape throughout a large area. Wooden objects are perhaps the most noticeable, and certain series of stools and wooden food bowls will illustrate this point.

There seem to me to be two main types of large stool found in Uganda - the stool with a base, and the stool without a base (I am, of course, omitting the many varieties of small head-rest stools found in the north, and several others whose distribution is small and local). The first type - the stool with a base - can be subdivided into the cotton-reel type, and the type where the central pillar is divided into legs. I think that the legged type is a development from the cotton-reel type, and that the two may safely be regarded as forming one large division.

The distribution of the two main types is interesting. The stool with a solid base (*Figure 1* and *Figure 2*) is found all down western Uganda among the Kakwa, Kuku, Acholi, Lango, Madi, Lugbara, Alur, Nyoro, Ganda, Toro, Konjo, Hima and Kiga, and among the *Tusi* and *Hutu* in Ruanda. The legged type (*Figure 3*) is found all down the eastern side of the Protectorate, among the Lango, Soga, Gishu, Gwere, Samia, Teso, Karamoja, and the rest.

The two types overlap in the centre amongst the Nyoro and the Ganda, but I think the first is the older inhabitant. It is certainly the commoner in Bunyoro, and the stool which can still be seen in Kabarega's tomb is of the legs-with-base type. As for the Baganda, it would seem that the stool is a recent innovation except for the Kabaka himself and the temples of the Lubale (spirits). Speke says that when he visited Mutesa he was requested to sit on a heap of grass because no one but the Kabaka himself could be seated upon anything raised above the ground. The stool from Kibuka's temple, now in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, is similar in shape to that in Kabarega's tomb.

Where we find the cotton-reel or legs-with-base type of stool we find a similar food vessel consisting of a bowl supported by legs from a solid base, widely known in western Uganda as *ihungu* (*Figure 5*). I have not yet collected many specimens but there would seem to be as many variations within the type as there are among the stools. One rather specialized group stands out - the Nyoro vessel (*Figure 6*) with its well-defined shape, colour and mode of decoration. It varies from the sixteen-legged bowl of the Omukama himself and the nine-legged bowl (nine is the magical number of the Banyoro) and the bowl with varying numbers of legs, used by the chiefs, to the pedestalled type used by the ordinary peasant. It is found in use among the Nilotic neighbours of the Banyoro, the Alur, Lango and Acholi; and more interesting still it is found as part of the regalia of chiefs who at some time owed allegiance to the kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara - the vessel being presented to the chief

(¹) *Races of Africa.*

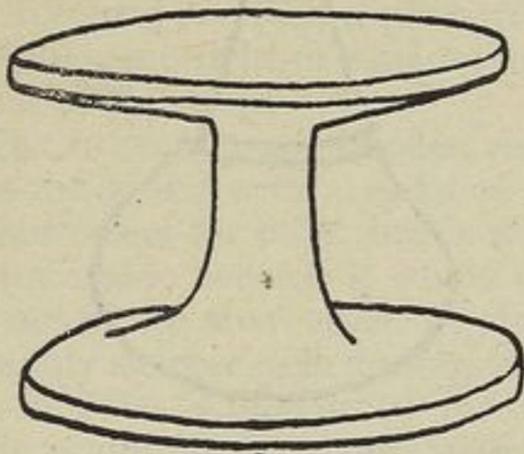


Figure 1.—Cotton reel stool.

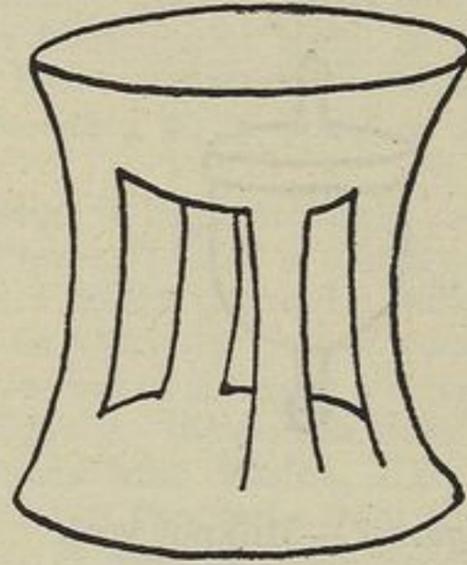


Figure 2.—Legged stool with base.

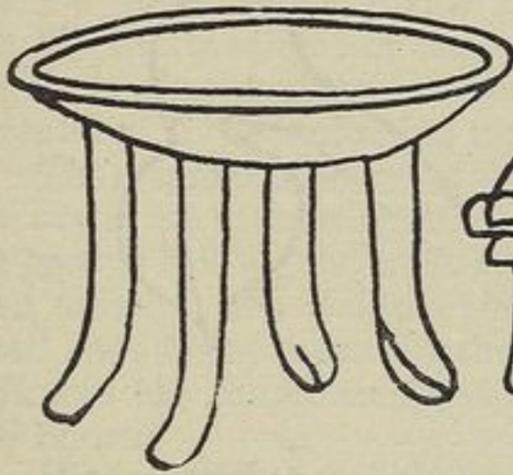


Figure 3.—Legged stool.

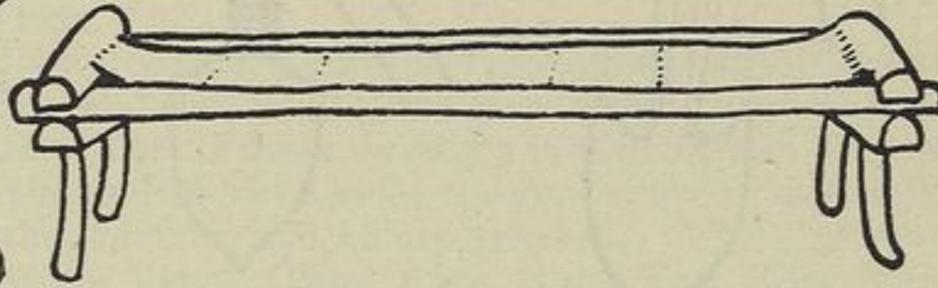


Figure 4.—Stool of split palm.

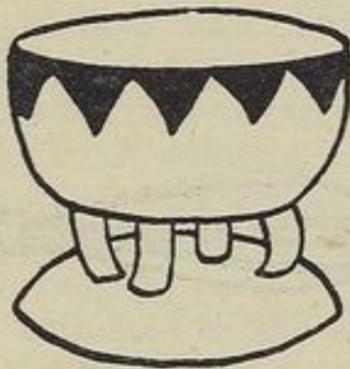


Figure 5.—Ihunga bowl.

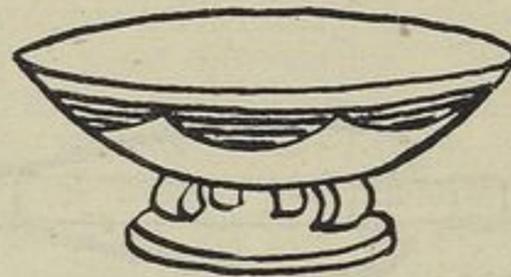


Figure 6.—Nyoro food bowl.

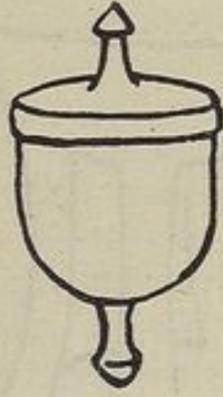


Figure 7.—Milkpot with spike at base.

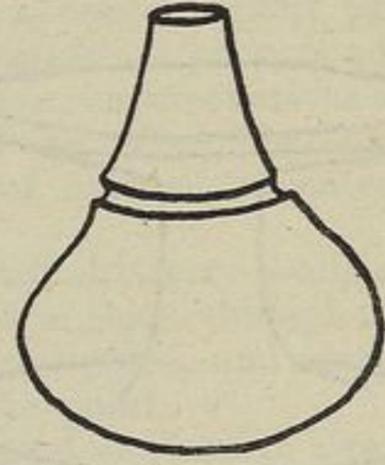


Figure 8.—Hima milkpot.

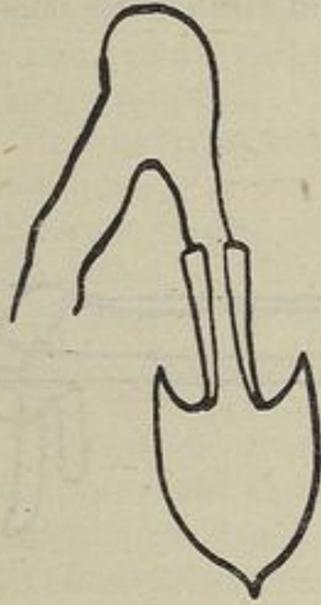


Figure 9.—Hoe with socketed head.

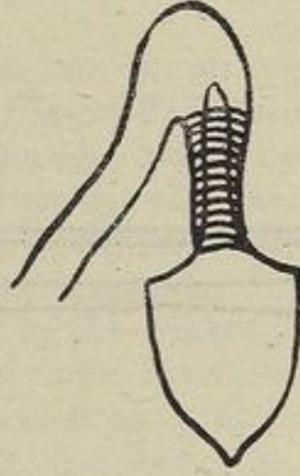


Figure 10.—Hoe with tang lashed to handle.

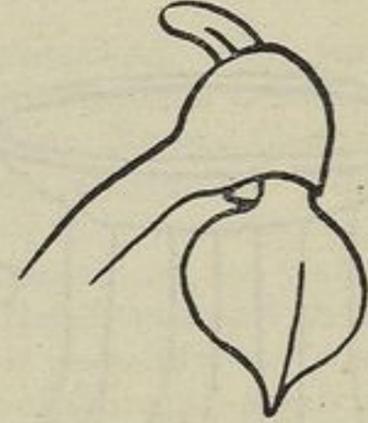


Figure 11.—Hoe with tang through bulge.

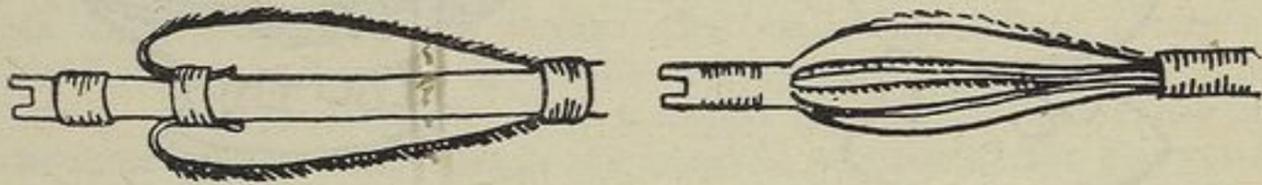


Figure 12.—Arrow with feathering.

by the Omukama himself. Lukyn Williams⁽¹⁾ has reported that one of these vessels forms part of the regalia of the Abakama of Koki, in Buganda, and I recently received a photograph of the Rwot of Attiak's regalia (Acholi) in which is an eight-or-nine-legged bowl presented to a previous Rwot by Omukama Kabarega.

Two other types of wooden vessel would seem to be particularly distinctive. One is the vessel with a spike at the base (*Figure 7*); this is usually a chief's drinking vessel for milk, but is also found as a grease pot and a milking pail. It is noticeable because it would seem to be an awkward type of vessel which when not in use must either be stood in a pot-stand or hung by a string or net. I have only succeeded in finding one so far in Uganda – the *ekisahi* from Bunyoro – but in 1899 Kollmann⁽²⁾ recorded specimens from Kiziba, Ukerewe and Ussinja and I recently obtained a milking pail of this type from the Teriki, a Bantu Kavirondo people in western Kenya. It has also been reported from the Dama, a Nilotic people in south-east Uganda near the Teriki.

A type of wooden vessel which is well-known in Uganda is the Hima milk vessel or *kyanzi* (*Figure 8*). This has a large bowl-shaped base narrowing like an inverted pyramid to a long neck and narrow mouth: around the base of the neck a groove is always carved. Wooden milkpots are widely used to the west and south-west of Lake Victoria; they may be cylindrical, be shaped like English medicine or milk bottles, or be variations of the Hima type – the groove is almost always constant. In one case (among the Tusi) the groove is replaced by a projecting rim.

The original function of the groove is unknown. The Bahima call it *omubabo* and say it is a measuring mark, and that when a cow gives milk to a level above the groove it is a good milker. That, I think, is only a rationalization because even amongst the Bahima themselves the size of the *kyanzi* varies, especially small ones being made for the children, and all are grooved. These grooved milkpots are found amongst the Nyoro, Hima, Kiga, Hutu, Tusi, Ziba, Sinja and Shashi.

When probing tribal history, the technique used by the craftsmen should prove just as instructive as the shape of the object which he makes, *e.g.*, the size of a bow may alter during the migrations of a tribe from forest land (where a small bow is most handy) to open grass land (where a larger bow capable of increasing the range of flight of the arrows is desirable). The available materials will also alter, but the traditional methods of construction will often remain constant, and this must have happened with many artifacts.

The distribution of technical methods is most interesting. Take, for example, the most common agricultural tool of all, the hoe, and consider the shape of the blade and the method of attaching the head to the handle. Three methods are found; in the first (*Figure 11*), the tang of the blade is driven through the bulging head of the wooden handle; in the second (*Figure 10*), the tang is attached to the short arm of an angled handle; and, in the third (*Figure 9*), the blade has a socket in place of a tang and this is fitted to the end of the handle.

The first type – tang through bulge – is found amongst the western Acholi, all the West Nile tribes (the Kakwa, Kuku, Lugbara and Madi), the Konjo,

⁽¹⁾ *The Coronation of the Abakama of Koki.* Uganda Journal, Vol. 4.

⁽²⁾ *The Victoria Nyanza.*

and the agricultural tribes of western Uganda (the Iru, Hutu, and Kiga). Tang lashed to handle is found amongst the central tribes and amongst those of eastern Uganda (Nyoro, Ganda, Lango, Teso, Gishu, Soga and other neighbouring tribes). The socketed head is found only amongst the Acholi, Madi and tribes further north such as the Bari and Latuka. Incidentally, the Acholi are the only tribe I have yet found having a socketed axe head.

You will note that the first group links up West Nile with Kigezi. A further similarity is found in the cross section of the blade which is an ogee curve: other tribes have a blade which is either flat in cross section or has a midrib.

Choosing at random from the more spectacular examples of technical construction, we have an arrow with a method of feathering which is of great interest (*Figure 12*). The feathers, about a dozen in number, are split and trimmed and are laid along the shaft with the ends projecting beyond the neck. They are then secured, after which they are bent down through an angle of 180° and secured again by the other end to the shaft. Now it would seem that this method of construction is so distinctive that its distribution should indicate definite contact and not mere spontaneous invention. The only specimen we have in the Uganda Museum collection is of uncertain origin: Captain Pitman took it from some Acholi or Madi poachers a number of years ago. Although the blade is Nilotic the length of the shaft suggests a Hamitic origin. The only report I have been able to find on this type of feathering is one by Leakey who records it from Tanganyika. A very painstaking fieldworker recently took the arrow all though Acholi, Madi, Kuku and Lugbara without response from even the oldest inhabitants. The Batwa of the Central Lakes feather arrows in a similar way but they do not split the feathers.

Another interesting example of technical construction is a stool (*Fig. 1, D*), which gives us a widespread west-to-east culture contact. This stool is a foreigner to Uganda. Its construction is unique in that it is made from many pieces of split palm instead of being carved from a solid log. It is extremely common in Bunyoro, and is also found in Madi, Alur, Lugbara and Kakwa. I believe that it occurs also over the border in the Sudan (it may connect with the divans of early Egypt) and there is conclusive evidence of its presence in the Central Congo. Schweinfurth⁽¹⁾ and Czekanowski⁽²⁾ both give drawings of stools identical in construction - the first from the Bambutoo and the second from the Mangbetu. It is also recorded from the Azande.

When work has been done on the fragments of pottery to be found in the Biggo bya Mugenyi, near Masaka, and more has been discovered about the builders of those curious earthworks, we may be able to throw some light on these early migrations. In connection with this we may mention a clay cylinder⁽³⁾ found recently at Ntusi which is of a type of work unknown today in Uganda. It is decorated with a number of modelled knobs or incrustations such as can also be found on the pottery of the Mangbetu, near neighbours of the Zande in the Congo.

There are other similar examples of clues to past history which we have no space to consider here, including tools, technical processes in iron work and basketry, musical instruments, tunes, patterns; all these would seem to me

(1) *The Heart of Africa.*

(2) *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Deutschen Zentral-Africa Expedition 1907-1908.*

(3) See *The Rosette Cylinder from Ntusi* on p. 151 of this number.

to show evidence for culture contact between tribes to the north-west of Uganda, the West Nile tribes, the Acholi and Lango, and the Bantu-Hamites of south-western Uganda.

Just how does this suggestion support existing hypotheses? The usual theory that the Hamites came from the north-east before the arrival there of the Nilotics makes contact between the two difficult to credit unless we postulate a common origin further north. On the other hand a slow safari southwards of either Galla or Fula peoples, lingering long enough north-west of Uganda to forget their original language and to adopt new artifacts, as suggested by Crabtree, taken together with Seligman's hypothesis that the Zande group spread out and intermingled with the West Nile, Acholi and Lango peoples would fit in well if the dates of the various migrations should bear it out, especially as more connecting links in material cultures between the two groups seem to be found west of Lake Albert than in the direct route through Toro and Bunyoro.

Little work has so far been done on these problems and a wide and interesting field for research has yet to be explored. It is hoped that the Museum, together with the African Studies Department of Makerere College, when that comes into being, will be able to make a useful contribution to our knowledge of the subject and that African students will themselves take a large share in such research.

MYTH, LEGEND AND LORE IN UGANDA

By F. LUKYN WILLIAMS

One of the objects of the Uganda Society is to discover and place on record facts and information about this country and its peoples which might otherwise in the course of time be lost. The examination of the cultures, customs and folklore of the people of Africa is intensely interesting in itself, but I think there is one aspect of this research which is not always appreciated.

The old idea that everything in primitive Africa is bad and should be rooted out and replaced is giving way to a sympathetic study and consideration of the African viewpoint. We should no longer point to Europe as being superior in morals, ethics and general outlook on life. If we do are we not judging the African by our own standards, and have we tried to understand the African outlook? Are we not justifying the constant slur hurled at us: "The white man does not understand"? We from the west come to Africa so completely imbued with habits, both of action and of thought, that it is often difficult to conceive of the possibility of other habits and thought.

It is up to the Uganda Society to remedy this lack of knowledge and attempt to learn some of the traditions and customs, stresses and strains of African society. We should remember that the history of the world is full of instances of two cultures impinging on one another with the consequent borrowing of customs, thought and ways of life. The good is taken, the bad left. We cannot hope to fuse what is best in African culture with what is best in European unless we know what each contains. This applies equally to Africans and non-Africans alike.

In their eagerness to absorb the education of the west, most Africans do not realise that five thousand years ago in Britain communal life was lived much as it is in Africa to-day. It has taken centuries of blood and sweat to build our civilisation which the African hopes to absorb in as many years or months. He tends to ignore the history and lore of his own country.

I remember once asking an intelligent Munyankole the local names of the months of the year. He replied "I don't know; I have never learnt them. I went to school when I was young and we always learn the English names." What a confession!

It always rather worries me when I hear an African say: "We cannot do so and so, because it is bad; it savours of the past; we are Christians now and must cut away from these old customs". He little realises how many Christian doctrines and ideas were evolved from old pagan customs and were re clothed.

There are in these days, I am glad to say, an increasing number of educated Africans who are coming to realise that their countries are rich in historical legends, many of which have a distinct bearing on their present customs and outlook on life. Nevertheless it is remarkable how little the average African knows about his own country; he is very parochial in his outlook and can tell you nothing outside his village and surroundings, unless it concerns his clan. Children no longer sit round the fire at night while the old people pass on by word of mouth the history and legends of the tribe. The young people go to school and are not interested in the lore of their fathers;

and yet it is from these tales passed on through generations in this way that we can learn a vast amount of history and tribal lore. Especially is this the case if we are able to compare them with like stories from other parts of Africa or further afield.

Myth, legend and lore - a vast subject, and one which takes in social customs, so I can only just touch the fringe of the subject, give a few examples and possibly indicate lines of research.

A myth has been defined as "a story told to account for something", a legend as "a story told as true, but consisting either of fact or fiction or both indifferently"; lore, "a body of traditional facts or beliefs relating to some subject".

But I don't think we need to trouble ourselves unduly about such definitions for the purpose of this paper, which is to give examples of what we have in our midst, and in any case we use the words myth and legend rather freely in normal speech as meaning what is not really true and cannot be believed. When we come to animal stories we shall see that they often, though not always, are in the category of fairy tales.

Let us touch first of all on the stories told to account for something. In all countries we find physical features which have some story attached to them, usually passed down from primitive times. The age of superstition is by no means over, even to-day in Europe, and many tales are still told about physical features. The details are often not so vivid as they are about features in Africa - that is because Africa is at present more primitive.

There are many such interesting features within reach of Kampala which bear examining. The tale attached is usually illuminating and often has a direct bearing on the history of the country.

I don't know whether any of you have visited Tanda, quite near Mityana. It is worth a visit. The hill is riddled with holes, shafts which go into the ground to varying depths - some twenty feet, some over two hundred feet. There are over two hundred of these holes hidden in the grass. If you go, don't go without a guide and don't take a dog off a lead. I have not heard of any good archæological or geological explanation of these holes. They certainly look man-made, especially those three or four in a row a few yards apart cut into the ironstone rock. Is it possible that these are relics of the early searchers for gold or other metal? Whatever their age or their cause we have, based on these holes, a myth told by the Baganda to account for the coming of death in the world. If you have read the legend in the *Engero za Baganda*, of which there is an English version in Roscoe and another in Baskerville, you will remember that when Walumbe - Death - escaped from Gulu - God or Sky - to earth, his brother Kaikuzi chased him, but he went to ground, and whenever Kaikuzi dug for him he popped up somewhere else. The holes which were dug and the holes made when he popped up are said to be these holes at Tanda.

The interesting thing about this story of how death came into the world is that almost universally among the Bantu races in all parts of Africa death is represented as being brought into the world by the chameleon. There are varieties of the tale, but the main feature is that owing to the chameleon's slowness death arrived to stay. Why this variety among the Baganda? Miss Alice Werner, who has made a study of these things, thinks that the tale was introduced by one of the Hamitic races, which entered from the north

or west. Again why? The Bahima certainly know of no such tale, neither do the Batutsi. Personally I think there is no doubt that we have here one of these aetiological myths, *i.e.*, a tale which explains the existence of a physical object. There is no reason why we should not think that people of one of the invasions were instrumental in evolving the tale to account for the holes. The chameleon tale is not unknown in Buganda. Have you ever noticed that no African likes a chameleon and will not touch one?

Nearer still than Tanda, in Kyadondo, there is a tall rock called Kungu, which belongs to the *Empewo* (Oribi) clan of the Baganda. In Vol. 7 of the *Uganda Journal* Bere gives a description of a climb up this rock, and he gives a little of its history. The story is that this rock at one time moved from the Sabagabo of Kyagwe with one group of the *Empewo* clan. After stopping one night at Kira it moved to Buyozi hill, en route to Bulemezi, where it stayed for two nights, but finding it was too tired to move again it had to remain. Hence the saying now used: "*Nasulayo biri Kungu ze yasula e Buyozi*" - "I will sleep there two days as Kungu slept at Buyozi". It is not long ago since a dispute as to the headship of the *Empewo* clan was decided by the Kabaka, I am informed, entirely on the legend of this rock.

It is interesting to visit this rock. Smaller rocks all around it have names also. Three stones lying together with another on top are said to be Kungu's cooking pot on the firestones (*amasiga*). Others represent his wife, kitchen and table, and his large shield. The surrounding rocks are princes - all known by name - while the son, Makai, is nearby. I never ascertained whether the proverb: "*Ozade ebitukula makai byazala ku nsiko*" - "You have begotten white things as Makayi begat in the bush" - has a definite connection with this stone or not.

At the foot of the rock is a small forest and a spring. A very large python is said to live in the forest. All quite in accordance with the usual objects pertaining to a sacred place. I did not see the python, but I noticed that my guide was reluctant to proceed by the quickest route through the forest.

For my next aetiological myth I would take you to Ankole. In the north-east corner, not a great distance from the Masaka border is a group of rocks called "*Mabare*", which of course means "rocks" in Lunyankole and Lunyoro. They resemble the heads of a man and a woman. The man has his tuft of hair (*nsunzhu*) on top, such as all Bahima wear, while the woman's head has its usual head covering. I must say the resemblance is unmistakable. The stones nearby resemble milkpots. The story goes that Mugasha, one of the Bachwezi, was washing one day when a man and his wife came along and saw him. He thereupon became so angry that he turned them and their milkpots to stone.

The leading Bachwezi are looked on nowadays as sacred beings by the Bahima in so far as their spirits are worshipped with special ceremonies and dances. Mugasha was one of the most popular and is looked on as a benefactor of mankind. He was gigantic of stature and the builder of hills and rocks, wells and lakes. So this turning of the man and his wife into stone is quite in keeping with his character. He was a great rain maker, and could shake the heavens. When the Bachwezi left he is said by the Bahima to have gone to the Sesse Islands. We can therefore identify him with Mukasa, the Baganda lake God.

Whilst in this area I would like to refer to a rock called "*Lya Mugenyi*". It is in the Bwera area, in Masaka District, not a great distance from Mabare rocks. It is fairly well established that the Bachwezi ruled the country west of the lakes from Bwera. Mugenyi was another of the Bachwezi. He has the reputation of being a great lover of cattle and a digger of salt wells. Cattle are reputed never to have died while he was alive. This rock, "*Lya Mugenyi*", is remarkable for three deep holes it has, which always contain water. When I was last there one hole had twelve feet of water, one fifteen and one four. They have never been known to dry up. Mugenyi watered his cattle here, hence the name "*Lya Mugenyi*". I think we are passing from myth to real history now. Of course the usual myths and legends are attached to this water hole, e.g., none except cattle must drink from the top hole or the cattle will die. If any one draws water from this rock with any metal receptacle the water will dry up. One is reminded of the refusal of Bahima to milk into anything other than their wooden milkpots for fear the milk will dry up in the cow.

The whole neighbourhood will repay considerable study. Only fifteen miles away are the ancient fortifications - or is it a glorified kraal? - of Biggo. Don't forget it is called *Biggo bya Mugenyi* - the strangers' forts. While not far away, Wamara, the Muchwezi who is always considered by the Bahima to have been the head of the race, took up his abode on a hill at the foot of which is a series of built-up pools called Bwogero, at which he watered his cattle. They overflow into one another, and are similar to the more well-known Bwogero, but called irrigation works, at Ntusi, also in that region.

In my opinion no theory as to the origin of Biggo can be satisfactory without taking into account the other relics hitherto hardly known and seldom visited in that area. It is in Bwera, I think, that we shall find any tradition which may be extant about Biggo.

In Butambala there is a large rock called Nyakyegywe, belonging to the leopard (Ngo) clan. Nyakyegywe was the daughter of Kintu who, so the story goes, grieved so much at his death that she was turned into a rock. Much moisture exudes from the rock at times and causes green trails on its face, which are said to be Nyakyegywe weeping - again an aetiological myth. This weeping is said to take place at the death of each Kabaka. I have not visited the place since the death of the late Kabaka and have not enquired if the rock behaved as required on that occasion. There is also here the kitchen chimney, the cooking stones and a rock called Nabuto, her daughter. Under a slab nearby a leopard used to live and have its young. A leopard is still seen about from time to time. It was at this rock in a hole at the top, containing water, that every newborn child of the Leopard clan used to be brought to be bathed and to receive a clan name. With the advent of Christianity this custom died out.

There is an outcrop of rock at Buwanda, in Mawokota, which belongs to the Ngabi clan. On this rock is an indentation resembling a large foot, which is said to be that of Kimera, who was of the Ngabi clan. Two holes nearby are said to have been made by his wife when she knelt to give him his food.

At Walugali, in Sabagabo of Singo, is another rock named after a man of that name, who lived in the time of Kimera and fought him. Representations of dog's and man's feet can be seen in the surface of the rock today, which are said to be those of himself and his dog.

So much for rocks; one might go on -

We find the explanatory myth attached to lakes and rivers, such as Lake Wamara being formed from the water-bag belonging to Wamara, whom we have already mentioned; or the Sezibwa river in Kyagwe, which, it is related, had its origin by a woman of the Kibe clan giving birth to it instead of the expected child. Up till six years ago, and I have no doubt also today, every Muganda, when passing the source, threw a handful of grass or a stone.

Trees or groves are often of interest in this part of the world. You may find a legend attached to them or you may find they are burial grounds of ancestors and chiefs. In either case they are probably considered sacred and are connected with the worship of spirits. We often find snakes associated with these groves. There is nearly always reported to be one or more living there.

The study of snake worship throughout the world is an interesting subject about which I know little. But often the snake is thought to be the embodiment of the spirit of the departed. You will remember that in the Biblical tale it is the serpent that is associated with death in the world. I often wonder whether some of the groves I have visited are said to be sacred because snakes are there or whether the snakes are said to be there because they are sacred.

There are many such groves in Ankole. No one is allowed to kill the snakes in them. If a man was going to visit a friend and met a snake on the way he would turn back. It would be a bad omen, because the snake would be thought to be going to those who had just died.

In the case of the Bagabe of Ankole, they were all buried for many generations in a sacred forest of Isanzhe in the south-east (that is, all except the last one, Ntare). The spirit was then said to have turned into a lion, but that's a long story and we won't go into it here. You can read about it in part, and not very accurately, in Roscoe's book on the Banyankole. The spirits of the mothers and wives of the Bagabe who were buried in a neighbouring forest all turned into snakes.

Snake worship is often connected with springs. I have referred to the spring at Kungu rock. There are many water-holes in Ankole which are said to have a cobra living near. At the bottom of Kangenyi hill in Shema a large cobra lived for a long time. Mbaguta, the grand old man of Ankole, who was its chief minister for nearly forty years, used to assure me that the cobra followed his father from Mpororo when he came to Ankole. It fed off beer, white cows and white sheep. When it died its offspring took its place, but when Christianity came it was neglected and died from lack of food.

We so often take it for granted that everything pagan is wrong that we do not stop to consider what the African really did believe. How far did he really worship spirits? Was he really doing so in order to propitiate them to help him. Did he believe in a supreme being, an after life, a heaven in the sky? And so on. It is only when we know this that we can build on his ideas today. The subject is too large to go into now, but we can learn a bit here and there from his folk tales. We can only generalise when we know the customs and thoughts of many tribes. Many books are available to us written by those who have studied the subject and have compared the beliefs of many races. I collected a few folk tales in Ankole which I do

not think are generally known. Many of them are what I like to term "Why"? stories. The story explains certain facts or customs. They are often told for the benefit of children. Among these tales, we have distorted accounts of historical events, tales with a moral, tales to bewhile the leisure hours, tales accounting for the creation. A good story teller is much in demand, and even though the hearers know the tale they will sit for hours and listen to one who can act the part, by gesture or voice, better than his fellows.

Tales about animals are always popular. Primitive peoples who live near to nature constantly observe the habits of beasts and birds, and may wonder why some differ in their ways from others. If an African is asked the reason for these differences it is seldom that some good explanation is not forthcoming. These are what I term "Why"? stories. The child of nature is apt to look on living things as being able to think and speak. I was assured in Ankole that animals speak a language which they understand among themselves, and at one time men could understand it. This power in man has now been lost except in the case of a very few. I will refer to this again when discussing were-leopards.

We are all familiar with *Aesop's Fables*. There is no doubt that his tales originated in Africa and many of them remind us of tales we can hear today. Aesop was Aethiops or the Aethiopian. In the days of our youth we also heard the tales of Uncle Remus, told by the negro slave in America. They are only the Americanised versions of the African folk tales. Instead of Brer Rabbit being the cunning and intelligent one, we have the hare, or in some tribes the tortoise, while in West Africa it is the spider. The lion and the elephant are usually portrayed as stupid and brutal.

The first tale I should like to recount is entitled "Why there are so many cattle in Ankole". This also is a story told to children to teach them not to hurt animals or insects. All these tales are long drawn out, but I will be as brief as possible.

There once was a great hunter, who one day found an ant-eater in one of his traps. The ant-eater said "Please let me out and one day I will help you". So he let it out and made blood-brotherhood with it. Another day he caught a spider and the same thing happened. At different times he caught a fly, a tick bird, a rain bird, a white ant and a cobra. With all of which he made blood-brotherhood. One night, when he was asleep, the men from the sky came and stole the hunter's wife and his one cow and took them back to the sky. He enquired of his neighbours and no one knew where they had gone. Then the rain bird spoke, saying he was awake on the night and had seen the people from the sky come and steal his wife and cow and take them back with them. He thanked the rain bird for his information and while wondering how he should recover them his blood-brother, the spider, said he would help him by weaving a web so strong that he would be able to climb to the sky. "But how shall I get into the sky-land"? he asked. "People say the sky is a hard barrier which cannot be pierced". The spider suggested the ant-eater would help. The ant-eater said he would dig a hole through which the man could crawl into the sky-land. So the spider wove his web and the ant-eater made his hole and the man went into the sky-land where there were very, very many cattle and very, very many people. The people were astonished to see him and asked how he came. So he told them: he also told them he had come to fetch his wife and cow which had been stolen. They then brought quantities

of food for him and told him he could have them if he ate all the food before morning. They knew this was impossible, nevertheless he ate what he could, and when he began to despair because of the quantity left, the white ant appeared who asked what was the trouble. The white ant promised him help, whereupon hosts of white ants appeared and consumed all the food. The sky men were puzzled in the morning to see all the food consumed. So they said he could have his wife and cow if he would split a large rock and light a fire with it. He went to the rock and sat down to ponder. Then Lightning came to him and said "I am a friend of yours. Many times have I been in your traps and you have not harmed me. I will split the rock for you". So Lightning split the rock by flashing across it. He then gave the man a feather from his wing, telling him that he could ignite the rock with the feather when he had placed the pieces in the fireplace. The man then looked about for some withies to make a rope to tie the pieces together so that he could carry them. While doing so his blood-brother, the cobra, came along and offered himself as a rope. So the cobra was tied round the pieces of rock and they were carried to the sky men where the hunter set light to them with the feather. Again the sky men marvelled, and they told him he could have his wife and cow if he could find them. They brought crowds and crowds of women in front of him where they sat down in groups. They were all veiled, as is the custom of Bahima women in the presence of men. So he could not distinguish them. The fly then said "I am always with your wife in the house and I know her. The woman whose face I settle on is she". The fly buzzed off and settled on the face of his wife. When they brought many herds of cattle in front of him the tick bird whispered "I know your cow. I always sit on her back. I will go and settle on her now". This it did and he quickly pointed out his cow. The sky men were so pleased at the hunter's wisdom that they presented him with vast herds and sent him back from the sky-land by the easy way only known to them.

This tale is very interesting in many ways. First of all it presupposes a time when Ankole had few cattle in it, as was the case before the arrival of the Hamitic invaders, be they Galla, Bachwezi or what we now call Bahima. The original inhabitants of Ankole and the lacustrine areas were of course Bantu, but the invaders were not. Nevertheless the Bahima and Batutsi further south have not only taken over the language, but many of the customs of the conquered, and most of the tales told in Ankole are Bantu in origin. In this case the tale reminds us very much of Kintu making his three tests before Gulu.

The belief in heaven-folk is very common throughout Africa, though of course all tribes do not have this belief. The Lango and Teso believe that the heaven-folk have tails.

There are all sorts of stories dispersed throughout Africa of how the ascent into heaven can be made. There is nearly always a secret way for the heaven-folk to use, but men of the earth have to find some other way. Sometimes it is done by a tree growing, rather like Jack and the Beanstalk, sometimes a man sits on a magic stool, sometimes a spider obligingly spins a thread as in this story.

The arc of the sky was always considered by the ancients to be solid. The ant-eater (aardvark) is a very common animal in Ankole. Its skin is used for shoes for the Mugabe and cannot be worn by anyone else.

The reference to Lightning needs a little explanation. Lightning in Ankole is considered to be of two kinds—one is bird lightning and one hammer lightning. If trees or building are struck or a hole in the ground is made and there is a loud clap of thunder, it is the Hammer. Other lightning which strikes is considered to be a large bird about the size of a sheep, with wings about fifty feet long. The fire of the lightning comes from under the wings when they are raised. Now this is all quite in accordance with ideas common throughout the Bantu world. I have never met anyone who claims to have seen the bird, though such claimants in Africa are common.

One word more on this tale. Though the tale is told by Bahima, there is one touch which is very non-Bahima. Every Mahima cattle-keeper would know his cow by sight and name. He would call the cow and it would come and he would not have to have it picked out by the tick bird. This alone seems to show the Bantu origin of the tale. The woman not being recognised is quite understandable. The Bahima women cover their heads so that only the eyes can be seen by the stranger.

Many of the "Why"? stories are to do with animals. One of these of which I am very fond and which I expect is new to you is entitled "Why the dog stays with man".

Three types of dog dropped from the sky, the jackal who has always wandered about by himself, the wild dog who prefers to hunt in packs and the common dog. Before this there was no type of dog on earth.

The first thing the dog met was a topi. "Good morning", said the dog. "Good morning, who are you"? said the topi. "I am a dog", answered he. "I have just come from heaven and have nowhere to go, so may I stay with you"? He noticed that the topi kept on looking round in an apprehensive manner while he was talking. "There is a very dangerous creature in this country", said the topi, "called man. He is small and short, has only two legs, but has long arms and is strong. He would certainly kill us if you stayed with me, so I am afraid you cannot stop".

The dog passed on until he saw an elephant plucking leaves from a tree and eating them. They greeted each other in the same way and the dog asked to stay. While the elephant was listening to him he raised his trunk and waved it backwards and forwards as if scenting something. He then replied "There is a very curious creature in this country called man. He is very small and only stands on two legs, but is very dangerous and cunning, and can hunt and kill anything. He would be certain to kill us both, so I am afraid you cannot stay".

The dog moved on and came across a lion. The dog introduced himself as before, and the lion answered "Certainly you can stay if you want to". So the dog accompanied the lion wherever he went. One day, as the dog was going along the path in front of the lion he hid in the grass and as the lion passed he made a sudden "wuff"! The lion started in fright. "What's the matter"? asked the dog. "I thought it was that terrible man who attacks everybody" replied the lion. The dog bared his teeth and laughed, thinking to himself "I must go and see this wonderful creature that everyone is talking about". So the dog said goodbye to his friend and roamed towards the huts of man, and then attached himself to one of them.

One day as he was walking behind this man along a narrow path he gave another "wuff" to startle the man. The man, however, turned round quickly and hit him with his stick. "Don't do that" said the dog. "Now I know that

you are the strongest and bravest of creatures. Whenever I did that before to other animals they were always afraid. Now I shall stay with you".

Here is another which is a tale told to amuse, but is of more than passing interest. A Muhima lived on the grassy plains of Ankole, while a Muiru lived in the hills of Buhwezhu. I won't mention their rather long names. The Muhima wanted to buy some millet and the Muiru was anxious to have a taste of meat. (Here we must not enquire too closely. No Muhima wants to eat millet except in time of famine, and if meat was available, it would not be famine time to him). So he tied a bundle of dried cow-dung in grass and put a piece of dried meat for his own use on the outside. He then set out for Buhwezhu where millet is grown in plenty. The Muiru in his home in the hills gathered together a load of millet husks, which he tied up in dried banana fibre, and putting a little cooked millet for his own use on the outside he hoisted his load on his head and set off for the Ankole plains. At the top of Bukira Hill, just before you descend to the plains, both men met each other and sat down to rest. They greeted each other with "Buhoro! Buhorogye"!—"Peace—good peace". "Where are you going"? asked the Muhima. "I am going to Ankole to buy some meat" said the Muiru. "And I am going to Buhwezhu to buy some millet" said the other. "I've got some meat here in my load". The Muiru said he had some millet. So they opened their food and ate together and made friends. When they discovered that each had what the other wanted they decided to exchange loads to save further journeying. The Muiru took the cowdung and the Muhima the millet husks. When they got to their homes they realised that each had tricked the other.

Some little time later the Buhwezhu man went to visit the Ankole man in his kraal, as they had now become friends, and in return the Muhima gave him a present of a calf. But he kept it in his kraal until it had in due course borne six calves. After this the owner wanted to take it with the calves to Buhwezhu, but the Muhima insisted this was quite impossible as it would die. So the Muiru went back to Buhwezhu wondering how he should pay him out for this last bit of shabby dealing. When he had decided he told his family that he would pretend to be dead and they were to tie him up in bark cloth and carry him to Ankole and put him on a framework near his friend's house. This they did. When his friend heard he was dead he was very sorry, but he thought "What trick is he playing me now"? So he told his family to tie him up and place him on the framework beside his friend, for he would die also. Suddenly the Buhwezhu man broke wind loudly whereupon the Ankole man exclaimed "Oh! you have been dead two days and yet you are making noises. A trickster is always found out by a trickster". So they each realised the other knew, and they called to the people to let them out. The Ankole man then gave the heifer and the six calves to his friend, who took them to Buhwezhu.

This tale reminds us of the story of the tricksters of Kibongo told by Sir Apolo Kagwa in the *Engero za Baganda*. In that story scraps of bark-cloth and ants' wings were in the bundles. The tying up a man in a bundle is similar to another story of Sir Apolo's, "The Stolen Pledge".

The interesting point about this tale is the placing of the dead on a framework or bed outside the house. The Bahima, there is little doubt, used to place their dead outside their houses on frameworks or trees, even as the Banyaruanda did, and did not bury them.

I know of one other tale which refers to a child being hung up in a basket in a tree to die – this being the most usual place for a dead child.

Sir Harry Johnston, forty years ago, wrote that this was the custom among the Bahima, but every Muhima today will stoutly deny the statement. When the custom changed to the burial in the dung-heap in the kraal I do not know, but possibly when the tribe ceased from its migrations and became less nomadic. The only recognised survival in recent times is the burial of the Bagabe who, as I said, were buried in Isanzhi Forest. The burial consisted of tying up the body in lion skins and leaving it on a framework bed until disintegration set in.

We have not space here to go into any more of these tales. Every tribe has them; some are more interesting than others. Some are the same as those in general circulation throughout Africa, but in a different garb. As for instance, the story of the monkey who left his heart in a tree: this story is now almost world-wide in reputation, but is told in Ankole as the monkey and the crocodile on the Kagera River. In many Bantu tales cunning is attributed to the frog. The tale of the race, sometimes attributed to the elephant and the tortoise, the dog and the tortoise, or the hare and the tortoise, is given in Ankole as between the frog and the swallow. The race was to the palace of the Kabaka of Buganda at Mengo. They each said they could get to Buganda first. The frog told all the other frogs on the route and they were ready. Everytime the swallow called from above "Are you there"? a frog below croaked in a deep voice "I am with you". Each place is mentioned in the race – Masaka, Lwera, Mbale. The last frog walked into the Lubiri with presents for the Kabaka just before the swallow arrived.

Many African tribes have creation myths to account for the beginning of things. The primitive man does not question much as to how or why the facts of life came to pass. He is realistic and treats them as facts. His cosmology varies according to what extent the supreme power, which is behind all African religion, is thought of as a being. For instance, in Ankole, there is more than one myth to account for the sun and for the moon. In common with other races of Africa and the world generally, the Banyankole looked on the moon as the giver of life and fertility to men, beasts and soil, and various ceremonial practices took place to ensure the continuance of life on earth.

The creation of men and the presence of Bahima, Bairu and Bagabe in Ankole today is explained by a nice little tale, told with variations in different localities.

Ruhanga, who is thought of as the creator of all things, after extracting out of three calabashes Kakama, Kahima and Kairu, the ancestors of the Bakama or Bagabe, the Bahima and the Bairu, tested their worth by giving them milkpots full of milk and leaving them for the night at a water-hole with instructions not to sleep and spill their milk. The upshot was that Kairu slept and spilt his milk on the ground; Kakama slept and spilt his, but Kahima gave him half from his own pot. Therefore Kairu was condemned to get his food from the ground forever. Kakama would be supplied with food grown by Kairu, as their milk mingled on the ground, and also milk from Kahima.

This may be a tale put out by the Bahima for Bairu consumption. It certainly does not agree with any ideas they have of their own origin. It is difficult to make out whether they consider that they came with the Bachwezi

or are only descended from them. They admit that when they came to the country a Muiru chief of the name of Butuku ruled in Ruampara and Eastern Ankole, but he was fought and overcome. We won't discuss the perennial problem as to the origin of the Bahima. But there is one interesting tradition, worth mentioning, that Wamara, who is considered in Ankole to be the Muchwezi from whom the Bagabe descended, came originally from Bunyoro, moved to the Sudan and crossed the Nile to the West; then, following down the west side of Lake Albert he entered Ankole through Katwe. When he arrived he found Bachwezi already there, presumably coming from the north.

Before I close I should like to touch for a few moments on that interesting subject, the were-wolf, or rather in this part of the world, the were-leopard, or were-lion, or were-hyena. The question often asked is, can certain people change themselves into animals or at any rate take on themselves the characteristics of animals? Do Africans really believe that these people exist? I don't think that there is any doubt that it is believed that certain people have this power. They are nearly always considered malevolent and only change themselves for the purpose of carrying on their evil deeds. Sometimes, it is the animal that has the power of taking on the human shape in order to entice people from their homes and then eat them. There are many folk tales in Africa which have this theme. But the power of the were-wolf is usually associated with witchcraft. The power of turning into an animal is often attributed to a particularly noisome witch or wizard. It is not clear whether they also assume the shape of these animals after death. The only information on this subject that I personally have come across is the spirits of the Bagabe of Ankole turning into lions and of their wives into snakes.

I have not come across any new local folk tale on were-animals. But Persse tells one from Bugwe, which was published in Vol. 3 of the *Uganda Journal* about a were-leopard, who ultimately came to a well deserved end in a swamp. We hear most interesting facts about West African secret societies with their leopard-men and their lion-men. I always remember being told (I fear secondhand, but I have no reason to doubt the veracity of the author) how a particular missionary in Nigeria was determined to find out the truth about a hyena which had been behaving mysteriously. So he followed him one night with his gun, through the village - the West African villages are more compact than ours - and when he had followed him round houses he got him at last to a corner from which he could go no further. The hyena then stood up as a man and said: "You won't tell anyone, will you"?

My own only experience took place twenty years ago in Gulu. One night after dark four police askaris with fixed bayonets marched a wretched old woman to the District Commissioner's house where the District Commissioner and I (the only inhabitants of the station in those days) were playing chess. The askaris were rather excited and accused the woman of having turned herself into a lion and having eaten a child in a neighbouring village. The woman was certainly peculiar and refused to speak a word. All that was known was that she came from Madi, whither I had to conduct her the next day. The nearer she got to her own country the more normal she became, and I finally handed her over to some chief.

I recently was told of an incident occurring some years ago in the same part of the world, which has a bearing on our subject, wherein a child was killed somewhat suspiciously, but the blame was laid at the door of the leopards.

In Ankole it is recounted how a man was once seen by a girl actually turning into a lion. Hair began to grow all over his body. She screamed and ran away. The spell was broken and there was only a man there to laugh it off.

A similar case, but more graphic, occurred in Gomba some dozen years ago. A Veterinary Scout of repute, with his friend, actually saw an old man near Madu take his bark cloth off, hang it on a tree and then crouch beside it. His head then began to take the shape of that of a lion and the hairs of the mane began to appear. They waited for no more, but turned and ran.

In Mitoma, a northern county of Ankole, there was a group of people named Mizhwago, because they were said to be able to turn themselves into lions and eat people. They no longer exist, but the term of abuse is still used—“*Norya abantu nka muzhwago*”? “Do you eat people like a Muzhwago”? or the retort “Do I eat people? Am I a Muzhwago”?

All this must not be confused with the control over animals which undoubtedly some people have. There was a man in Ankole, by name Rugoba, well-known to all, but now dead. He was a great cow-doctor and he had some mysterious power over lions. He lived out in the bush by himself and if a kraal was bothered with lion he was called for; and after receiving the usual payment in cattle for his services the lions certainly did disappear. If anyone failed to pay, the lions were sent back. His gift has not been passed on to his son.

A Muhima with similar power named Kazoba used to live till quite recently in Mubende District. He was always reputed to use hyenas as his messengers. If a hyena was seen scampering away in daylight—a rather unusual sight—it was always said to be hastening to Kazoba. The reputation for being able to charm animals is nearly always attached to some diviner or soothsayer.

A very interesting account was given to me the other day about a lion which had been infesting villages in Ankole. When a man-eater decides to break into a hut to seize his prey he usually tears away at any side of the house and crashes through. This lion was cunning. He used to walk round the house until he saw the weakest place and then broke in. The Banyankole at once said that he was really a man who walked round by day and spotted the weak places and knew where to break in at night. The European who told me the tale said he suggested gathering the villages together to decide on some plan of action for rounding up the beast so that he could shoot it. But the villagers said that was no use and they would never catch him, as he was a man and would come to their gathering by day and would know all about their plans.

Among some people in Ankole and western Buganda certain characteristics in features are always associated with the were-lion. If a man has prominent frontal bones with a receding forehead or very prominent eye-teeth he is at once looked on with suspicion.

AWICH - A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE AND A CHAPTER OF ACHOLI HISTORY

By R. M. BERE

It is strange that in none of the recent summaries of Uganda's history has Awich's name been mentioned. He is almost the last remaining chief who himself played any actual or important part in shaping the country's destiny and I do not think that anyone will question that he is the most important of the Nilotic connections of the ruling lines of Bunyoro or Buganda. He was the friend and almost contemporary of Kabarega of Bunyoro; and from the Eighteen-eighties until recent years he has been the dominant personality amongst the Acholi. His position amongst them at the beginning of the century was almost sufficient to establish the figment that he was the paramount chief; most of the Europeans with whom he came in contact were under this impression. In point of fact he misused his power, mistook the omens and missed his opportunity, so bringing himself to a rather humiliating end.

Awich succeeded his father, Rwot Ochama, as Rwot of Payera in 1887 being at that time a young man in his twenties. Rwot Ochama's name will be familiar to all readers of Sir Samuel Baker's *Ismailia* in which he is described as "King of the Shuli" and as having "considerable pride in his Babito ancestry". Awich accompanied his father on one of his visits to Baker in 1872 and is said to be one of the figures in the engraving of this meeting contained in Baker's book.

Sir Samuel Baker, Emin Pasha and others had always treated Rwot Ochama with the deference they considered due to an independent chief of first importance. Moreover, he could always be relied upon to show absolute loyalty to Government, the exact reverse, in fact, of the attitude taken up later by Awich, who opposed as a principle all Government's progress. Emin Pasha met Awich at Goma in 1880 when he was still a very young man and there is little doubt that Awich was brought up in an atmosphere of co-operation with the Egyptian Governors. Unfortunately some of the officers were not as tactful as they might have been. The details are not known but at some time in the last three years of his life Ochama was evidently deeply insulted by one of the commanders of Patiko, so much so that his whole attitude was changed. Awich succeeded at a time when his father was fiercely opposed to the Egyptians. Later he thought, no doubt, that one Government was as bad as another and was unable properly to distinguish between the slave-raiding Egyptians and the incoming British Government.

Ochama found his end in a clan battle between the Payera and their northern neighbours the Padibe who had succeeded at that time in calling to their support a considerable body of Nubis, remnants of Emin Pasha's force. With the help of these Nubis the Padibe routed the Payera and killed their chief, Rwot Ochama, whose body was never recovered. The Padibe placed the old Rwot's skull inside the Royal Drum (*Bul Ker*) of Payera which they had captured, an act of humiliation hardly yet forgotten. The skull is said to have remained in this drum until 1923 when, by strange circumstances

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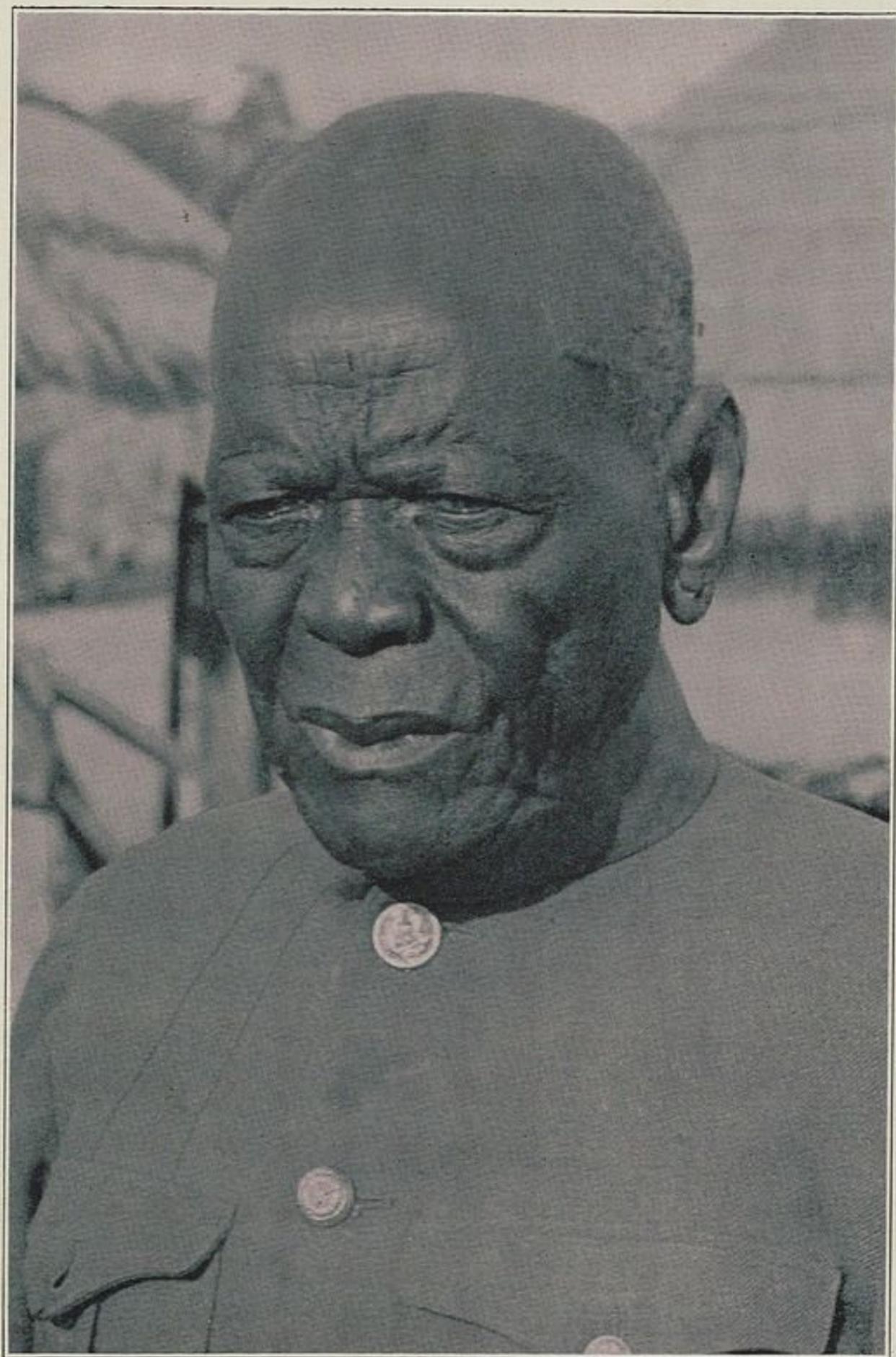


Plate II.—Awich in 1944.

[*Photo. by* Captain Dickson.]

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wholly unconnected with war, it again came into the possession of Awich⁽¹⁾. Its present resting place is unknown.

The next ten years (1888-98) were a bleak period in the history of Acholi. Momentous events were taking place in other parts of the Protectorate but the Acholi were left much to their own devices and to the ravages of Emin Pasha's Sudanese soldiers the remnants of whom were roaming the country as a band of robbers. Attempts to administer the Acholi from Egypt had been abandoned with the Mahdist rising. Awich was busy establishing himself as head of his large and scattered clan, achieving skill with the rainstones or taking omens from the entrails of goats or chickens as circumstances demanded. He led many successful raids against neighbouring clans less numerous than the Payera and too independent to join forces with them. The object of many of these raids was the recapture of the lost drum from the Padibe but, although cattle and girls in great numbers were secured, the drum remained untaken. The Payera lands at this time stretched from Kitgum to Pakwach and the Murchison Falls.

In 1898 occurred two events which had much effect on Awich's future conduct; they were the Nubi mutiny and the flight of Kabarega from Bunyoro. A number of the Nubis from Buganda sought the protection of Awich and Kabarega and some even shared Awich's home. In August 1898 both Awich and Kabarega were at Olokolum in Payera; in November Kabarega, after paying a visit to the Sudan, migrated to Lango with a number of the Nubis.

Let us pause for a moment, leaving Kabarega to his hiding and Awich to his raids and rainstones, and consider outside events. Local troubles had been cleared up and the foundations of a proper administration had been laid in Uganda. The nations of Europe were still "scrambling for Africa" and it was hoped to bring into the orbit of British Administration all those countries lying between the then limits of Uganda and the acknowledged southern limit of the Egyptian domain, namely, the tenth latitude North. In June 1898 Major Macdonald left Kampala with the twofold objective of securing this area by treaty and if possible rounding-up the Sudanese mutineers and Kabarega. He passed through the northern fringe of Acholi, making treaties with various Acholi chiefs including Chua, Kiteny, and Padibe. Messengers were sent to Awich but he would not agree to the treaty relationship proposed. At almost the same time Colonel Martyr was approaching Acholi from the south, establishing military posts at Fajao, Wadalai, Affuddu and Lamogi. Nimule was established as a Collectorate by Major Delme-Radcliffe ("Langa-Langa")⁽²⁾ in the following year. Awich knew of all these movements but reckoned that he could hold out against the oncoming tide. Most of the other Acholi chiefs, meanwhile, had willingly put themselves under Government protection and were paying regular visits to Nimule.

In November 1899 Awich's brother Lakarakak paid a friendly visit to Major Delme-Radcliffe and was driven temporarily out of the clan Payera for his pains. In April 1900 Ogowok of Padibe claimed protection against Awich by virtue of the 1898 treaty and Langa-Langa made serious efforts

(1) It is said that when Rwot Olia of Attiak married one of Awich's daughters, this drum was included as part of the dowry. It is not known how Olia came by it but it seems to have become a very evil omen, for Olia died of his own hand and there was no offspring of the marriage.

(2) Langa-Langa is a term used for a were-lion. Major Delme-Radcliffe used to cover phenomenal distances by means of night marches; he was therefore credited with the ability to turn himself into a lion and pass through the bush in this form.

to capture him. He was not successful until a year later, when Captain Harman managed to turn the tables on Awich who whilst protesting peaceful intentions was actually laying an ambush at Byeyo near Goma hill. Prior to this, Awich had defended himself with cunning, never risking a serious fight, and whenever things had become too hot had managed to create a diversion to distract the Government troops away from the matter in hand. In this way he raised trouble at Lokung, Farajok, and many other parts of Acholi in which he had influence, and always succeeded in drawing Langa-Langa away. Awich had to support him a number of Nubi mutineers as well as some followers of Kabarega.

On being taken prisoner, Awich was degraded from his chieftainship and replaced by his brother Lakarakak. His funeral dance was held and he himself was sent as a prisoner to Nimule. Immediately after the capture of Awich in 1901, Langa-Langa began his successful Lango expedition during the course of which the last remnant of the mutineers was dispersed. Kabarega himself had been captured by Evatt two years earlier⁽¹⁾.

In March 1902 Awich was re-established as Rwot of Payera by Mr. F. A. Knowles, the Collector of Nimule. Almost every chief of importance attended the ceremony, the main intention of which was the performance of *Gwor Kome*⁽²⁾, necessary owing to his funeral dance having been previously held.

The next record of Awich's activities is surprising. In 1904 we find him sending messengers to Bunyoro with a request to the C.M.S. to send Missionaries to Acholi: the request was accepted but Awich did not become a Christian for forty years. Nevertheless he did not take kindly to Government progress and remained malcontent to the end of his active career. He was in fact considered to have been the power behind the Guru Guru (Lamogi) rebellion of 1912 and was deported to Kampala in that year. The Payera country was divided between his two eldest sons, Eria Alikair and Yona Odida, and so ended his turbulent chieftainship.

Awich returned from his exile in 1920 and has caused no more trouble, living quietly in Kitgum ever since. His short and stocky figure is a familiar sight and he carries his years well. He is a friendly person, feels no bitterness, and has, in fact, helped me with the details of this account.

The last time that I saw him, in the middle of 1942, he was very ill and was not expected to live; but he made good recovery⁽³⁾. During his illness he allowed himself to be baptised into the Native Anglican Church, taking appropriately the patriarchal name of Ibrahim, a move which has given much pleasure to his almost numberless host of children and grandchildren.

Awich began his career when the administration was at its lowest ebb and the influence of the uncontrolled Nubis at its height. With his independent nature, he was well suited to the role he played and the Nubis found him an ideal tool. He imitated and befriended his kinsman Kabarega whose influence was very strong. But he missed his chance, as so many others have done, and must be counted a failure.

⁽¹⁾ See *Capax Imperii* - The Story of Semei Kakunguru, by H. B. Thomas, *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 6, p. 131.

⁽²⁾ The ceremony of *Gwor Kome* was performed to re-establish as a living entity in the clan any person whose funeral dance had been held and who therefore had been presumed dead. The essence of the ceremony was that the person had to pass through the flowing blood of a black goat, representative of death, slaughtered for the purpose.

⁽³⁾ We regret to say that Awich died in the middle of 1946.

LIVINGSTONE AND THE BAGANDA

By GEOFFREY MASEFIELD

Although Livingstone never approached nearer to the present Uganda Protectorate than the southern borders of Ruanda-Urundi, he met and talked with a number of Baganda in 1872 and must thus be reckoned as the first European to have made contact with them after Speke and Grant's expedition and Baker's advance to Bunyoro. The records left by Livingstone throw an interesting light on an obscure period of Buganda history which is almost totally ignored in the standard works of reference and seem to be worth putting together for Uganda people, who normally regard Livingstone's explorations as somewhat outside their province.

The references all occur in the two volumes of Livingstone's *Last Journal* which were edited by his friend the Rev. Horace Waller and published in 1874. The dates given as references in succeeding paragraphs refer to the date of entry in the Journals.

Livingstone at the time he met the Baganda was already familiar with both Speke's and Baker's work and there is internal evidence that he had books by both authors with him during this journey. He was, however, distinctly critical of Speke, as a number of references show (8th February 1867, 25th February 1868, 18th August 1870, 24th May 1872). At Chitapangwa's in 1867 he met a man named Janjé who had been with Burton and Speke, and when Stanley joined Livingstone he of course had with him Speke's old headman, Bombay. Livingstone was, however, also critical of Bombay's "failings" (13th June 1872).

The first reference to Buganda comes on Christmas Day 1868. The Arabs with whom Livingstone was then travelling west of Lake Tanganyika received news, which Livingstone at once states to be erroneous, that a steamer had been placed on Lake Albert. This news had been conveyed to Ujiji in a letter from "Abdullah bin Salem, Moslem Missionary at Mtésa's". This must be one of the earliest, if not the very earliest, reference to any letter from Buganda reaching the outside world. It also gives us one of the earliest recorded names of an Arab who resided at the capital.

Later there are other references to Arab trade with Buganda. While at Tabora on the 13th May 1872 Livingstone wrote: "Ajala's people, sent to buy ivory in Uganda, were coming back with some ten tusks and were attacked at Ugalla by robbers, and one free man slain: the rest threw everything down and fled. They came here with their doleful tale to-day". For ten tusks the trade was evidently not worth such risks. On the 7th June 1872 Livingstone "heard of Baker going to Unyoro Water, Lake Albert" with more exactitude this time. This news probably came from Arab sources through Buganda, but no details are given.

In 1872 Livingstone was delayed for some months at Unyanyembe (Tabora) while waiting for the reinforcements which Stanley was to send him from the coast. A caravan of Baganda returning from the coast was held up at the same place by the Arab "war" with Mirambo, a neighbouring chief, which

made the next stages of their route impassable. Livingstone first introduces the caravan on the 9th April 1872 in these words:—

“About one-hundred-and-fifty Waganga of Mtéza carried a present to Seyed Burghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, consisting of ivory and a young elephant. He spent all the ivory in buying return presents of gunpowder, guns, soap, brandy, gin, etc., and they have stowed it all in this Tembé (Arab house). This morning they have taken everything out to see if anything is spoilt. They have hundreds of packages.

One of the Baganda told me yesterday that the name of the Deity is Dubalé in his tongue.”

This brings us at once up against Livingstone's inaccurate transliteration of the Luganda names and words which he heard. No linguistic significance attaches to the forms which he uses, for he is often inconsistent with himself; the Baganda figure as “Baganga” “Baganda” “Waganga” “Waganda”; Mutesa as “Mtéza” and “Mtéza”; the name Mukasa as “Mokassa” and “Kassa”. Livingstone was a capable linguist, and in exoneration of this slipshod method it can only be said that he was at the time a very tired sick man and that these journal entries were only daily jottings which were certainly never intended for publication without revision.

This caravan was not the only one which Mutesa sent out at this period, for on the 16th June another embassy arrived on its way to Zanzibar “A few people came also from Buganda, bringing four tusks and an invitation to Seyed Burghash to send for two housefuls of ivory which Mtéza has collected”. On the 1st August “a large party of Baganda have come to see what is stopping the way to Mtesa, about ten headmen and their followers; but they were told by an Arab in Usui that the war with Mirambo was over. About seventy of them came on here to-morrow, only to be dispatched back to fetch all the Baganda in Usui, to aid in fighting Mirambo”. On the 5th August these latter seem to have arrived: “More Baganda have come to Kwihara, and will be used for the Mirambo war”.

With all this coming and going, one is tempted to wonder whether there were still more caravans of which no record has been preserved by any casual meeting with a European. What an enormous gain in worldly wisdom and sophistication it must have meant to Buganda that at least one-hundred-and-fifty Baganda had seen all the wonders of the coast! What a start it must have given them over their sister kingdoms, Bunyoro and the rest! To what extent may it have paved the way for the desire for education which was manifested so soon after the first missionaries arrived in the country in 1877? These are all pertinent considerations yet this aspect of Buganda history is neglected by the ordinary books on the subject.

How enterprising also was the action of an African sovereign in organising these expeditions, and how unusual in those times the persistence of a purely native caravan without Arab organisation in surmounting all difficulties and reaching the coast. Reading between the lines, I think Livingstone was astonished at the efficiency of these African caravan leaders who opened all the packages to see that they were still intact. In the list of trade goods thought suitable by the Sultan, the conjunction of guns and soap is pleasing — it seems to show that the Baganda had already high standards of cleanliness, for soap was not a usual article of trade in the regions through which Livingstone had passed.

But to return to the fortunes of the main caravan. This seems originally to have consisted of more than one-hundred-and-fifty men, for at an earlier date (28th January 1871) Livingstone when at Manyema heard news from a passing caravan that "the Watuta came stealing Banyamwezi cattle, and Mtéza's men went out to them, and twenty-two were killed, but the Lewale's people did nothing". From this obscure passage it is not quite clear whether the twenty-two killed were Baganda or Watuta, but probably the former, and the incident appears to have taken place at Tabora, so that the Baganda concerned were probably members of the same caravan on its way down to the coast, which Livingstone met later on its homeward way. At the same time and from the same source he heard that "Egyptian Turks came up and attacked Mtéza, but lost many people, and fled. The report of a Moslem Mission to his country was a falsehood, though the details given were circumstantial".

While in contact with the Baganda, Livingstone made notes on their physical characteristics with his usual painstaking detail. "The Batusi . . . are very polite in address. The women have small, compact, well-shaped heads and pretty faces . . . The Baganda are slaves in comparison; black, with a tinge of copper-colour sometimes; bridgeless noses, large nostrils and lips, but well-made limbs and feet" (21st March 1872). If this seems an unflattering description to the Baganda, let them remember that few races could expect a glowing description of their physique in immediate comparison with the Batusi! On the 1st August 1872 when the Baganda reinforcements arrived he notes: "These arrivals are a poor, slave-looking people, clad in bark-cloth, 'Mbuzu', and having shields with a boss in the centre, round, and about the size of the ancient Highlanders' targe, but made of reeds. The Baganda already here said that most of the newcomers were slaves, and would be sold for cloths".

On the 12th May Livingstone gives the name of the "headman" of the Baganda as "Singeri". With this name as a clue, I asked Mr. Ham Mukasa the living repository of so much Buganda history and tradition, whether any recollection remained in Buganda of this man or of the expedition he commanded. I am much indebted to Mr. Ham Mukasa for the following information. The correct name of the caravan leader was Sengiri Omutebi, he was the chief of an area in Busiro near Buwaya, and was chosen by the Katikiro for this journey to Zanzibar because of his good knowledge of Swahili. Mr. Ham Mukasa says that he heard a good deal of this caravan in his youth because his father (who was in charge of the Bahima serving the Kabaka) collected the milk which was required for feeding the young elephant, which was done for a period of two years or more. Also, a brother of his father actually went on the expedition, and often spoke of it on his return, mentioning some fighting which they had with the Banyamwezi before reaching Tabora. Some of the returned members of the expedition also mentioned meeting Livingstone at Tabora. According to what Mr. Ham Mukasa remembers having heard, the presents from Mutesa to the Sultan included, besides the elephant, leopard and duiker skins and bracelets of metal and ivory; while the Sultan's return presents included cloth and plates, cups, knives for cutting meat, soldiers' bugles and drums, and red caps.

On the 1st May Livingstone bought four cows and calves from the Baganda to provide himself and his party with milk. It is pleasant to record

that in this early commercial transaction between Baganda and Briton, neither side indulged in sharp practice, for "the Baganda were well pleased with the prices given, and so am I". The headman from whom he bought the cattle, perhaps the same Singeri, was a Moslem convert. "He has been taught by the Arabs, and is the first proselyte they have gained".

On the 12th May there were still greater civilities. Singeri offered Livingstone a cow and a calf as a gift, but the latter declined on the grounds that the gift was too great a one as between strangers. Singeri again pressed it, and was again refused. These courtesies must be understood against the background of the time and place to be appreciated. Both amongst the slave-traders and the tribes through whom they passed every man was out to rob his neighbour, and treachery and bad faith were the rule; this incident between Livingstone and the Baganda stands out to the credit of both in a long record of petty cheating.

On the 19th June "an influential Muganda" died of dysentery in spite of every medicine the Doctor could give him. Another was blind from ophthalmia.

Livingstone records some interesting discussions with the Baganda which reveal their own opinion of Mutesa's cruelties and their conceptions of moral law. On the 9th July he told Singeri "that all the Arabs confirmed Mtesa's cruelties, and that his people were more to blame than he: it was guilt before God. In this he agreed fully, but said what Arab was killed"? meaning, if they did not suffer how can they complain? On the 21st July "some foolish speculations in morals resemble the idea of a Muganda, who said last night, that if Mtesa didn't kill people now and then, his subjects would suppose that he was dead"!

These Baganda were not backward in boasting about their country. "Extolling the size of Mtesa's country, they say it would take a year to go across it. When I joked them about it, they explained that a year meant five months, three of rain, two of dry, then rain again" (1st August). Speke, in his "Journal", comments on the same conception of the year in Buganda.

All this intercourse turned Livingstone's thoughts to the prospects of a mission to "Bouganda, with its teeming population, rain, and friendly chief, who could easily be swayed by an energetic, prudent missionary" (28th May 1872).

On the 17th July the Baganda thought they would at last be able to get away. The Liwali wanted to pack them off in a hurry, and Livingstone thought "this haste (though war is not ended) is probably because Lewalé has heard of a missionary through me". This obscure reference may be compared with an earlier conversation (9th July) in which Livingstone "spoke to Singeri about the missionary reported to be coming: he seems to like the idea of being taught and opening up the country by way of the Nile". We can only surmise that he had heard some report through Arab sources which was as inaccurate as some of the ones noted above.

After a further week or so of delays and exasperation, the Baganda actually got off, but their troubles were not ended, for on the 27th July we read "a party of native traders who went with the Baganda were attacked by Mirambo's people, and driven back with the loss of all their goods and one killed". Previous references have already shown the Baganda as being stouter-hearted fighters than most of the other people of that region, and we may suppose

that they got through either by putting on so bold a face that they were not attacked, or by fighting and emerging victorious.

A last link, however, remained with one of these caravans of Baganda. Between a Muganda lad named Mukasa and Livingstone a genuine affection seems to have sprung up, and Mukasa apparently ran away from his companions and joined Livingstone on his westward march from Tabora which began on the 25th August. He is first referred to on the 31st August 1872: "The Baganda boy Kassa was followed to Gunda, and I delivered him to his countrymen. He escaped from Mayole village this morning, and came at 3 p.m., his clothes in rags by running through the forest eleven hours, say twenty-two miles, and is determined not to leave us".

He is referred to again on the 21st October, Livingstone's last reference to the Baganda and the most typical of the man. "Mokassa, a Moganda boy, has a swelling of the ankle, which prevents his walking. We went one hour to find wood to make a litter for him". How incredible it must have seemed to Mukasa and to all the other members of the safari, along those blood-stained slave-routes where pity was unknown, that the great explorer whose every delay was already bringing him nearer to his eventual death through weakness, should deviate from his line of march merely to make a litter for a sick follower. Perhaps we owe more than we know to the quality of these early contacts of Europeans with the Baganda.

RUWENZORI

By R. M. BERE and P. H. HICKS

Note by the Authors.—This paper consists of four sections, a brief bibliography, and a map. The first two sections contain general information regarding Ruwenzori, collected from various scattered sources as well as our own experience, much of it probably here brought together for the first time. The two later sections are accounts of different aspects of the expedition which, with Dr. R. G. Ladkin, we made together in May and June 1945. We have been rather reluctant to include a bibliography at all, because, with no reference library at our disposal and, for all practical purposes, only our own bookshelves and memories to fall back on, we realise it must be very incomplete. However, as a record of climbing attempts, it may be of some value. It is probably unnecessary for us to say that the map is not the result of the survey work described in the fourth section of this paper, but a sketch compiled by one of us from existing maps, to give a picture of the main features of the range and our own route upon it.

I. THE MOUNTAIN

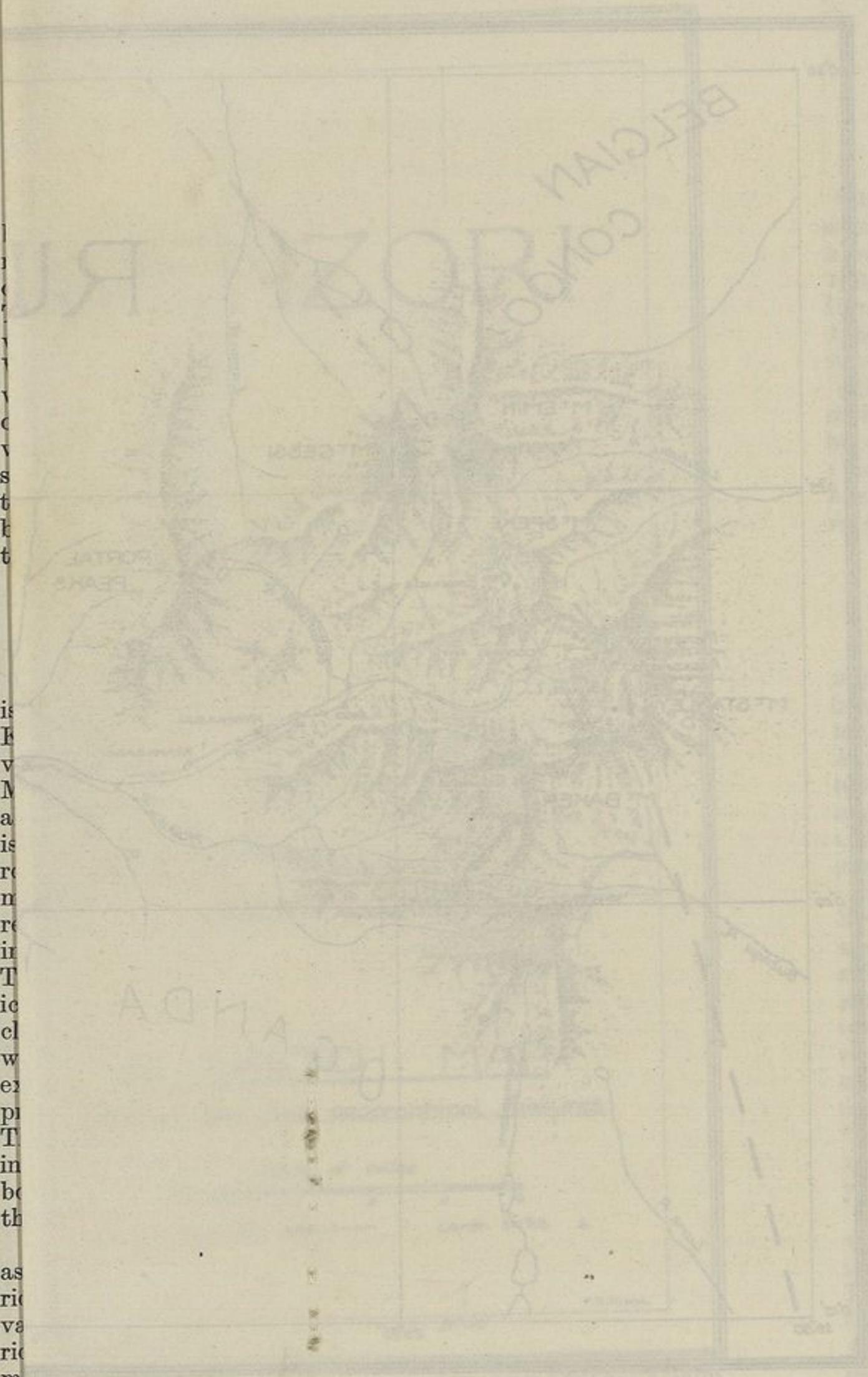
By R. M. BERE

Though not the highest mountain on the continent, the Ruwenzori range is certainly the largest and most important group of snow mountains in Africa. Kilimanjaro (19,580 ft.) and Kenya (17,140 ft.) are higher, but are single volcanic peaks. Ruwenzori, whose highest point is the Margherita peak of Mt. Stanley (16,794 ft.), is a massif composed of six separated mountains all of which carry permanent snow and glaciers. The general axis of the range is North-South and the snow peaks, divided by lower snow-free passes, lie roughly along this axis in the middle of the range. Unlike all the other great mountains of central Africa, Ruwenzori is not of volcanic origin but is the result of an upthrust associated with the formation of the western rift valley, in which it stands. There are, as has been said, six separate glaciated groups. The glaciers are of the so-called equatorial type, that is, they are more truly ice-caps than ice-rivers; movement is very slight, as is shown by the unusual clearness of the streams (which lack altogether the turbidity of alpine glacier water) and the absence of large moraines. In earlier times there was very extensive glaciation on Ruwenzori, reaching thousands of feet lower than at present, and many of the valleys are characteristically shaped by ice erosion. The existing glaciers are in rapid retreat, showing an almost annual diminution in extent, a phenomenon shared not only with Kilimanjaro but also Kenya, both of which are, perhaps, even more seriously affected by the drought cycle than is Ruwenzori.

Ruwenzori has been described by Dr. Humphreys, one of its explorers, as an elliptical peneplain, with deep valleys, separated by sharp intervening ridges, radiating outwards from the high peaks of the central region. The valleys tend to be divided into a series of terraces; blockages, above transverse ridges of hard rock, creating lakes which are one of the features of the mountain. Many of the original lakes have silted up in the course of time

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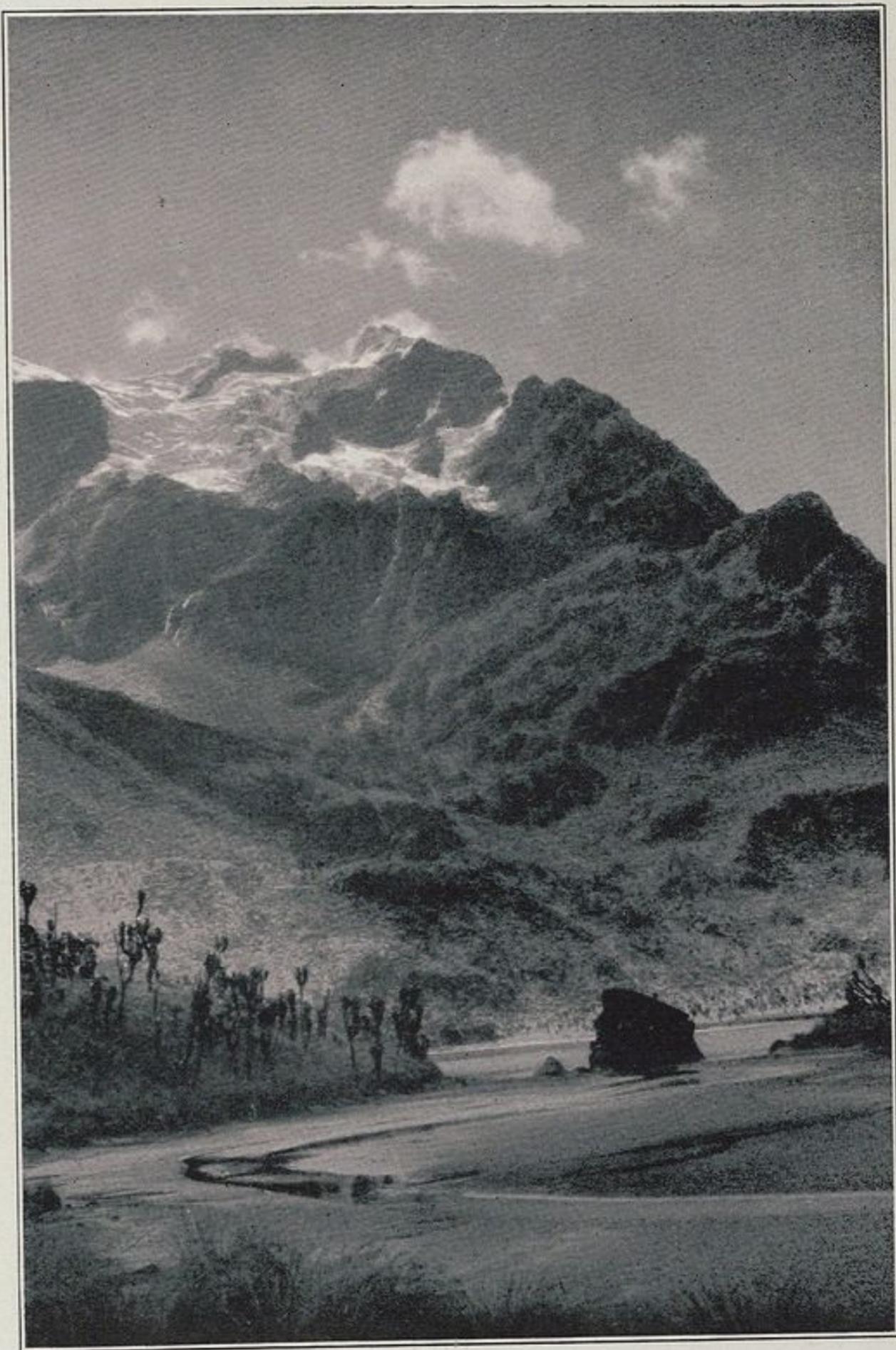


Plate III.—Mount Stanley from Lake Bujuku.
[Photo. by A. J. Hadow.]

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to form the marshes and bogs of the upper levels, which are maintained as such by the perpetual moistness of the air. It is rare for a day to pass without rain or the all-enveloping mist laying a blanket of moisture over the peaks. These mists, although they do not add to the comfort of travel or the ease of making observations, are one of the chief beauties of Ruwenzori. The peaks and glaciers, sometimes lit by clear sunlight above the clouds, are wont to appear with delightful suddenness, to disappear so quickly that one wonders if one has not been mistaken in what one saw. The colours, particularly of the marshes, are quite exquisite in these moments of sunshine.

One of the most lovely things about this remarkable mountain is its vegetation. In few places does cultivation, hewn from the forest which surrounds the base of the mountain, extend above 7,000 ft., and in most parts not so high. As one ascends the valleys, one passes from true forest to the bamboo zone and thence to heather forest. Here, at about 10,000 ft., the humid climate causes extreme development of mosses and lichens which cover not only the ground but also the trunks of the living and fallen trees in a fantastic manner. At this altitude, mingled with the tree heaths and bamboos, are brambles, orchids and ferns, in a tangle almost completely restricting movement.

Above this level, marshy ground predominates to such an extent that the mountain may be compared to a gigantic sponge, from which the peaks alone stand out as solid ground.

Between 11,000 ft. and 12,000 ft. most of the common herbaceous plants disappear, leaving tree heaths, giant lobelias and senecios, with the ubiquitous moss and lichen. Higher still, the tree heathers cease and the only tall-growing plants remaining are the lobelias and senecios. Reeds grow in the tussocky marshes and helichrysums (shrubby bushes with everlasting flowers) are abundant. At their optimum altitude these shrubs form thickets of great density, practically impossible to penetrate. Isolated specimens are found almost as high as the glaciers. The rocks are covered with a loosely-adhering carpet of moss, most treacherous to move on.

Above about 10,000 ft. there is little sign of animal life except hyrax, small rodents and an occasional leopard. Birds are not numerous although many of the lakes carry a few pairs of duck. Small sunbirds enjoy feeding on the flowers of the lobelias.

The man of Ruwenzori is the Mukonjo, amongst the least developed of Bantu tribes with, as his language, one of the earliest and most archaic forms of Bantu speech remaining. These Bakonjo are attractive, hard-working and simple people of a friendly and cheerful disposition and are good natural mountaineers and load-carriers. Some of them have the makings of excellent climbers and their work as porters on the mountain is superb. Expeditions are dependent on them and they rarely fail.

II. THE HISTORY OF ITS EXPLORATION

By R. M. BERE

It is now a matter of general acceptance that Ptolemy (c.A.D. 150), when writing of the Mountains of the Moon, the almost legendary source of the Nile, was referring to the Ruwenzori massif. This question of ancient history is examined with great erudition in Filippo de Filippi's *Ruwenzori*. The Duke

of the Abruzzi holds that Aristotle's reference (350 B.C.) to the "Silver Mountain" is the earliest known mention of Ruwenzori, although Herodotus, a hundred years earlier, speaks of the Nile as rising from a spring, fed by the waters of a bottomless lake, between two sharp-pointed peaks, Crophu and Mophi. Dr. Humphreys picturesquely associates these sharp-pointed peaks with Mts. Emin and Gessi, and so makes the lake between them the Abysmal Lake and the source of the Ruamuli, the Fountain of the Nile of the Ancients. But ancient history is not our present concern, although, perhaps, we should mention that Speke when he discovered the Birunga, or Mfumbiro, volcanoes in 1861, at that time associated them with Ptolemy's Moon Mountains.

Sir Henry Stanley was the first to proclaim to the world the existence of Ruwenzori as a snow mountain. In his book *In Darkest Africa* he claims to have made the discovery himself but in actual fact both Surgeon Parke and Mountenoy-Jephson, members of his expedition, had seen the snows a month before him - on 20th April 1888⁽¹⁾. A third member of his expedition, Lieut. Stairs, ascended the mountain to a height of over 10,000 ft. in the following year (1889).

In 1876, a dozen years before the snows were first seen, Stanley had looked across at Ruwenzori from the escarpment above Lake George but, like Gessi in the same year, and Sir Samuel Baker, twelve years earlier still, had failed to appreciate the importance of the great natural feature that he had observed⁽²⁾. It was in 1864 that Baker saw, to the south of Lake Albert, the huge mountain mass to which he gave the name "The Blue Mountains". This was the first time that Ruwenzori was seen by a European.

It is to Stanley that we owe the name Ruwenzori, one of the many names that he thought he was being given for the mountain. Actually the word means "the place from where the rain comes", being derived from the Nyoro prefix *Ru-* (proper to ranges of mountains, rivers, or, indeed, anything long) and *enjura* or *enzhura* (meaning "rain"). The word was transcribed by Stanley as *Runzori*; hence Ruwenzori. Today it appears practically impossible to trace any native name either for the massif itself or for the individual peaks, although Mr. R. W. Maling, an old resident of Toro, tells me that he has heard the name Kabangara⁽³⁾, which he thinks may be associated with Kabarega. So far as I have been able to ascertain the Bakonjo have names for the rivers only, not for the peaks, so that this doubt and confusion is perhaps not surprising.

In the summer of 1891 Emin Pasha's companion Dr. F. Stuhlmann climbed up the Butagu valley to a height of 13,326 ft. and gained the first near view of the snow. He was followed in 1894-95 by G. F. Scott Elliott, the naturalist, who made a series of expeditions, primarily of botanical importance. Then came C. S. Moore's journey up the Mobuku in 1900 proving the presence of glaciers. After Moore came Sir Harry Johnston, who reached the Mobuku glacier at 14,828 ft., and several other minor expeditions. Of these, that of

⁽¹⁾ See Parke's *Experiences in Equatorial Africa*; also *Ruwenzori and Elgon* - footnotes, Uganda Journal, Vol. 2, page 249.

⁽²⁾ See Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent*; also *Early Explorers in Ankole*, Uganda Journal, Vol. 2, page 196.

⁽³⁾ c.f. Gambaragara, the name used by the people of Western Ankole to denote Toro and the land in the neighbourhood of Ruwenzori - see *Early Explorers in Ankole*.

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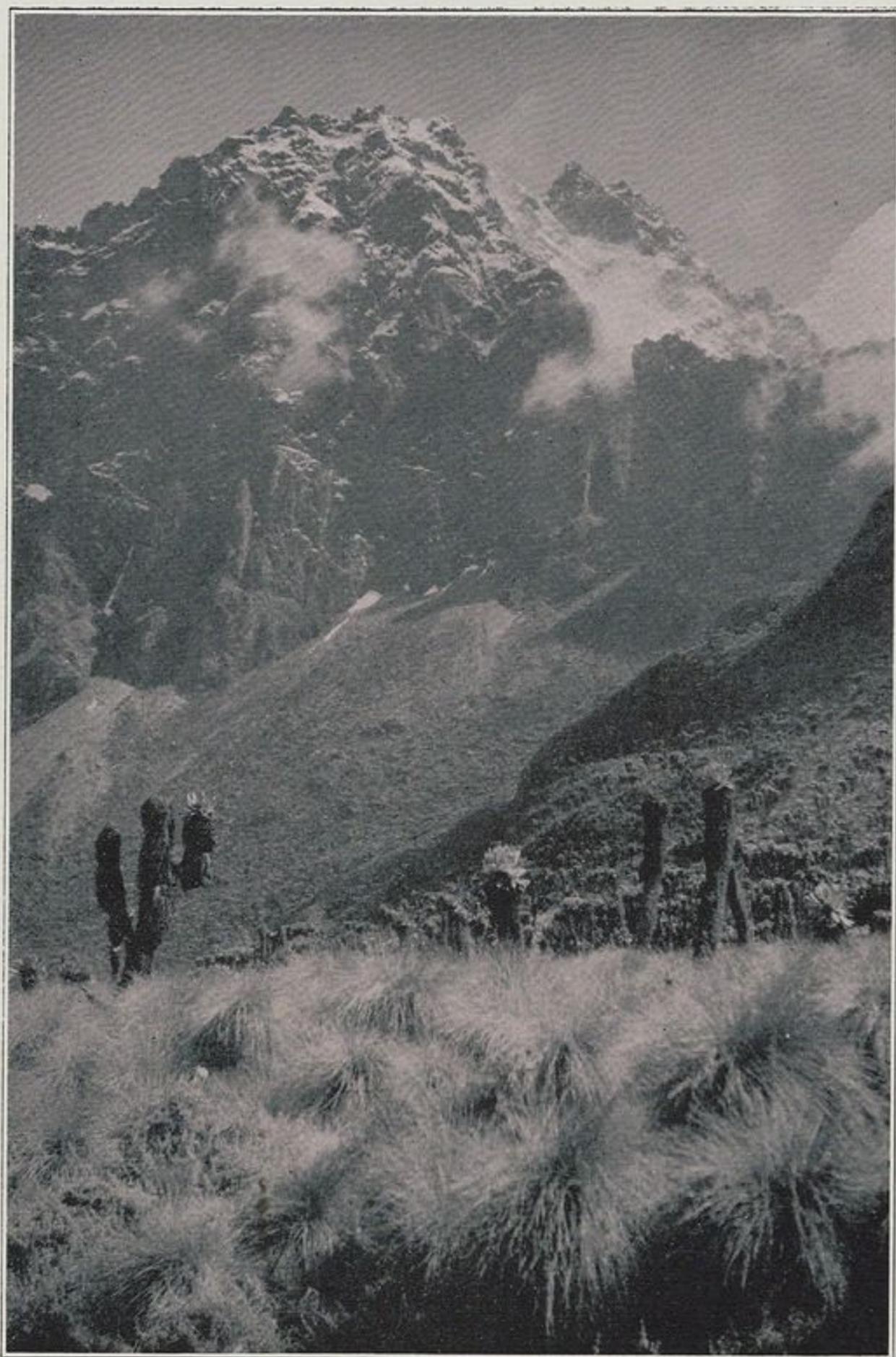


Plate IV.—The North Face of Mount Baker.

[*Photo. by A. J. Haddow.*

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the Rev. A. B. and Mrs. Fisher in 1903 deserves to be recorded as, perhaps, the first purely holiday climb.

November 1905 saw the first serious mountaineering attempt, for it brought Douglas Freshfield and A. L. Mumm, subsequently President and Vice-President respectively of the Alpine Club, with the Zermatt guide Inderbinnen, to Ruwenzori. Their expedition was without important result, bad weather prohibiting high climbing. At the beginning of the following year a British Museum expedition spent several weeks based on Mihunga and the Mobuku valley, two of its members, A. F. R. Wollaston and H. B. Woosnam, ascending one of the peaks of Mt. Baker. A few weeks earlier, Grauer, with the missionaries Maddox and Tegart, had also climbed one of the lower points on the summit ridge of Baker. This brief summary brings us to the Duke of the Abruzzi's expedition, to which in a few lines it is impossible to do anything like justice. The Duke himself was a mountaineer and explorer of the highest calibre and he was accompanied by a strong team including the Alpine guides, Joseph Petigax, César Ollier and Joseph Brocherel, who in 1899 had climbed Mt. Kenya with Sir Halford Mackinder. Vittorio Sella, perhaps the most accomplished of all mountain photographers, and the scientists Roccati and Cagni, the latter primarily responsible for the admirable survey work, were also members of the expedition. The twin peaks of Mt. Stanley, Alexandra and Margherita (16,749 ft. and 16,794 ft. respectively) were climbed for the first time on 18th June 1906 and, before the expedition ended, the highest points of Speke (16,080 ft.), Baker (15,988 ft.), Emin (15,754 ft.) and Gessi (15,647 ft.) had all been reached. Amongst the many lesser points climbed were two minor summits on Luigi di Savoia. The scientific results of this expedition, to which we owe the names of the main peaks, were impressive and an excellent topographical survey of the range, particularly as regards the area of the glaciers, was made. The main problems were all solved and Ruwenzori had earned its permanent place on the map of Africa.

Nothing further of importance took place until 1926 when Dr. Noel Humphreys first visited Ruwenzori and, in the course of two expeditions, made the second ascent of the twin peaks of Mt. Stanley, and of Mts. Speke and Baker. One of Dr. Humphrey's companions of these climbs was the late R. T. Wickham, a member of our Society. Dr. Humphreys and his various companions can be said, in fact, to be entirely responsible for what may be described as the second exploratory period. His 1926 expeditions were essentially climbing expeditions: these were followed in 1931 and 1932 by a remarkable series of five distinct explorations, as well as by reconnaissance flights over the mountain. Dr. Humphreys is a person of quite unusual talents, by profession a Doctor of Medicine, but also a surveyor and air photographer, as well as a botanist of parts. He accompanied the 1936 Everest expedition as its principal medical officer. His work on Ruwenzori was so important and so varied that it is almost impossible to summarise. Basing his survey on the Duke of the Abruzzi's map he added greatly to the knowledge of the range. During the course of his later expeditions he climbed the Weismann peak (15,163 ft.), the highest point of Mt. Luigi di Savoia; made the second ascents of Emin and Gessi, and several crossings of the main range; discovered the beautiful series of lakes in the upper Nyamagasani valley; traced the Lamia from its source to its meeting with the Semliki; and

pioneered two different routes to the snows. All this in addition to his earlier mountaineering work, valuable botanical collecting and superb photography, both from the air and the ground. Too little about his work has been published.

No one else's contribution to our knowledge of the mountain is comparable in importance to that of the Duke of the Abruzzi and Dr. Humphreys.

The western approach to Ruwenzori was used by the large Belgian expedition of 1932 led by Count Xavier de Grunne, with the guide Joseph Georges. The principal mountaineering results were two new routes up Mt. Stanley from the west. The authorities of the Parc National Albert have subsequently developed this approach and built huts for the convenience of climbers and tourists. Three other expeditions deserve mention in a historical survey of Ruwenzori. The first was that of two of the best of present-day British mountaineers, E. E. Shipton and H. W. Tilman. In February 1932 they made the third ascents of both Margherita and Speke, also climbing Baker by the superb cliffs of its northern face which descend directly to Bujuku. This route, which has not yet been repeated, involved rock climbing of a high standard under difficult conditions. The British Museum expedition of 1935 was primarily a collecting expedition; from the mountaineering point of view nothing of any importance was achieved save an ascent of the Weismann peak of Mt. Luigi di Savoia. This expedition, however, pioneered a new approach to the snow, by way of the lovely Nyamagasani valley, and an account of this was published in Patrick Synge's *Mountains of the Moon*. In 1943 three Polish climbers found themselves in Uganda working on the establishment of the Refugee Camps, and early in June in that year they managed a hurried visit to the mountain. They made the first difficult ice climb on Ruwenzori, ascending Alexandra directly from Bujuku, through the ice-fall and seracs of the formidable east glacier of Stanley. The leader was J. Golez, a well-known member of the "*Groupe De Haute Montagne*" of the French Alpine Club.

The Portal peaks are, perhaps, the most prominent feature of the mountain seen from Toro. Until 1942 none of these interesting peaks had been climbed, although Dr. Humphreys had passed along the west of the range when tracing the Lamia from its source in 1932. Three separate expeditions have since visited them and the three principal summits have now been reached (southern or Rutara by R. M. Bere and R. N. Posnett, October 1942; central by A. J. Haddow, J. R. C. Spicer and J. C. Bugher, January 1945; northern or Kihuma by R. G. Ladkin and R. M. Bere, June 1945). Some mapping of these peaks has been done by P. H. Hicks and Haddow, but much work remains, including the fascinating possibility of a long traverse of the whole group.

And so the Silver Mountain of Aristotle, the *Fons Nilus* of the ancient world, has lost its mystery. First seen by the early explorers of central Africa; approached but not mastered by Stuhlmann, Moore and Johnston; explored and climbed by Abruzzi, Humphreys, Shipton, Golez and others; the mountain now lies open to all. Any who may wish to recapture something of the early days of the Alps, and experience in addition the unique fascination of the legendary Mountains of the Moon, may be assured that they will not be disappointed by the peaks, valleys, passes and glaciers of this glorious range.

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Plate V.—Lake Bujuku.

[Photo. by R. M. Bere.]

III. AN ASCENT OF MARGHERITA

By R. M. BERE

On the 25th May 1945 three members of this Society, P. H. Hicks, R. G. Ladkin and the writer, left the Gombolola rest camp at Bugoye to ascend the mountain and do some climbing and surveying. Spending two nights only on the way, at Mihunga (7,000 ft.) and Kyanasabo (9,500 ft.), we reached Bigo, where we established a base with sufficient food for ourselves and our porters for a stay of three weeks. Of the twenty-six men we had used so far, we were able to pay off sixteen, keeping a headman and eight porters, and a man to make himself useful about our camp. The last day's walk, at about 10,500 ft., had been particularly beautiful, much of it alongside the gently-flowing Bujuku through open marsh studded with lobelias and senecios.

The following day we took up to Bujuku our two light tents and food for a week, establishing ourselves in the Cooking-pot rock shelter. That same evening we walked up to the Stuhlmann Pass (13,757 ft.). We spent the following four days in an unsuccessful attempt on the unclimbed North-East ridge of Margherita, from a high bivouac near the east glacier of Stanley, with one highly successful day on Speke, during which we had perfect weather and climbed the Vittorio Emanuele peak by way of the Speke glacier. The interest here was principally in its novelty, for the route had never been used before, and in the sheer pleasure of a day of clear bright sunshine on a large snow-field. On the fifth day we took a light camp to above the Scott Elliott pass, which separates Mts. Stanley and Baker, and tried to make ourselves reasonably comfortable on a rock ridge, more or less level with the lowest point of the Elena glacier. The next day was a poor one, never properly clear, with thick fog descending early. We failed to find the correct way to the Stanley plateau and spent some hours struggling with a confused system of glacier and rock ridges, ultimately admitting defeat when we found ourselves on a steep slope of treacherous snow, seemingly ready to avalanche, in the middle of a system of snow-covered crevasses. Visibility was so limited that we could hardly see each other, let alone the direction of the crevasses. That evening there was a very heavy snow storm, so that cooking a hot meal was out of the question. We had a most unpleasant night and the decision to descend below the snow level was not a difficult one to make, the porters coming half-way up from Bujuku to help us bring down the loads. We stayed away from Stanley for five days, in the interval visiting the east Bukurungu lake and the Portal range, where we made the first ascent of Kihuma, its highest peak. We returned to our ridge camp for a final attempt on Margherita on 9th June.

The evening was fine and we busied ourselves with preparations for the morrow, as we intended zero hour to be as soon as possible after 2 a.m., a cold uncomfortable hour at this altitude and one which does not make for quick dressing. Even if this operation involves no more than putting on half-frozen boots, it is by no means an easy one when three people are sharing a tent only six feet square. However, we were on the move just before 3.45 a.m. on 10th June and, aided by the faint glimmer of a candle lantern, reached the edge of the glacier an hour later, roping up at once before taking to the ice. After one hundred feet or so of bare ice, glass-hard at this early

hour, the slope eased off and we walked across almost level glacier towards the cliffs of Elena and Savoia. Bearing right as soon as it became possible to do so, we trudged up the easy snow slope of the upper Elena glacier until we found ourselves on the almost level plain of the Stanley plateau. In the grey light of dawn we suddenly saw the twin peaks of Alexandra and Margherita ahead and absolutely clear; this was the unforgettable moment, the supreme thrill above all others, of the whole expedition. As we hurried across the plateau to get a near view of Margherita we watched with anxiety the great banks of cumulus cloud already filling the Bujuku valley below us on our right. At the base of Alexandra we halted for breakfast and a rest in a position from which we had a good opportunity of studying our peak, which we realised was not going to be simple but a complicated system of crevasse and cornice. The time was 7.15 a.m. We rested for nearly an hour, eating little but melting snow for a hot drink, and studying the face ahead. It was during this halt that clouds first enveloped us, although only intermittently, and the thick blanket of fog did not come down for another three hours.

After our rest we dropped down about two hundred feet to the bottom of the ice gully which descends from the saddle between the twin peaks, crossed this, and started at once up Margherita. We had intended to strike the east ridge at its lowest point, where there was practically no cornice, and had expected to do this without difficulty. In this we were disappointed for we were soon brought to a stop by a considerable *bergschrand* (main crevasse), which stretched right across the face. A way over this was found in a wide trough, some way to the left of the best line, where a convenient and stable snow bridge provided the key. Once through this crevasse system we made a direct line to the east ridge, which was reached without difficulty at a place from which we could not, by reason of a steep cliff, descend to the point of original intention and where, unfortunately, the cornice guarding the ridge was hardly practicable. It was decided, therefore, to traverse across the face in the direction of the summit in the hope that a break in the cornice would ultimately present itself. This we did for some little distance, the angle of the snow, which luckily was in good condition, steepening considerably as we moved westwards. An opportunity soon occurred of once again approaching and attempting to get on to the ridge and Hicks led us directly upwards for two or three hundred feet over snow at a very high angle. Once again we found ourselves below the cornice, still a considerable obstacle, and I came up to anchor Hicks whilst he hacked away the icicles and cut through the overhanging lip of ice preparatory to getting up. This was done without the proffered help of a shoulder but the place was certainly not easy and it was a delicate problem coming up and over the fragile edge.

We were now on a wide ridge with snow at an easy angle and we walked without difficulty towards the top. We were just congratulating ourselves that all was plain sailing, when at the last moment a final obstacle presented itself. The ridge was blocked by an enormous cornice, which was in reality the beginning of the summit itself, and up which there was no question of direct approach. However, an easy-looking snow slope presented itself conveniently on the right, leading to a rock-and-snow rib which would take us round behind the cornice. But this snow slope was far from being the simple innocent thing that it looked at first sight and had to be taken with the

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Plate VI.—Ridge Camp on Mount Stanley.

[Photo. by R. M. Bere.]

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greatest caution, wet wind-blown snow overlying ice to which it was but lightly adhering, a perfect avalanche trap for the unwary. A great slab did, in fact, come away at our feet and along the line ahead, but luckily we were well secured and belayed to ice axes firmly placed. Nevertheless, this was an unpleasant place, made more so by the menace of a most unstable cornice, below which we had to cut our steps towards the rock rib. Watching the avalanche peel off and listening as the falling snow rumbled down part of the three thousand feet of steep mountainside which separated us from the Stuhlmann pass below, we had good cause for sober reflection. However, the place was passed without mishap and we were able to scramble easily up the rib to the top.

The blanket of fog mentioned previously was now all around us and everywhere the ice was melting and unstable, giving no cause for a long wait and much reason for starting the descent as soon as possible. This was uneventful but for the whole time there was absolutely no visibility. We were fortunate in having our own upward tracks to follow across the plateau but were able to appreciate the difficulties which for days had prevented Humphreys and Shipton, each in his turn, from even finding the twin peaks. We reached our camp, locating with much difficulty the single small tent, at about 4 p.m., with no cause for regret but much hunger and thirst to satisfy.

IV. MAPPING

By P. H. HICKS

The idea of using scientific observation as a cloak for the pleasure of climbing mountains was originated a very long time ago and by quite distinguished personages. I had no hesitation therefore in treading in these distinguished footsteps, and made plans some years ago to visit Ruwenzori and, while endeavouring to pluck a scanty veil from her geographical modesty, to take no small interest in reaching the tops of the peaks with or without scientific observation. Observation requires instruments, and accuracy of observation increases in about the same ratio as the weight of instruments carried. It is, therefore, of some importance how to fit one's plans for mapping into the climbing schemes of a whole party.

It was some years before circumstances, carefully guided towards this objective, put me in a position to be able to consider seriously the possibility of carrying out my plans. Mutual interests, however, soon bring individuals together, but, after we had reached the stage of arranging a climbing party, the mapping sideline had to be introduced very carefully. In calculating the number of loads required to feed a party it is very soon obvious that, beyond a certain minimum, the number of porters taken has no connection whatsoever with the length of stay which the expedition can enjoy away from sources of food. Everything resolves to the simple equation, one human body equals two pounds of food carried per day. Anything else barring essential warm clothing is an extravagance. It requires no little determination in face of this cold mathematical fact to propose the luxury of a load or two of instruments which are a dead loss both as regards stomach and warmth.

This preamble will have indicated fairly clearly the first difficulty in attempting to carry out survey work on a climbing trip. The next stage is the selecting, and obtaining (in war time), of a suitable range of instruments.

This requires several months of scrounging through departments of Government, Army and Air Force, and in spite of a great deal of sympathy (which was more than one could expect at such a time) at the end I managed to achieve only the bare minimum of requirements, and had to dispense with other useful but unobtainable instruments.

Ruwenzori, at this time, was to me simply an exciting but relatively unknown sum of various factors gleaned from the sparse bibliography on the subject. Filippi's *Ruwenzori* was, however, a source of vast importance, being the only account containing details of the survey work carried out. The scope of our trip obviously did not allow the use of a theodolite or any heavy instruments, and I therefore fell back on the following selection:—

- One 4-inch dial prismatic compass on a stand.
- One Negretti & Zambra hand prismatic compass.
- Two Paulin Precise aneroid barometers.
- One Wheeler altimeter.
- One Kipp & Zonen barometer.
- One hypsometer.
- One plane table, stand and alidade.
- One pedometer.
- One hand Abney level.
- One whirling psychrometer.
- Two thermometers.
- One 100-ft. steel tape.

Two of these instruments proved inaccurate and enjoyed the luxury of being carried up the mountains and back again without working. This is an unavoidable result of the great scarcity of good instruments obtainable at present. A third instrument, the plane table, was especially designed and made for lightness (seeing that I should have to carry it), and was such that when mounted it necessitated a kneeling position for the observer while plotting. Although this sounds uncomfortable, in practice it worked quite well, and during trials in Kampala, I included, with masterly forethought, a piece of canvas two feet square for the observer's knees when on Ruwenzori soil. While trying out the table it was also found best to sit behind it when using the alidade, so the piece of canvas was an essential both for comfort on wet ground and for the shreds of dignity. The other instruments require no special comment. The total weight including map cases and drawing materials was less than one porter's load.

With the valuable help of the Meteorological Officer in Kampala, the aneroids were checked against the standard barometer, and by the kindness of the Physics Tutor at Makerere College the hypsometer error at that altitude was determined. When the prismatic compasses and Abney level had been tested for error, everything possible had been done to ensure accuracy. The objects of the survey can now be outlined. They were:—

- (a) To learn the practical difficulties of the terrain, on which to base future work.
- (b) To establish, if possible, good altitude determinations at various points.
- (c) To carry out as much mapping in the area of the Portal peaks as weather and time would allow.

The routine work was established from the start. Checks were again made against the Fort Portal Meteorological Office barometer, and at Bugoye a series of altitude readings was made to establish a base for comparison of altitudes near the mountains. Temperature and humidity were recorded simultaneously with each barometric observation. The four aneroids promised to form a good battery, decreasing the chances of individual instrumental error. The hypsometer was solemnly boiled, and from the start provided the observer with a very high reputation among the Bakonjo. The readings obtained by this instrument were used for little more than a rough check on the results obtained by the aneroids. It did, however, provide a great deal of amusement in the party and was very shortly christened by an opprobrious name which finally became an affectionate term embracing all the processes of observation.

From Bugoye onwards, a compass traverse was made to Mihunga camp and as far as it was possible to observe in the forest beyond Mihunga. This traverse was not wholly necessary, but was done to allow the observer to check secretly the limits of accuracy of his own work. With some satisfaction I may say now that the results were encouraging. Another use of the traverse was to provide stations from which long-range observations were made to the Portal peaks. Unfortunately, by the nature of the approach up the Mobuku valley, all these observations formed very acute angles, and were therefore only of practical use in providing fixed lines in one direction for the peak positions. At each camp, evening and morning observations for altitude were made by a number of readings, and Bigo was finally chosen for a long series of readings to establish a good base level near the Portals. The Bigo readings were referred to Bugoye, and it is hoped that some confidence can be placed on the final altitude adopted. As Bigo camp is a convenient base for the Bujuku, Mijusi and Bukurungu valleys, the accuracy of the level of this camp may be of some importance for future detailed work. The diurnal variation of barometric pressure for Uganda has now been obtained over a number of years, and it was therefore possible to obtain a much better approximation to correct altitudes from barometric readings than has, perhaps, been hitherto possible.

The course of the survey now deflected somewhat from its objective when the party proceeded to Bujuku lake and established a food dump at Cooking-pot camp. The North-East ridge of Margherita proved to be up to expectation and, having sent us back defeated but safe to the valley, the Margherita ice-fall co-operated and flung quantities of blocks, ranging from cottage-size to pebbles, over our line of route, strewing the surroundings of our bivouac (which was prudently under the shelter of a rock outcrop) with a comprehensive litter of ice in all its forms. We climbed Speke, and then, the bug having bitten us thoroughly, made another attempt on Margherita from the Elena glacier camp. Forced back in bad order by thick fog, and deluged with a snowstorm and electrical effects, a simultaneous urge overtook the whole party to follow the call of science once more. As this involved a retirement to the food-bags and delicacies at Bigo, it was not many hours before this call had been followed.

The next few days were spent above the east Bukurungu lake. Of all places in Ruwenzori this valley must be one of the wettest. The humidity was 100% almost throughout our stay. It was possible at nearly any spot

on the ground to plunge a tent-pole to the tip in the semi-liquid soil, and for the first time we discovered the phenomenon of vertical bog, which Ruwenzori alone in my experience possesses. It was here that a base-line some six hundred feet long was measured by steel tape on a cold, misty and drizzly morning near the shores of the lake. The base-line was extended to two small hills by triangulation, and from these points observations were made. This simple statement recalls to me the plans made before leaving Kampala. The detailed plane table work; the many, many intersections that were to be made; the closed traverse round the Portal peaks which was to produce an interesting and accurate map; all these thoughts recurred vividly while standing soaked to the skin in a foot of icy slush staring dimly at a dense blanket of fog which cut visibility to ten yards. Not only standing and staring, but doing so for three, four or even five hours waiting for the momentary break during which observations must be snapped immediately.

The first station on the extended base-line provided the biggest hoax of all that Ruwenzori had by now produced fairly frequently. I tramped to the point and took out the plane table under the shelter of an umbrella. This umbrella is not included in my list of instruments given above, and the omission is a serious one. This valuable and versatile instrument should by its very importance have headed the list. Without it, observations could only be made with rain running down the ridge of one's nose on to the dial of the instrument, and exploring, from the back, one's exposed neck. Under these conditions the recording of accurate data becomes extremely doubtful, not to mention unpleasant. The ground at this station, as for many acres around it, quaked as I unpacked the plane table. Setting up the short legs I found that very little pressure on the stand drove it into the ground as far as the table would allow. To counteract this I set about making a raft of logs of giant groundsel, built in layers up to two feet above the ground. This too proved impossibly shaky, so that finally all observations were read by compass and plotted directly on the board. By repeated observations and intersections from several stations, the accuracy of plotting could be kept within reasonable limits. In the triangulation frame it was possible to check angles, and it was found that the error of observation was not high.

While these problems were presenting themselves at the first station, the rest of the party proceeded to an outlying spur to establish a smoke fire for another station. In this manner, the skeleton framework of the base triangulation was only completed on the second day, between breaks in the dense fog, and only then was it feasible to start mapping the main peaks of the Portals. In the time left it was only possible to do this from the west, and the same damp procedure as outlined above was repeated at each station. Whenever a break in the fog coincided with our arrival in camp, the camp position was fixed relatively to the main peaks of Ruwenzori. Eventually time was cut short by the necessity of making the final attempt on Margherita, and on my way to Bigo I made a last stand on one of the hills outlying the Portals and recorded another series of observations, and the survey work was closed apart from barometric readings for altitude.

At the time of writing, the rather meagre results of this small mapping survey have not yet been completely worked out, but the small amount that has been done in the time available has shown clearly what a great deal of interesting detail work must be carried out to fill in the topography of the

Ruwenzori map. While the main features of Ruwenzori are relatively correct, the accuracy of the topography is by no means so, and there are several outstanding discrepancies to be corrected. With all the obstacles that time and bad weather can place before any party entering the range, topographical corrections should provide work and amusement for many years yet.

The first objective of this survey was successful, and the lesson was learned that a full technique of adjustment to the sombre weather, the saturated landscape, and the dense water-logged vegetation must be used by the mapper of Ruwenzori. This, of course, is one of the weapons of its inaccessibility, and it is this very inaccessibility which is one of its chief attractions.

V. BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list of books and articles relating to Ruwenzori does not include the works of the early explorers, or scientific treatises on the mountain. It aims only at giving a reasonably full list of references to mountaineering expeditions to Ruwenzori and their results.

Books relating to Ruwenzori only :—

Ruwenzori: Filippo de Filippi—Abruzzi expedition of 1906.

Mountains of the Moon: Patrick Syngé—British Museum expedition of 1932.

Le Ruwenzori: Xavier de Grunne—Belgian expedition of 1932.

Books with Important References to the Mountain :—

The Uganda Protectorate: H. H. Johnston—Johnston's expedition of 1900.

From Ruwenzori to the Congo: A. F. R. Wollaston—British Museum expedition of 1905.

Snow on the Equator: H. W. Tilman—climbs with Shipton in 1932.

Upon that Mountain: E. E. Shipton—climbs with Tilman in 1932.

Focus on Africa: Richard Upjohn Light—flights over the mountain in 1936.

Journals with Important References :—

Geographical Journal Vol. 29, 1907—Abruzzi expedition of 1906.

„ „ Vol. 69, 1927—Humphreys' 1926 expedition.

„ „ Vol. 76, 1930—Masseé expedition of 1930. Colour photography (Carveth Wells).

„ „ Vol. 82, 1933—Humphreys' 1932 flights and explorations.

Alpine Journal Vol. 23—Freshfield and Mumm 1905 (Freshfield); Abruzzi 1906 (Abruzzi).

„ „ Vol. 24—Note by Freshfield.

„ „ Vol. 37—H. B. Thomas' visit to the glaciers (H. B. Thomas).

„ „ Vol. 39—Humphreys 1926 (Humphreys).

„ „ Vol. 44—Shipton and Tilman 1932 (Shipton).

„ „ Vol. 45—Belgian expedition 1932 (De Grunne).

„ „ Vol. 53—R. A. Hodgkin 1941 (Hodgkin).

„ „ Vol. 54—Note on South Portal (Bere). Polish ascent 1943 (Bere).

Journals with Important References—*continued*:—

Climbers Club Journal 1944—South Portal 1942 (Bere).

Bulletin du Club Alpin Belge Oct.—Dec. 1932—Belgian expedition 1932 (De Grunne).

Geographical Magazine Oct. 1943—R. A. Hodgkin 1942 (Hodgkin).

NOTES:

- (1) With the exception of Humphreys' paper in *Geog. Journ.* Vol. 82, and the two books by De Filippi and De Grunne, the most important accounts are those in the *Alpine Journals*.
- (2) *Alpine Journal* Vol. 55 will probably contain an article on the expedition described in the present paper.

POSTSCRIPT:

In December 1945 Hicks was again on Ruwenzori, this time with R. N. Posnett and C. P. S. Allen. During the course of a hurried visit the party climbed Mt. Gessi, making, incidentally, the third ascent of Iolanda and the second ascent of the Bottego peak. The primary objective of the climb was to reach a fixed point from which bearings could be taken on the Portal peaks to check and complete the work described in the fourth section of this article. The party was lucky enough to be on the top of Gessi in bright, clear sunshine, so that Hicks was able to take all the bearings required, thus fixing the position of the main Portal peaks and completing a map of some fifty square miles of virtually unmapped ground. The results reveal considerable error in the position of the Portal peaks on existing maps (the data on which are derived from the Duke of the Abruzzi's work of 1906) and show that they are slightly higher than had previously been thought. The heights now given are: Kihuma or North Portal, 14,640 ft.; Central Portal, 14,420 ft.; Rutara or South Portal, 14,200 ft.

R.M.B.



Plate VII.—High Ridge of Mount Speke: with Emin in the Background.

[Photo. by A. J. Haddow.]

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LICE

By G. H. E. HOPKINS

Lice have been known since time immemorial, particularly as parasites of man. They are mentioned in the Bible as one of the plagues of Egypt (as they still are today) and there is no doubt that they have been attached to man since man himself has existed. Even the fact that other animals possessed lice was known to Aristotle, who lived in the fourth century B.C. But the subject was regarded until comparatively recent times as rather a disgusting one, unworthy the attention of a scientist, so that for many centuries writers confined themselves to repeating fables and fantasies about lice instead of finding out the facts. Some of these fables, derived from Aristotle, held sway for more than two thousand years, among them being his statement that lice were reproduced by spontaneous generation from pustules in the flesh; they laid eggs but these eggs did not hatch. This story was contradicted, by an Italian physician named Redi, in a book published in 1668, yet it held the field so tenaciously that as late as 1838 an entomological book admitted the possibility that lice might arise from spontaneous generation in certain conditions.

The mediæval churchmen (and some a good deal nearer to our own times) found the existence of lice rather a difficulty, though they managed to extract some good sound morals from the fact. A nineteenth century English clergyman found it incredible that "man in his pristine state of glory, and beauty, and dignity, could be the receptacle and prey of these unclean and disgusting creatures", so he put forward a theory which postponed the creation of lice until after the fall of Adam. The Church seems to have regarded the mythical fate of being devoured by lice as a death so awful that it must be reserved for the worst of criminals, so we find stories crediting with this fate prominent heathens, persecutors of the Church, corrupt bishops, heretics and those who did not believe in miracles. This was, perhaps, a little inconsistent with the belief, also held for many centuries, that an extreme state of filth, often exemplified by lousiness, was a sign of holiness, but the ultra-religious of all ages and creeds have never been remarkable for consistency. Aristotle's statement that the ass (alone among mammals) had no lice also had to be accounted for, and a really pleasing explanation was found: it was a reward for the part played by the ass in Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. One rather wonders what would have happened to the man of mediæval times who was bold enough to examine an ass and see for himself that it does have lice, but no doubt anyone enterprising enough to do this would also have been sensible enough to keep his findings to himself, and (if he did not) why should we worry about the fate of anyone so foolhardy and swollen with pride as to deny the statements of Aristotle? Other beliefs about lice were that they were created by God to punish man for arrogance and that their bites were the work of the devil - the latter a belief for which one can still feel a certain amount of sympathy. It is, perhaps, necessary to add that the reason why so many of these fables originated with churchmen or have a religious flavour is that in mediæval times all education was concentrated in the hands of the Church; there is

little doubt that equally ridiculous stories would have been invented by educated laymen had such existed at a time before it was accepted that the best way to find out the facts is to test them for oneself instead of regarding the statements of ancient authors like Aristotle as being incontrovertible.

Redi's book, published in 1668, marks the beginning of the end of the period of fables about lice, and the start of real knowledge. He must have been a remarkable man, for he not only made the observations which enabled him to state that lice, like all other insects, are hatched from eggs, but established the fact that most mammals and birds have lice peculiar to themselves, and gave us a number of drawings of these insects, many of which are quite easily recognisable. After him, however, the disgust with which the subject was regarded again hampered progress, and it was not until one hundred and fifty years later that there was any real advance in our knowledge, and not until 1842 that the first monograph on lice was published by Denny, an English clergyman. Even Denny thought it necessary to find religious reasons for the study of such a disgusting group of insects. This unreasonable attitude persists even today to some extent, and I doubt if there are in the world more than a score or so of serious students of the lice, excluding those who are solely concerned with the handful of species which infest man and his domestic animals. But to the true entomologist no insect is unworthy of study, and to those who love them the lice reveal themselves as among the most interesting of this intensely interesting class of animals.

We have followed lice through fable and fantasy to the beginning of the realm of fact, so now let us see what they are and what they do. The first essential is to rid ourselves of the idea that the lice which infest man are the only ones of any interest or importance. There are two or three thousand known species of chewing lice and two or three hundred known sucking lice, and these must be only a small fraction of the species which exist. To take an example, the chewing lice of African antelopes and carnivora are among the best known of all groups of lice, yet we only know the lice of about fifty of the one hundred and forty or so African species of these groups of mammals. It is in a neglected group like this that one has the best opportunities of adding significantly to the sum of scientific knowledge.

The insects are divided into two main groups, a more primitive group (of which cockroaches, bugs and termites are familiar examples) in which the young resemble the adults in most respects and feed on the same sort of food, and a more specialized group (exemplified by butterflies, bees and flies) in which the young stages are caterpillars or grubs, quite unlike their parents and often feeding on totally different food so that a resting-stage or pupa has to find a place in the life history to allow of the great change-over from one type of food to the other. The lice belong to the more primitive of these two divisions, their young stages living exactly the same sort of life as the adults except that they do not indulge in the pleasures of sex. All lice are wingless, but their winglessness is certainly secondary because they are descended from the same stock as the *Psocoptera* or book-lice (which, in spite of their English name, are not lice), many of which possess wings. The true lice are divided into two main sections, the *Mallophaga* (or chewing lice) and the *Anoplura* (or sucking lice), of which the *Mallophaga* are the more primitive.

The biology of both these groups is similar up to a point: all lice are parasitic on mammals or birds, the female lays a large number of eggs which are glued to the feathers or hair of the host, the life of the insect is rather short (about six weeks), and they never willingly leave the body of the host. But the food is very different in the two main groups – the *Mallophaga* or chewing lice feed (with a few exceptions) on the hair or feathers of their host while the *Anoplura* or sucking lice feed exclusively on blood. Some of the exceptions are of considerable interest: one group of *Mallophaga* lives exclusively inside the pouch of pelicans and related birds, where it presumably must feed on blood or mucus, while some other species bite a hole in the base of a quill-feather and live inside, feeding on the “pith” of the feather. Sexual reproduction is the almost invariable rule in the lice, but it has recently been definitely proved that parthenogenesis (or virgin birth) is normal in at least one species of chewing louse.

The way in which the parasitic habit of lice originated is easy to imagine. The *Psocoptera* or book-lice feed on dead animal or vegetable matter such as bark, dead leaves, books (which are, after all, only dead leaves), hair or feathers; some species are very common on hides and skins, and the step from eating the hair or feathers of a dead animal to eating the hair or feathers of a living host is a very small one. Some ancestral book-lice happened to find itself eating the hair or feathers of a living animal instead of a dead one; deciding (metaphorically speaking) that it was on to a good thing and that there was really no need to leave such a rich source of food and warmth and go out into a cold hard world to forage for itself, it laid its eggs on the hair or feathers of its host and became the ancestor of the *Mallophaga*. Not long afterwards by geological standards (perhaps ten or twenty million years) some enterprising chewing louse whose host had been in a fight started to lick up the blood and found it good; the taste for blood persisted in its descendants, their mouth-parts began to lengthen and became more delicate – less and less useful for chewing feathers or hair, and more and more suitable for piercing skin and sucking blood – and that was the origin of the sucking lice.

Lice may occur in enormous numbers on an individual host. There is a record of over ten thousand of them being found on a single shirt, and it is recorded of Thomas á Beckett that he was so lousy that after his murder his hair-cloth garment “boiled over with them like water in a simmering cauldron” and the onlookers “burst into alternate fits of weeping and laughter, between the sorrow of having lost such a head and the joy of having found such a saint”. Lousiness is (I think) no longer regarded as a sign of holiness, but old ideas die hard – not very many years ago a recent immigrant from Europe, knocked senseless in an accident in the streets of New York, taken to hospital and there deprived of his lice before being admitted, later tried to sue the hospital authorities for having destroyed his luck.

The chewing lice normally do little harm to their hosts unless they are present in great numbers, but if this is the case they may cause great irritation by their wanderings about the host's body and may cause serious loss of condition, or even death, among poultry or other domestic stock. Any insect which feeds on blood is liable to carry disease, and the *Anoplura* or sucking lice are deservedly famous in this connection. Leaving aside the diseases they convey to mammals other than man, they carry to man the organisms

of a number of diseases of which typhus is by far the most dreaded, and rightly so, for it is one of the worst scourges with which mankind has ever been afflicted.

Typhus (and therefore the louse which carries it) has many times affected the course of history, for war, pestilence and famine have been grim associates since written history begins, and "pestilence" (in fairly modern times at least) has commonly had typhus as its most important component. In the earlier records of written history the evidence against the louse is not clear; such world-shaking events as the collapse of Rome, with the consequent centuries of anarchy and the eclipse of learning in Europe, were brought about largely by epidemic diseases, but there is no proof that typhus was among these plagues. The first definite severe outbreak of typhus in Europe was in 1489 (though the disease was probably present much earlier), but from then until the present day typhus has claimed far more victims in Europe than its friendly rival, the sword, and on more than one occasion typhus has snatched the victory from both rival armies. In 1556 a campaign of Maximilian II against the Turks stopped short when his army was dispersed by typhus, and during the thirty years' war in Germany the armies of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein, about to engage in battle for Nuremberg, were both attacked by typhus and were routed by the disease, leaving behind them eighteen thousand of their comrades, slain by the bite of the louse. One of the most striking cases of a victory won mainly by the louse and typhus is the defeat of Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812, which was frustrated far more by the ravages of typhus, aided by dysentery, than by the efforts of the Russians, who fought no really decisive battle but retreated and left the issue largely to the louse and the fly. These allies served the Russians well - typhus began to appear at the time that Napoleon's armies crossed the Niemen, at the very outset of the campaign, and by the time of the retreat from Moscow not more than eighty thousand men (out of nearly half-a-million who had crossed the river) remained fit for duty. Then the climate stepped in, effectively seconded by typhus and the Cossacks, and of Napoleon's mighty armies only a miserable remnant, practically every man of which was typhus-stricken, escaped alive out of Russia. In recent history, too, the louse has played no small part: during the Kaiser's war (1914-18) typhus slew one hundred and fifty thousand in less than six months in Serbia, and during the years 1917 to 1923 it is estimated that, in European Russia alone, typhus claimed thirty million victims, of whom three million died. It is too early yet to assess the part played by the louse in Hitler's war, but we know already that typhus slew huge numbers of people in Poland and other parts of eastern Europe. Historians usually lay little stress on this side of war; they tell us that General This by his skilful strategy defeated General That, but they do not tell us that the real victor was General Louse; will they fail to record the fact that the victory of the democracies in the war just ended was won very largely (and against the Japanese overwhelmingly) because of the efficiency of our sanitarians, chemists and entomologists? Fortunately we can end this section on a cheerful note, for it seems likely that man is now about to achieve final victory in his war against the louse and typhus. A most powerful new weapon (D.D.T.) has been put into our hands, and I believe that the day of the louse as a dangerous enemy of mankind is almost done.

Let us, however, do justice to our enemy, for even the louse of man is not without its uses. In mediæval England, and in some other countries even today, lice were eaten as medicine, particularly against jaundice, and the louse deserves to be the patron saint of wig-makers, because the custom (almost universal among the ruling classes of western Europe in quite recent times) of shaving the head and wearing a wig was almost entirely a means of defence against lice. Another use for lice was discovered by the inhabitants of a certain Swedish town who, in mediæval times, used to elect their Mayor by seating the candidates around a table with their beards resting on its surface, placing a louse in the middle of the table, and declaring elected the candidate in whose beard the louse took refuge. Yet another unusual use for lice is recorded by a traveller in northern Siberia who, on enquiring why young women came into his dwelling and threw lice at him, was told that this was the customary method of making a declaration of love. It seems a pity that picturesque old customs like these should be allowed to fall into disuse.

But a natural interest in the louse of man has rather led us away from our subject, which is lice in general, so let us consider next the enemies of lice. These enemies are rather few. Ants are known to destroy them and the habit of certain birds, which sit with outstretched wings on ant-hills or pick up ants with their beaks and place them among their feathers, is believed by some writers to be an attempt on the part of the birds to use the ants to destroy the lice; man has certainly employed this method, for in more than one campaign soldiers have spread their shirts out on ant-hills to give the ants a chance to destroy their louse population. Tick-eating birds, such as the ox-pecker, also destroy a certain number of lice. Parasites of lice include a few fungi and the organisms of louse-borne diseases; the latter are of great importance because typhus (for instance) is even more fatal to the louse than to man. But there is little question that the worst enemy of a louse is its host. Birds take dust-baths largely to rid themselves of lice, and mammals probably rub themselves against trees, take mud baths, or scratch themselves, partly for the same purpose. Man, of course, has devised scores of means of getting rid of his irritating lodgers, from picking them off and cracking them between his teeth to the use of D.D.T., but the only one I propose to mention is used by the peasants of Ruthenia, who put their lousy garments on a horse: the lice are attracted on to the horse by warmth, but are unable to survive on a host so distantly related to their normal source of food.

One of the peculiar points about lice is the degree to which they are specific, that is to say, the way in which each species of louse (in the vast majority of cases) is found on one species of host (sometimes on several very closely related hosts) and not on any others. This narrowness of choice of host is extremely marked: I have collected chewing lice from twenty species of East African antelopes, and in only one case – that of the closely related bush-buck and sitatunga – have I found the same chewing louse on two different species of antelopes. The same principle applies to the sucking lice of mammals and also to the lice of birds, to the extent that one can quite frequently identify a host from its parasites, without ever having seen the host itself. On one occasion I startled a correspondent in the Congo, who had sent me some lice from a "cochon" by telling him that the pig in question

was neither a bush-pig nor a wart-hog, but a domestic pig, and on another occasion I was able to tell another correspondent "On the day you shot the wood sandpiper you also shot a painted snipe and took them home in the same bag" (the reason being, of course, that I had found in the batch of lice from the sandpiper a small number of painted snipe parasites). On both occasions the correctness of my attempts to emulate Sherlock Holmes or Dr. Thorndyke was confirmed by my correspondents.

This close specialization for life on a single host is the most interesting point in the biology of lice, and is in marked contrast with what one finds in other groups of parasites, such as fleas or ticks, in which it is normal for the same species of parasite to infest a wide variety of hosts. Such specialization has considerable advantages for a parasite, and it is of interest to consider why the lice have been able to adopt it, while the fleas and ticks mostly have not. The reason is the difference in habits as regards egg-laying: lice lay comparatively few eggs and glue them to the feathers or hairs of their hosts (which they never willingly leave) so that the young louse has access to food and suitable conditions of life from the moment it hatches from the egg, whereas ticks and fleas drop their very numerous eggs on the ground and the newly-hatched young has to find a host for itself - if its choice of host were very restricted it would hardly ever be able to find one. Because lice never willingly leave their host, and are absolutely dependent on it for food and shelter, the death of the host normally means the death of its entire louse-population; if lice were not confined to a single host it is possible that an occasional individual might manage to transfer from a dead host to a living host of another species, but the extra chance of survival thus gained would be so remote that it would be of no importance to the louse-species.

Since lice spend all their life on the body of the host, how do they get transferred from one host to another? The best opportunities are during mating or when the female host is caring for her young, and in these the lice merely transfer from one individual to another of the same species. There are other methods of transfer, of which the most interesting is that lice on a dead host may clutch on to other insects, such as parasitic flies, using these other insects like a lifeboat on which to leave the sinking ship. If such lice should be carried to a host of a different species their survival is normally very short, for the blood, hair or feathers of a strange host are generally unsuitable for them and will poison them within a very short time. As Zinsser puts it in his book *Rats, Lice and History*, a louse that has fed on a strange host "suffers from a probably painful and fatal indigestion". There are a few instances in which lice have succeeded in establishing themselves on a strange host, but such cases are exceedingly rare; I shall return to these exceptions a little later.

I have mentioned that a given species of louse normally occurs only on one species of mammal or bird, sometimes on several closely related species. But we can carry this further, for if we examine the lice of a number of groups of birds (for instance) we find that the more closely related the birds are, the more closely related are their lice, and that geography has little or no influence in the matter. If one is given a collection of bird-lice with no information as to where and on what hosts they were collected, it is quite an easy matter to tell in the majority of cases from what kind of birds they came, but it is impossible to say from what part of the world they came

unless by considering the distribution of the particular group of birds. As an example, on one leave I spent a few days in collecting lice from birds in the Orkney Isles, and on my return to Uganda I compared them with lice I had collected here. I found that the lice off cormorants in the Orkneys were precisely the same as those from the East African form of the same species, while they were totally different from those found on other sea-birds shot in the Orkneys, some of which may well have shared the same ledge of cliff with the cormorants. Furthermore, if we again take our cormorant as an example, we find that his lice are very like those of the shag (belonging to the same genus as the cormorant), rather less like those of pelicans, snake-birds or gannets (all belonging to the same order of birds) and with only a remote resemblance to those found on other orders of birds. The reason for this is that lice have lived on birds for enormously long periods of time and have been passed on almost invariably from one individual to another of the same bird-species. During all this time they have been subject to evolution, but the conditions surrounding them have been so uniform compared with those to which their hosts have been subjected (the temperature, feather-composition, etc., of one species of bird being very like the same conditions in another species) that the evolution of the lice has lagged behind that of their hosts, so that while the birds have altered very greatly the lice have changed comparatively little. Quite similar facts are found in the case of mammals and their lice: the best-known of the sucking lice of man is very closely related to the louse of the chimpanzee, less closely (but very obviously) related to the lice of Old World monkeys, and far more distantly related to the lice found on other groups of mammals. The exceptions to this general rule are so rare that I myself have only met with one instance, this being that precisely the same chewing louse occurs naturally on the white-tailed mongoose and on its rather distant relative the civet. Another well-known instance is of much greater interest, it is the fact that a number of species of South American spider-monkeys are infested with lice that are no more than quite slight modifications of the *Pediculus* found on man, many of the species of spider-monkey having each its own slightly different form. This is so unexpected (for the spider-monkeys are only very distantly related to man) that it is worth examining how it probably came about. The most essential point is that analysis has shown that the blood of spider-monkeys is far more similar to that of man than the degree of relationship would lead one to expect, for it is this perhaps accidental resemblance in the composition of the blood that has made it possible for transfer from one host to the other to take place. The actual transfer was not very difficult: long before Europeans reached South America the Indians used to keep spider-monkeys as pets (as they still do) and the lice could easily pass from man to monkey. No doubt from time to time a captive spider-monkey escaped, rejoined his wild brethren, and passed on to them the undesired gift which man had bestowed on him. Not all the escaped captives would be of the same species and each would rejoin his own kind, so I suggest that the differences between the lice of different species of spider-monkeys are indications of the length of time that has elapsed since an escaped captive of each species succeeded in infesting his wild relatives.

The fact that there are so few exceptions to the general rule that related lice are found on related hosts is very surprising, for opportunities for transfer

of lice between species of different groups are not lacking, but I have never found on a carnivorous mammal any lice derived from its prey, and have only once found a hawk with lice from a bird which it had eaten. The case of the European cuckoo is even more surprising, for one would expect to find young cuckoos infested with lice from the birds in whose nest they were brought up, but actually young cuckoos go on migration without any lice and are found to be infested with characteristic cuckoo-lice when they return as adults in the spring.

The clear implication from the facts I have just mentioned is startling to anybody who has not specialized on the lice, but it is accepted by all those who have gone at all deeply into the subject. If related birds are always found (leaving out the excessively rare exceptions) to have related lice, and the degree of relationship between the lice varies with the relationship between their hosts (as is the case), then relationship between the lice of two birds is evidence of relationship between the birds themselves, and we can use the lice to judge the affinities of a bird which has become so specialized that the ornithologists cannot decide to what group it belongs. Let us take an actual example: the bird books are not in agreement as to the position of the flamingos, some books putting them among the storks, while others place them near the ducks and geese. The flamingos are infested with four different kinds of lice, all of them closely related to the kinds found on ducks and geese, and none of them showing any very near relationship to the kinds found on storks. Now if we remember that there are those rare instances in which a louse has established itself on an abnormal host we might regard one correspondence between the lice of flamingos and those of ducks and geese as accidental and due to the use of that "fly-lifeboat" which I have mentioned, but with two correspondences the odds against such a possibility begin to mount up and with three or four correspondences the odds against it become so astronomical that I regard the four louse-correspondences in this case as completely conclusive evidence that the flamingos are modified ducks or geese.

There is one other direction in which we can use the evidence of lice to make deductions which I, at least, find of absorbing interest. Lice have never been found as fossils, so it is impossible to get direct evidence of the antiquity of the group, as we can do in the case of many other groups of insects. But we know from the evidence of fossils a good deal about the approximate dates at which the various groups of mammals first appeared, and we have a certain amount of similar evidence with regard to the birds. From this, combined with the present distribution of lice on the various groups of hosts, we can deduce the approximate geological period during which a particular group of lice must have started to infest a particular group of hosts. A few examples will, I am sure, make this point a great deal clearer. The fact that, as I have already mentioned, man and the chimpanzee are infested with different species of the same genus of sucking lice (*Pediculus*) means that the common ancestor from whom both man and the chimpanzee are descended was also infested with lice which belonged to this genus; but man diverged from the stock of the great apes in the early Miocene period (about thirty million years ago), so the genus *Pediculus* must have been in existence during that period. Taking the same example a step further, the sucking lice of Old World monkeys are very similar to the genus *Pediculus*, though sufficiently different

to be placed in a different genus ; this means that lice belonging to the group of genera to which *Pediculus* and the lice of Old World monkeys both belong must have infested the common stock from which apes and monkeys are both descended before apes and monkeys diverged, and that takes us back to the Eocene period (about fifty million years ago). I could multiply instances indefinitely, but two more will be sufficient. It has been asserted that the occurrence of sucking lice on dogs must represent a geologically quite recent acquisition from some hoofed animal, because dogs were the only members of the land-carnivora on which sucking lice were known to occur. Later discoveries made this suggestion much less plausible, because similar lice were found to occur on other members of the family to which the dog belongs. Finally my examination of the lice of seals showed that they are fairly close to the lice of the dog-family and must be considered to have descended from the same stock. Now the seals were once land-carnivora but took to the sea (probably in the Eocene period) since when they have not had opportunities of acquiring lice from other mammals. They must therefore, have had sucking lice since before they took to the sea, and at a time when their ancestors were closely related to the ancestors of the land-carnivora, which makes it extremely probable that the land-carnivora also had sucking lice at that time but that they have died out on all the members of the order except the family that includes the dogs. The last example will not detain us long and I include it because it is the clearest example of the survival of a single species of louse over a huge period of time. The elephants are infested with a very strange member of the chewing lice which is peculiar to themselves, and the species found on the Indian and African elephants is precisely the same. The two kinds of elephants diverged before the Pleistocene period, so this piece of evidence makes it nearly certain that one species of louse has persisted unaltered for about a million years.

From this sort of evidence I have tried to deduce the age of the different groups of lice, and I am much strengthened in my belief in the reliability of the method by finding that my results are entirely consistent, that is to say, that the dates I have deduced for the appearance of the more specialized groups are (as they should be) later than the dates for the more primitive groups. I believe that lice first began to live on the bodies of vertebrate animals (mammals and birds or their ancestors) almost certainly as early as the Jurassic period, when the higher mammals did not yet exist and when birds still had teeth, and perhaps even in the late Triassic period, when they may have parasitized either the very earliest mammals and birds or the still more than half-reptilian ancestors of these two groups. This took place roughly one hundred or one hundred and fifty million years ago.

In conclusion, I hope I have shown you that lice (however disgusting they may be when they force themselves on our attention in too intimate and personal a manner) are of absorbing interest, that their influence on our own species has been of no small importance, that they are capable (rightly interpreted) of giving us interesting and important facts about the early history of their hosts, and that their descent is so ancient that (even for this alone) they would be entitled to our respect.

INTER-TRIBAL HISTORY THROUGH TRIBAL STORIES

By MISS M. E. HEAD, B.A., F.R.G.S.

I want to start by acknowledging to the Society that a good deal of the material which I have included in this paper has been taken from the *Uganda Journal*.

I would also like to make it clear that I have nothing very new to put before you; but rather that I have tried to fit together all the material that I have come across into one continuous story – relating the more important incidents that emerge from the stories of the various tribes in this Protectorate. There are many gaps, for I have probably not come across all the available material, and much still awaits recording. I also want to make some suggestions as to interpretation, but again they are only suggestions and will probably have to be revised in the light of further evidence.

First, a word or two about the use of these tribal stories, which have been handed down by word of mouth, before we Europeans came and taught people to trust in writing rather than their memories. It is agreed, I think, that under the old conditions, stories were passed on from generation to generation with great accuracy. But there are definite tendencies in them which we must reckon with. First each tribe tends to minimise their defeats, and to magnify their successes, which is only human nature where it is untrained in a scientific attitude to facts. Then, if there is a change of dynasty or a new ruler, we usually find some story to relate the new-comer to the former royal house, to ensure his acceptance by the common people. Where we find one story, substantially the same but related by two different tribes, I think we may take it there is a good deal of truth in it.

In this paper I do not propose to deal with the very dim and distant past, the Kintu epoch or coming of the clans, interesting as these subjects are: nor am I going to touch on the Hima problem. But I want to take the old kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara as our starting point, because it seems to have been the dominant power in this part of Africa in what we may call "middle-distant" history.

Tradition says that there have been three dynasties of Abakama in Bunyoro-Kitara – the Abatembuzi, the Abachwezi and the Ababito. The Abatembuzi are mostly mere names that have come down from the remote past. Then come those mysterious people, the Abachwezi. Although the Banyoro tell a tale of the king's daughter and his gate-keeper to relate Ndahura to the past, I think most people agree that the Abachwezi were invaders who came from the north. They are usually pictured as a small tribe, but possessed of great strength, fair skinned, and cattle-keepers. Again I do not want in this paper to enter into the difficult question of their origin, except to show later who I think they were not. It seems evident that they built up a great kingdom in this lacustrine area; though it was probably more akin to a mediæval kingdom than to our modern idea of government. The story goes that Ndahura went away south to extend his kingdom and never came back. So Mulindwa, who was looking after things in his absence, was

replaced by Wamala. After he had been reigning for some time trouble began to brew. Different accounts give a different order of events, but these seem to have been his worries. His cattle were getting diseased, his servants not too obedient and his wives restless. Then there is the great story of the soothsayers. They were certainly strangers, who had come from over the Nile, and they were called in to help the king in his difficulties. When they killed the sacrificial cow the organs usually residing in the stomach were found in the head. This was interpreted to mean that the Abachwezi would shortly be going on a long journey, carrying their things on their heads. Wamala seems to have called a grand council of the Abachwezi to discuss what to do, and they voted for going away south after Ndahura - which they did. On the face of it, this hardly offers an adequate explanation for so momentous a decision, or such precipitate action. Who, then, were these soothsayers and what were they up to? May they not represent an advanced guard, sent with softening-up tactics, to prepare the way before a new invasion? Certainly the third dynasty, of the Ababito, dates from this time. There are the usual tales, which we have come to expect, relating Isingoma to the departing Abachwezi. But does this represent the truth, or even an element of it, is it a rationalization? To answer this question, we must first take a look elsewhere.

The north-western part of this Protectorate is occupied by Nilotes, many of them belonging to the Lwoo group of Gang speaking peoples. On the accompanying map (*Figure 13*, p. 109) I have summarised the main points of the story of their trek as given by Father Crazzolaro in his paper in Vol. 5 of the *Uganda Journal*. During the course of their long journey there were sundry quarrels, resulting in groups leaving the main body and founding smaller related tribes. One such quarrel occurred when they had reached the vicinity of Pakwach and the offended party went off in a rage with his followers, crossed the Nile and went on to the highlands, where his descendants are now to be found in the Aluur. The main body went on, so they say, into Bunyoro and conquered the country. After a bit they realized that if they remained there as the rulers, they would get absorbed into the Banyoro; and the object of their long trek had been to find a new country of their own. So the main body of the Lwoo moved on leaving just a ruling clan. Tradition says that a few went south - are there now any traces of them in Tanganyika? But most of them went back over the Nile into the country now occupied by the Lango and Acholi. Further migrations later resulted in the founding of the Jo Padola and Jo Lwoo or Kavirondo tribes, the latter now being the largest tribe in the Lwoo group. If this story of the invasion of Bunyoro is historic, how is it remembered by the Banyoro? I would suggest that it is remembered in the flight of the Abachwezi and the coming in of Isingoma and the new dynasty of the Ababito. Crazzolaro argues that the Abachwezi represent this invasion, but it seems to me that even his arguments fit much better in the Ababito theory. For all the stories give Isingoma a Lango or Lwoo mother, and his very name Rukidi would seem to indicate that he came from Bukedi, *i.e.*, the land of nakedness, so of the Nilotes. He seems to have come on a journey to get to the kingdom, and to have come with his royal regalia, which is still used - though two of Wamala's wives were left to teach him the ceremonies. Sir Harry Johnston's version of the story even suggests that the soothsayers were his friends and sent to him when the coast was clear. Crazzolaro also argues that "Bito" is a typical Lwoo word, and

that the names of the Abakama are common Acholi names only slightly disguised, *e.g.*, Winyi for Owiny, Olimi for Oluum. Further linguistic evidence might be found in the royal language still used of the Abakama of Bunyoro and Toro. The Acholi and Alur reckon that the rulers of Bunyoro and Buganda are of Lwoo origin, some even saying that Isingoma was the first of the line of the Rwots of Payera; and a number of their chiefs say that their insignia of office were given them by a Mukama. Added to this, there are still the Chope in north Bunyoro, a people of Lwoo origin. And finally in all the long history of wars waged by the Banyoro, few if any of them seem to have been against their northern Lwoo neighbours. While these arguments are by no means conclusive, they do give some support to the theory; but the subject awaits a much more detailed investigation.

But whatever his antecedents, Isingoma was evidently a great ruler and ruled over a wide area. "K.W." in her paper in Vol. 3 of the *Uganda Journal* claims that "he ruled from Kavirondo on the east; and on the north, from the borders of Abyssinia, to the middle of the land now called the Congo on the west; and on the south to Lake Tanganyika". While this seems a little exaggerated (*Figure 14*, p. 110) shows the distribution of the chieftainships that he is reputed to have given to his followers, and they certainly cover a considerable area, and give some idea of the extent of his overlordship. Some of the names of those to whom he gave chieftainships are interesting, notably his twin brother Kimera to whom he gave Buganda. The Baganda agree that Kimera did come from Bunyoro, and several of the clans say that they came with him. But they have an explanatory story of a Muganda prince who fled to Bunyoro. The tradition of their being twins seems, however, to have lasted, as we shall see. Ankole was given to Ruhinda, where he is remembered as the Omugabe who came after the Abachwezi, though the Abanyankole say he was their chief gate-keeper. Busoga was given to a man named Nyaika, which is apparently still a common name in the ruling clan of the saza round Kaliro. Others of the names, I am sure, would repay linguistic investigation.

From this time on, we have a fairly complete, if at times sketchy, account of the rulers in Bunyoro and Buganda: and the main features fit in together, showing the decline of Bunyoro-Kitara and the growth of Buganda. Certain incidents are also corroborated in Ankole; and I am convinced that, if we can get the traditions of all the tribes in the lacustrine area before they vanish and are forgotten, we shall be able to fit them together into one whole.

The Abakama who followed Isingoma were strong men, and some undertook long journeys round their domains. Winyi I went southwards as far as Ruanda, and returned *via* Busongora and the western side of Lake Albert. During his reign relations were at first friendly with Buganda, but then Kabaka Kaima raided into rich Buddu, the chief of Buddu appealed to his overlord for help, which was promptly sent him, and in the ensuing battle Kaima was fatally wounded. The Baganda went on raiding into Bunyoro domains to avenge his death, until Olimi had no more patience with them, and sent a big expedition. Although Kabaka Nakibinge had the help of Kibuka - who is supposed to have fought from the clouds - he was defeated because a Muryoro woman revealed his secret, and both he and Kibuka were killed. It was a disastrous defeat, and shows that the Banyoro were still far the stronger. The story goes that Olimi wanted to annex the kingdom outright, but his advisers warned him off saying that it

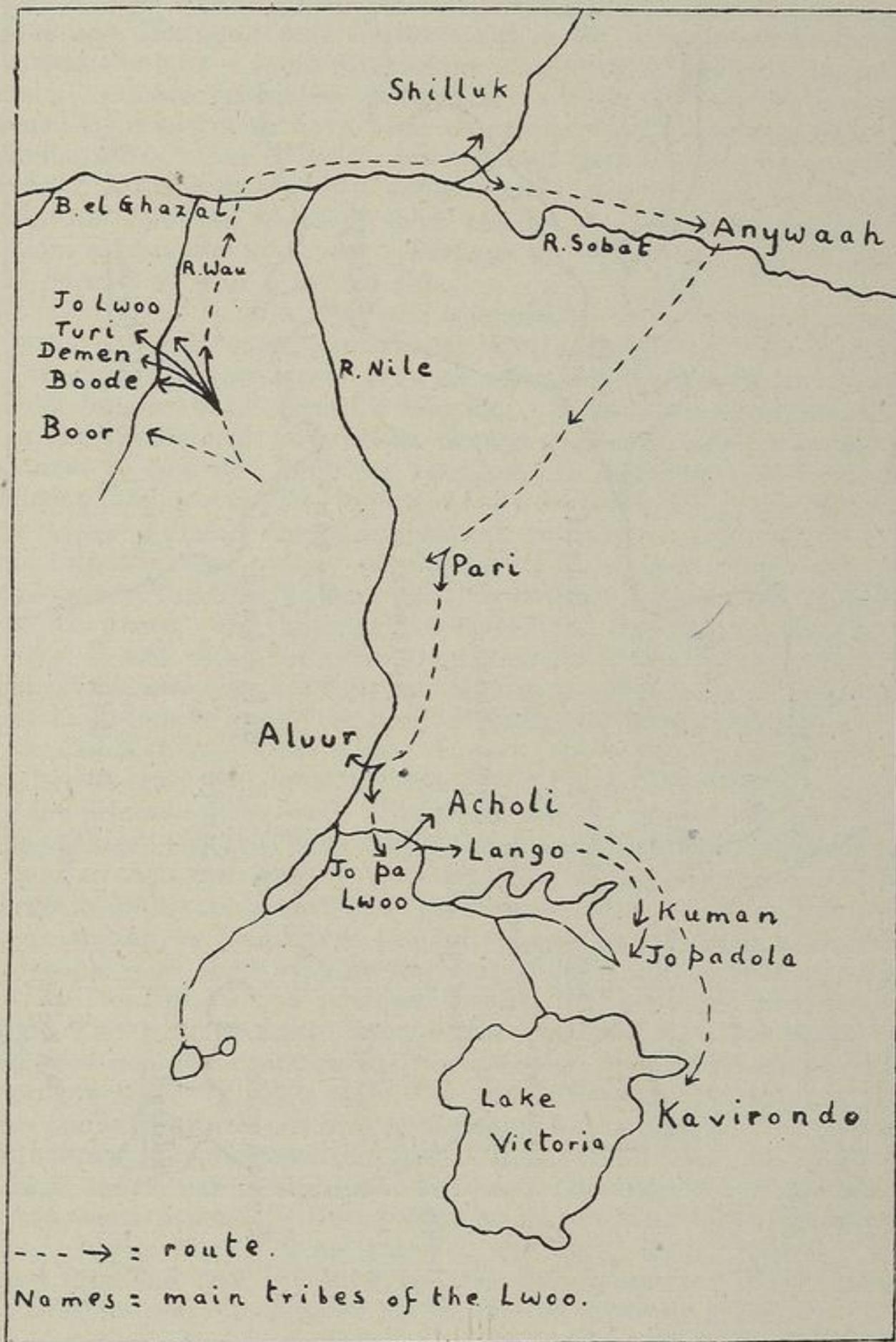


Figure 13.—Wanderings of the Lwoo.

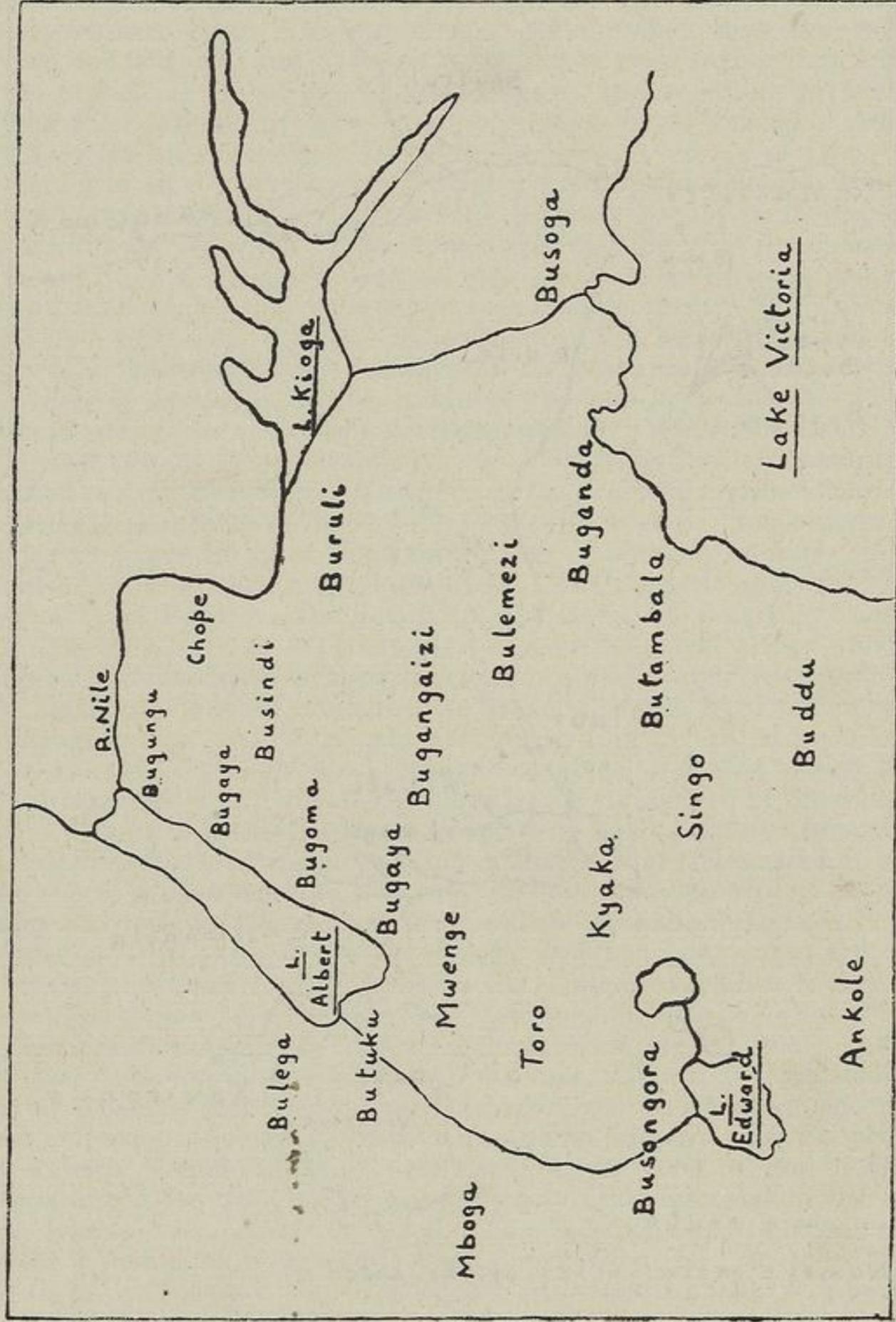


Figure 14.—Chieftainships given by Isingoma.

would not be right as their ancestors had been twins. So he put his nominee Mulondo on the throne. Later Olimi took a long journey eastwards, settling the Basoga, then fighting with the Kavirondo and the Nandi, coming home *via* Usukuma, Karagwe and Kiziba; that is, he is supposed to have gone right round the lake – some picturesque exaggeration, perhaps, but showing his power. On his return he stopped for a while in Ankole, but was so frightened by what must have been an eclipse, that he went home. There is a similar story of an offended witch-doctor who brought on an eclipse in the reign of Kabaka Juko. But unfortunately, they are not contemporaries, so we do not know to which of them belongs the date 1680 which Thomas gives from astronomic evidence. Perhaps the astronomers might kindly be able to provide us with a second date.

Then we come to Winyi II, who was said to be most despotic and wantonly cruel, and consequently unpopular with his subjects. The Basekabaka of the time took advantage of this; as when Katerega went on a peaceful journey south-westwards from his kingdom. The people whom he met liked him, so the districts of Butambala, Gomba and Singo (as far as Mityana), turned over to him and left their allegiance to Bunyoro, and that without any fighting; which is the first indication of a decline in the power of Bunyoro.

Next came a period when the Abakama were more concerned with Ankole, and the Baganda were quietly developing on their own. There was a great cattle plague in the time of Omukama Chwa I, so he made war on Ankole to retrieve his losses. He thoroughly defeated the Banyankole, and captured their royal drum. He liked their country so much that when he had driven Omugabe Ntale away, he built his residence in the Mbarara area. From there he went on and made war on the Banyaruanda, and being successful, he pushed on to the lands beyond Lake Kivu. Unfortunately he was killed there, and the leaderless army had quite a job to get back again without any fighting among the princes on the way. The secret had got out by the time they got back to Ankole, and the Banyankole fought and defeated them, and drove them back to their own country. Meanwhile Princess Masamba had been left in charge in Bunyoro, and she and her husband were enjoying their position, and were taking to themselves the full powers of kingship, and wantonly killing people – so they were getting unpopular. It was then remembered that a son of Chwa's had remained behind in Ankole, so he was sent for secretly. The princess got to know of this, and she made her plans, but her plans leaked out and counterplans were made. A meeting was staged, with pre-arranged signs on both sides, but the flutists got in first and the bad princess was killed and the young prince came to the throne. It is interesting to find a story so reminiscent of Athaliah in the Old Testament. Later Olimi III Isansa made war in the same direction, defeating the Banyankole and going on towards Ruanda. His advisers would not allow him to go far against Ruanda, because they said his ancestor was killed there; however his son preceded him and was captured by the Banyaruanda. When Duhaga I succeeded Olimi, he remembered his brother in captivity in Ruanda, and set out to free him. But he had first to fight his way through Ankole, which involved a big campaign. There is some uncertainty as to whether the capture of the royal drum Bagendanwa should be placed in this war or Chwa I's. There was evidently a lot of fighting in the south, before he returned home. Then his people, weary of fighting, made him hoist the white flag of peace.

Meanwhile, the Baganda had been quietly expanding; they were unable to go westwards because of the power of the Banyoro, so they went north and east. Kabaka Mawanda penetrated into Bulemezi and Kyabagu, conquered most of Busoga, and from his time the Basoga are reputed to have given tribute to the Basekabaka. In Junju's reign - contemporary of Duhaga I - a significant episode occurred. The chief of Koki made a successful raid against the Baganda, and in his enthusiasm collected a bundle of captured spears and sent them to his overlord, Duhaga, who took this as an insult and a sign of rebellion, and prepared a punitive expedition. At about the same time, the chief of Buddu rebelled. When the chief of Koki heard of the approaching army, he appealed to Kabaka Junju for help. There was a terrific battle in Singo between the Banyoro on one side and the Baganda, the Bakoki and the Banyabuddu on the other, and the latter routed the Banyoro, killing Duhaga. As a result of this war Buddu and Koki came into Buganda. It is also significant as the first serious loss to Bunyoro.

In the time of Omukama Kyebambe III, Bunyoro sustained further losses. For he sent his son Kaboyo to collect the taxes in Toro and Busongora. Kaboyo liked these territories very much, and the people there liked him. So when he had delivered his report to his father, he returned to Toro and rebelled. Though Kyebambe made several attempts, he was not able to subdue him; and since that time Toro has been a separate kingdom. During his reign Prince Kakunguru fled from Buganda and asked the Omukama to lend him an army to go and fight with his father Semakokiro. Kyebambe agreed, but he was unsuccessful. Later when his brother Kamanya came to the throne in Buganda, he again asked for an army, but this time with disastrous results, for the Baganda obtained a decisive victory, and as a consequence annexed Buwekula. These incidents show the declining power of the Banyoro and that the Baganda were getting the stronger.

There was a lot of fighting in Suna's time, but the last big gain for the Baganda came in Mutesa's time. For the Baganda helped the British force under Colonel Colville in the punitive expedition against Kabarega in 1894. Owing to their superiority in guns, they thoroughly defeated the Banyoro. As a reward for their help in the campaign, the Baganda were given the sazas of Bugangazi, Buyaga, Buruli and Bugerere and their boundary was pushed right to the Kafu river where it is today.

So much for the story of the growth of Buganda and the decline of Bunyoro-Kitara, but of the causes that lie behind it we still know very little. Inheritance wars between rival princes for the throne of Bunyoro-Kitara seem to have increased as time went on, and must have wasted the strength of the tribe. They do not seem to have occurred to anything like the same extent in Buganda; but rather, the Basekabaka were often strong rulers who built up a good system of government which they effectively controlled, and organized comprehensive military training while keeping control of the army. When the Arab traders began to appear, the Baganda had the definite advantage of being nearer to their trade route, and so were able to buy up their guns as they brought them in.

But all these matters need to be investigated in far more detail, before we can give anything like an accurate or comprehensive picture. Also, the evidence obtained from these tribal stories will have to be correlated with linguistic evidence and relationships shown in material culture, before any sure reconstruction of the past can be made.

LANGO PROVERBS

By T. R. F. Cox

Lango, unlike the Bantu languages, is not rich in proverbs, possibly because it has very few abstract nouns and it is very difficult to express an abstract idea. I suggest this because the only other non-Bantu language with which I am acquainted, Lugbara, appears to be completely devoid of proverbs, but I hesitate to put it forward as more than a suggestion lest some student of the Teso or Karamoja languages contradict me with a lengthy list.

I have no doubt that the number of proverbs used by the Lango will gradually increase, but few of them will be Lango proverbs. Many of those I collected I had to discard later as not being genuine Lango. Some were quickly rejected such as *Atedo mapol balo pig ringo* "Many cooks spoil the soup" or *Ka alica mom i ot oyo omyelo* "If the cat is not in the house the rats dance", but others were not so obvious. For example, *Ayom mom ngolo kop i wi bunga* sounded all right but eventually turned out to be the Luganda *Enkima tesala gwa kibira*.

The main difficulty in making this collection has been the translation of them into English. If some of the more expressive ones were given in English this article might well be placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*, and as I do not remember enough Latin to render them in a form intelligible only to the earnest student, as Driberg did in his translation of *Ngal ongoto ngeya kun anino* as *Me dormitantem pedicavit aliquis*, I have had to omit them or give them without a translation.

Others mean nothing in the mere translation, and have to be explained at length. *Yom cwiny oneko Atile* "Joy killed Atile" means as much to us without the story as "Sour grapes" would to a Lango if translated *Ocuqa awac* and left at that.

Again, some which are easily translated turn out to have a meaning entirely different from the obvious one. A few years ago I had to write an essay as part of a language examination and for this purpose I learnt half a dozen Lango proverbs. I duly worked in one very neatly but I afterwards found out that it did not mean what I thought it did and it did not make sense in its context. However, as the examiners were not aware of this no harm was done.

Lango has many similes, most of them good ones, and it is not always easy to draw the dividing line between a proverb and a simile. Originally I included a large number of them but with a view to writing an article on similes sometime I have now omitted them. I have not included any Acholi proverbs as I know that another person has a bigger collection of them than I have which, I believe, she intends to publish.

It is not easy to write an introduction to this list because Mr. Nason (*Uganda Journal* Vol. III No. 4) and Miss Davis (Vol. VIII No. 3) have said practically all that there is to say, so here are the proverbs, set down, I am afraid, somewhat at random.

Adwong mom loko lau ngeye nono.

"The elder does not turn the skin apron behind him without reason," *Lau*, the goatskin apron, is turned round and put over the buttocks to make it easier to run, e.g., in hunting. Follow the advice of your elders.

Agak inget yo mom weko.

"The person who strays off the path does not stop doing so." Bad habits are not easily broken.

Adwar neno opoko pi ki wange.

"The hunter looks at the water vessel with his own eyes." Being thirsty he does not believe that there is no water in it until he sees for himself. Seeing is believing.

Acan kwo i lwete.

"The poor man lives on his finger nails." He must work for his living.

But

Pe inyer acan akwo.

"Do not laugh at the poor man while he is still alive", because

Pur kweri alok.

"The hoe handle changes." You may be wealthy today and tomorrow lose all your possessions while the poor man may have become wealthy.

Acut ca woto poto ca.

"That vulture is going to the field over there." Used when people are cultivating to a man who keeps on standing up straight and resting. He is accused of watching birds.

Acwilic koko ogili.

"'Acwilic' is the cry of the ogili." The ogili is a bird which cries out only occasionally and when on the wing. Used when something is said once only and not repeated.

Adide adide tuco min bul.

"Persistence breaks the big drum." Used in a bad sense only.

Adwar lyec lyec oneke.

"The elephant hunter is killed by an elephant." Tit for tat.

Ageli i lak lyec ce.

"You will be paid with an elephant tusk." Used sarcastically to someone who asks a reward for a trifling service.

Agoro mom camo dokoro kulu.

"Termites do not eat on the other side of the river", and

Twon gweno mom kok loka okene.

"The cock does not crow on the other side of the stream." Every cock crows on his own dunghill.

Agulu pi to i dogola.

"The water pot is broken at the doorway." There's many a slip.

Agwata atek mac opuko.

"The strong calabash is pierced by fire." You may be strong but you will meet some one stronger.

Akado mom cayi ce ?

"Does not even the akado (a small bird) despise you ?" Used to some one who does a mean action.

Alunya loyo akwonga.

"What comes second is stronger than what comes first." He who laughs last, or, possibly, second thoughts are best.

Amor to i lak apoli.

"The duiker dies in the waterbuck's teeth." A waterbuck eats a man's crops. He lies in wait and kills a duiker, the next animal to come along. Used of a scape-goat.

Wek geyo nyuka i doga.

"Do not plaster gruel on my face" so that I may appear to be the one who has eaten it. Do not pass the blame on to me.

Apac tong gweno ngeyo pene.

"The maker of the egg knows where its navel lies." You may not understand what a person is doing but he does.

Apada teri kanabor.

"The sole of the foot takes you a long way."

Apoti cun kic.

Apoti omiyo pipino ocweyo pedo mere bongo mo.

"Imitation makes the hornet build his honeycomb without honey."

Apoti omiyo agwegwe oturo ibe.

"Imitation makes the lizard break off his tail."

Arac oneko Egwange.

"Arac killed Egwange." Arac was a small man and Egwange a big chief. David and Goliath.

Dek atidi tyeko kwon adwong.

"A little relish is sufficient for a lot of porridge."

Otigo anak tyeko kwon.

"A little otigo (a kind of wild sesame) finishes the porridge."

Kur ibwon otigo.

"Do not underrate the otigo."

The last four indicate that there are good goods in small parcels but against them we find :

Dyel mom rom kede dyang.

"A goat is not equal to a cow",
and

Gwok mom mako lyec.

"A dog does not catch an elephant",
and again

It mom kato wic.

"The ear is not bigger than the head",
or

Leb mom kato wic.

"The tongue is not bigger than the head."

Engato ma kok mom mako lee.

"The lion which roars catches no game,"

Arum buto kec i kom bonyo.

"The hornbill sleeps hungry amongst the locusts." Of a lost opportunity.

Atek wic camo gina wange oneno.

"The stubborn person eats what his eyes see",
and

Atek wic camo wi ogwang.

"The stubborn person eats the head of a wild cat."

Atet ber ged inget yo.

"The blacksmith should build beside the road." It pays to advertise.

Atet mako tong arac.

"The blacksmith takes a bad spear." The cobbler's children are ill shod.

Atet arac yeto nyonyo.

"The bad blacksmith abuses the iron", just as the bad workman blames his tools.

Nyonyo arac nen ki tet.

"Bad iron is seen in the forging." The proof of the pudding.

Atic wange col.

"The workman has a fierce look."

Atin dyel matimere atata turo tyene i dero.

"The young goat which is restless breaks its leg on the granary."

Ngit inyono otac.

"Some day you will tread on an otac (a foot trap for game, made of thorns)" - used, like the previous proverb, to a fidgety or inquisitive person.

Awac kom ocamo owara kic.

"The lazy person eats the wax of the honeycomb",
whereas

Or bwong dyel.

"Service is a young she-goat", which may well be the reward for good work,
and

Odyek camo ki teko mere.

"The hyæna eats with his strength." If you want something you must work for it.

Poto mom opuro ape oboto.

"The garden is not cultivated without the ground being broken up."
No results are obtained without hard work.

Aweno mom ilaro i won tol.

"You do not dispute the guinea fowl with the owner of the snare."

Aweno mom weko wiye.

"The guinea fowl does not leave, i.e., change, his head." Like father like son.

Ipito aweno ipito gweno.

"If you rear guinea fowls rear hens too", because the guinea fowl may fly off. Don't put all your eggs in one basket,

Ayom nyero nguny awotere.

"The monkey laughs at his friend's behind." The full proverb is
Ayom nyero awotere ni ngunye rac akun mere dang cal amano.

"The monkey laughs at his friend because his behind is ugly whereas his own is just the same." Oh wad some power the giftie gie us!

Cam i ot awoti mom icero iye welo meri.

"Do not ask your guest to food in your friend's house." He may not be welcome, and in any case when you get there your friend may be away or he may have finished the food. A variation is

Kongo i ot omini pe ingolo iye weloni.

"Do not ask your guest to the beer in your brother's house."

Similarly

Kado akwaa mom tedo welo.

"Borrowed salt does not cook for a guest." By the time you have borrowed it he may have got tired of waiting and gone away. The import of these three proverbs is that you should not be dependent on others.

Cengoro ilyelo wi ober.

"Some day you will shave a mosquito's head." You will try to do something impossible.

Cingi mom pedo ngunyi.

Dako nywal ki nyeke.

"A woman gives birth with the assistance of one of her husband's other wives." Said to some one who gives you valuable assistance.

Gin alyet kwe oko.

"Hot things become cool."

Gin anyen pire mit.

"A new thing is sweet."

Gin ari doko gweng.

"What delays becomes stone", or (fossilized),
and

Kong ikur miyo icobo yibe.

"'Wait a bit' makes you spear the tail."

On the other hand

Piny acol omiya abuto angwalo.

"Darkness caused me to sleep with a cripple." Look before you leap,
and

Tek neko omini mom tek culo cut.

"The moment when your brother is killed is not the moment for revenge."

Gin muloyo le kweri mom tongo.

"What defeats the axe the hoe does not cut."

Gwok bino kana obole iye kwon.

"The dog comes where the food is thrown." Cupboard love.

Gweno mom beko ducu.

"All the chickens do not hatch out,"

Gwok ilwor aura.

"Do not be afraid of steam."

Ibolo opuk i pi.

"You throw a tortoise into the water." To do something to no effect. A tortoise can swim.

Gwok loyi i yibe.

"The dog is better than you with his tail." Said to an ungrateful person. The dog shows gratitude by wagging his tail.

Gwok mom lelo kede cak iyi awotere.

"The dog does not rejoice with the milk in his friend's stomach." He does not want to play while he is still hungry.

Ngatoro mom mito ni dyang awotere nywal roya.

"A man does not want his friend's cow to produce a heifer calf."

Romo mom koko atin dyel.

"The sheep does not lament for the goat's child."

Gweno Akur dang ol loyi.

"Some day you will want an Akur" (a short legged type of fowl used in sacrifices).

Tobi loyo Aker.

"The Chief cannot get yeast." Even a Chief may find himself without yeast to make beer.

Man ayita ol loyi.

"Some day you will want a ground squirrel's testicles", i.e., something very small.

This and the previous two proverbs are used to a wealthy person who is unwilling to give something away.

Ibula ler.

"You have roasted veins for me", i.e., given me a bad meal. You have cheated me.

Icamo ngwen ma ikwiya lebe.

"You eat termites knowing nothing about their tongues." You do not know what you are talking about. A person eating termites does not know if they have tongues or not.

Igeno bwoo ngor.

"You trust in the froth of the beans." Shadow for substance.

Iyeng olel.

"You are filled with broth." You have not had full value.

Iketo tako kwon akun mom ru ineno moko kwon.

"You make the bread pan before you see the flour",
and

Ikwo abeno ka atin pud tye i ic.

"You sew the skin for carrying the baby before the child is born." Don't count your chickens before they are hatched.

Iluto twol i opoko.

"You put a snake in the drinking vessel." Of a treacherous act.

Imako mani opong cingi.

"You grasp your testicles and they fill your hand." You think you are a big fellow.

Inwongo cengoro i laro.

"Some day you will find it in the bush", *i.e.*, you will meet with a wild animal. A warning to a bully.

Inyono cun Obot.

"You tread on Obot's penis." Said to somebody trying to start trouble. There was a beer party at Adekokwok near Lira some years ago. One man leaving the circle where they were all squatting did this to Obot. In the ensuing fight a number of persons were killed. Another proverb with the same meaning is

Iyengo okok adongo.

"You are looking for big soldier termites."

Ipito aneki.

"You rear the one who will kill you." Of ingratitude.

Iruko war ma dong okuti ocobi woko.

"You put on a sandal after the thorn has pierced you." You lock the stable door after the horse is stolen.

Kwot acol teri i kwot atar.

"A black (old) shield leads you to a white (new) shield." For example, if you inherit as a wife an old woman you will have no difficulty in getting a young wife because the old one will do all the work.

Mom icobo wangi keni.

"Do not pierce your own eyes." Don't cut off your nose to spite your face.

Iwor acel mom kwoko dek.

"One night does not make the relish go bad."

Lum ot acel mom cwero ot.

"One blade of thatch does not make the house leak",
but

Ogwalogwal acel balo wang pi.

"One frog spoils the well."

Ka idak mom iputo te okono.

"If you move do not pull up the gourd plant", because you may come back or it may help somebody else. Do not despise the place you come from.

Ka lwok mom ka two.

"The place for washing is not the place for drying." Do not delay.

Kot mom cwe piny acel.

"The rain does not fall in one place only." There are as good fish in the sea.

Kot obino ayom deye.

"The rain comes and the monkey hangs himself", because he has no house. A warning against improvidence.

Lak atar tar nono.

"The white tooth is merely white."

Atar lak nyer gire.

"The man with white teeth laughs", to show them off.

Lak lyec mom loyo wonere.

"The elephant's tusk is not too heavy for the owner."

Lut i kanabor mom neko twol.

"The stick which is far away does not kill the snake." A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

Mac nywalo buru.

"A fire gives birth to ashes." Used of an ineffective person.

Ocodo buru.

"He sleeps with ashes." Used of a poor man.

Obwol ka otu mom dok dok piny.

"When a mushroom springs up it does not go back into the earth", and

Yat ka ogom con mom dok twenyere.

"The tree which has become crooked cannot be straightened out." What's done can't be undone.

Okupa oleyo nge gweno.

"The termite escapes behind the chicken's back." Something happens while you are away.

Olam mamit mom cek iryo i oro acel.

"The sweet fig does not ripen twice in one year."

Otedo omedo kede mane.

"The cook adds in his testicles to the food." Used of some one making an all out effort to no avail. A chief used this proverb to me referring to the German effort in Russia.

Ot mom cung bongo pagi mere.

"A house does not stand without its centre pole."

Lwak oyo mapol mom golo ot.

"A large number of rats does not scoop out a house." Too many cooks.

Pwod icana.

"It is still icana (the start of an ant-hill)." Also *Pwod tongo* "It is still soft (of unbaked pots)." Used of something under construction or of an unfulfilled promise.

Ngok ame ingoko mom idwoko iyii.

"Do not take back into yourself your own vomit." Make up your mind and stick to it.

Ngor nyak bang'awok.

"Beans bear fruit for the toothless man." Used of a person getting something of no use to him.

Nyako mom teri koko maroni.

"A girl does not take you to cry for your mother-in-law."

Nyuka ka oton i cip mom nangere.

"If gruel falls on the cip (woman's string apron) it is not licked up."
It's no use crying over spilt milk.

Obenyo ka oneno awala kome myel kwelkwel.

"When the person who is a good shot sees the hoop he trembles with excitement." The *awala* is a wooden hoop which is rolled along the ground or thrown through the air while the competitors try to throw spears through it.

Pyem omono lak gweno tu.

"Arguing stopped the chicken's teeth from growing."

Rec mom icobo atel wic.

"Do not spear the first fish", or the others may be frightened off. Do not be hasty.

Romo mom tepo dyel.

"The sheep does not mate with the goat."

Odyek mom nywako yo kede romo.

"The hyaena does not share the road with the sheep." This does not mean the same as the previous proverb, though at first sight they might appear to be the same. If, for example, a man says "I was at the beer party but I did not drink any beer" the answer might be "the hyaena does not share the road with the sheep", because it cannot resist killing and eating the sheep.

Rwot loya ki ngo ?

"How is the chief better off than I ?" Of contentment.

Wat ngeye kengi.

"Clan brothers know each other." Blood is thicker than water.

Ryeko mom bedo mea dano acel.

"Wisdom does not belong to one person only." Two heads are better than one.

Tek i man kor.

"It is difficult in the jungle." Used to a person who wants to enjoy something which he has made no effort to get.

Tio balo akeo.

"Old age spoils the pea." Used to an old man who keeps on talking of what he could do when he was young.

Wek camo ogigit.

"Stop eating the skin below the finger nail." Don't be a parasite. The English equivalent is something about sucking.

Won ot mom mulo piny nono.

"The owner of the house does not touch the floor for no reason." This proverb appears to be used of fishing only. If a man bends down and puts his hand into the water it means that he has speared a fish and not a log or a snake.

Wot ata omiya anyono tong apodo.

"Walking at random caused me to tread on the bustard's egg."

Yat mom oyito a i wiye.

"One does not climb a tree from the top."

Wot ipoko papi wi gweno.

"Go and share a chicken's head with your father." Don't bother me with a trivial matter.

Yamo arete ogwalogwal bel piny.

"The wind knocks down the sorghum for the frog." This indicates that a man has fallen into the hands of his enemies, and is not the equivalent of "It's an ill wind."

Yom cwiny ya i ojoga.

"Joy comes from the stomach rumblings", i.e., from a full stomach. A man's soul is in his stomach.

Yom cwiny oneko Atile.

"Gladness killed Atile." Atile was the first person to discover the secret of beer making. The chief partook of it and enjoyed it so much that he finally passed out. His followers, finding him apparently dead, thought he had been poisoned and killed Atile. If you give a good party your guests will continually return to your house and enjoy themselves at your expense.

Yat otal yamo areto.

"The wind knocks down the withered tree."

Twon opoto i coto.

"The bull falls into the mud."

Lak kweri mom to nono.

"The edge of the hoe is not worn out uselessly", because it results in crops.

Obwol otop ingweo ingwece.

"You smell the rotten mushroom."

Atowang mom telo wangayo.

"The blind man does not lead the way."

Wang mom camo.

"The eye does not eat."

Dyel odwale i loc.

"The goat becomes entangled in the tethering stake."

Lyec neko won poto i poto mere.

"The elephant kills the owner of the garden in his garden." This, and the preceding, refers to bad luck.

Itucere keni bala iwalo.

"You announce yourself like the crested crane." Used to someone who is always talking about himself. The crested crane is *iwalo* in Lango and its cry is said to be 'iwalo'.

Ayita ringo mot mot.

"The ground squirrel runs slowly", because it is near its hole and can quickly get out of danger.

Wangi pako palo.

"Your eye sharpens the knife", because you already see it as yours. The meaning is that you are coveting something.

Gweno awelo mone ogwang ogwang.

"The chicken which is a stranger is at enmity with the wild cat."

Mom gicobo anyeri ducu.

"They do not all spear edible rats."

Winyo ocodo tol.

"The bird snaps the snare." Of a lucky escape.

Kal ka otu mom lworo ceng.

"When the grain has grown up it does not fear the sun."

NUWA MBAGUTA, NGANZI OF ANKOLE

By F. LUKYN WILLIAMS

Most nations, at some time in their history, have produced an outstanding personality, who, appearing at a critical period, has saved his country from annihilation or bound together the scattered elements of the nation into a cohesive whole – though some of the deeds attributed to these heroes become almost legendary with the passing of time. Ankole is no exception in the treatment of its national heroes.

When we leave the dim past with its traditions and folk tales and come to the present we can often point to one man as being the maker of the modern state and father of his people. In this group we unhesitatingly place Nuwa Mbaguta, a man of exceptional administrative ability, a stalwart fighter, a wise counsellor, a loyal subject, a generous host and a staunch friend.

It is not given to many men to live in such stirring times. Respected and feared by all in a savage kingdom as being the most important man, after the king himself; fearing the dangerous advent of the white men and using every nerve to keep them away; a king-maker and yet a man of sufficient breadth of view and discernment to realise that his country could only be saved by co-operating with these same white men; using his powers of brain and arm in their service for the good of his people and living to see in a ripe old age the prosperity that he had spent forty years in helping to promote – such was Nuwa Mbaguta.

For his early life and ancestry we have to rely on Mbaguta himself. He outlived most of his contemporaries, but even if we sometimes feel we must question the veracity of an old man's memory, we have accounts written down from time to time over a period of thirty years or more.

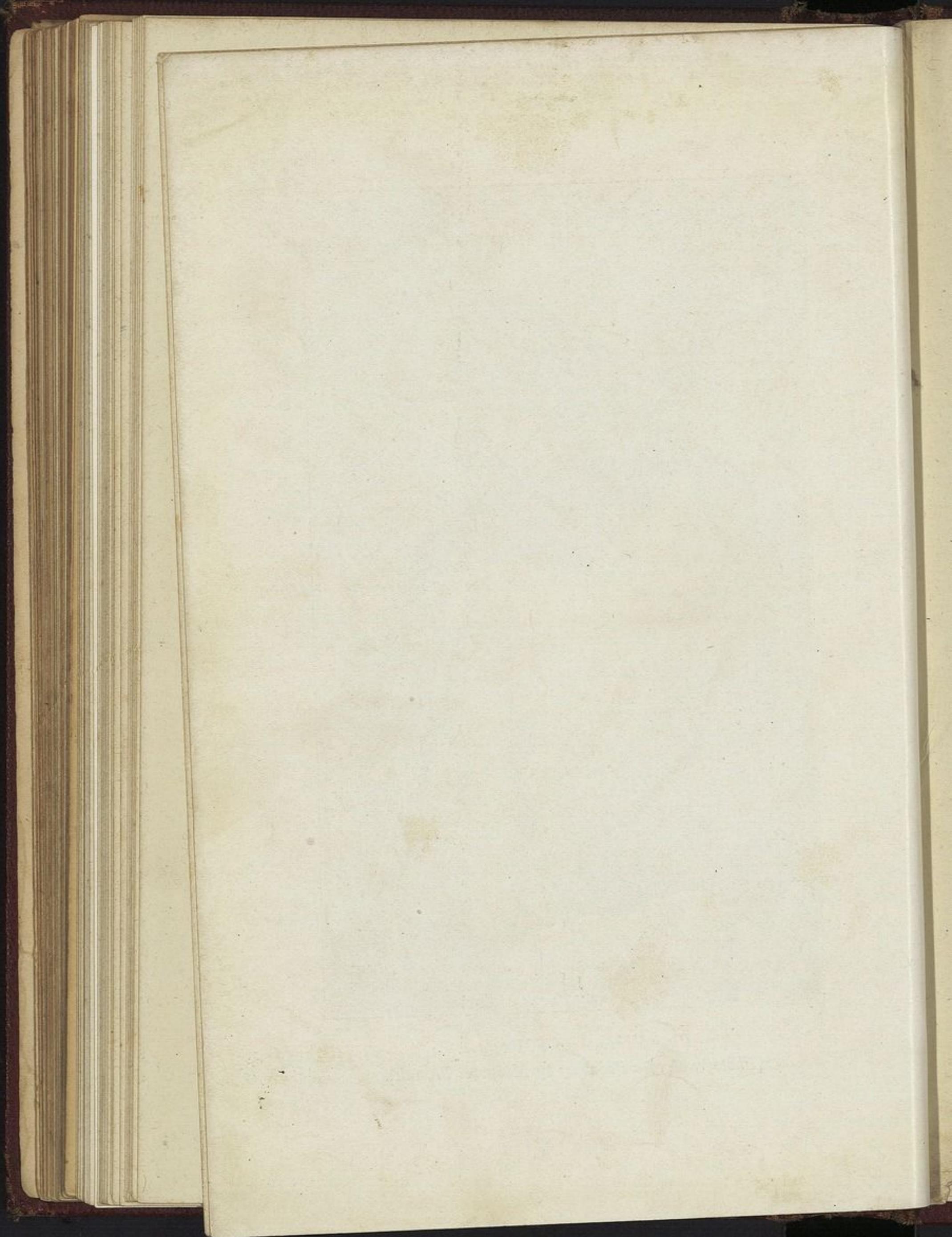
His ancestors were Bahororo, the inhabitants of that part of the country called Mpororo, which consisted of Southern Ankole and Northern Ruanda. At the time of its greatest expansion the counties of Kazhara, Shema and parts of Ruampara and Igara in Ankole, and Ruzhumbura and Rukiga in Kigezi were included.

Mpororo was one of the counties lying between the great lakes of central Africa that was governed by a foreign Hamitic aristocracy. It contained a large proportion of pastoral people, and if at any time it was knit with its neighbours in a loose confederacy – which is by no means certain – it retained a large measure of independence for years.

When one is considering the origin of the Bahima and the routes taken to reach their present homes it is interesting to note that Mbaguta maintained that his ancestors came from Egypt into the Congo and, after circling the lake (whether Tanganyika or Kivu is not clear) and passing through the Bufumbiro mountains, entered Mpororo. This seems to be borne out by a tradition in Ruzhumbura (Kigezi District) that Kahaya Lutindangyezi, one of the first kings of Ruanda, crossed from the west of Lake Albert to Ruanda, and also a tradition among the Batutsi of Ruanda that they originated in Egypt or Abyssinia. The kings of Mpororo, who were



Plate VIII.—Nuwa Mbaguta.
[Photograph of a Painting by Margaret Trowell].



Bahima, and the kings of Ruanda, who were Batutsi, were the same clan, the Bashambo⁽¹⁾.

Mbaguta traces his descent from Ishemulali, from whom the Beneishe-murari, a sub-clan of the Bashambo, derives its name.

He and his brother Kamulali⁽²⁾ were said to have entered Mpororo together in the days of Queen Kitami, and on her death they seized the royal drum, Murorwa, and thus were proclaimed rulers of the country. Kamulali appears to have been the real king, because we find his son, Kahaya Lutindangyezi ruling later, on whose death the drum, Murorwa, was lost (Mbaguta says it was buried by Ishemulali to prevent Kahaya's mother ill-using it). The kings of Mpororo descended from this Kahaya, whereas Mbaguta descended from the brother Ishemulali, so that his claim that he is descended from the kings of Mpororo does not seem to be correct. At the most he can only claim royal blood. His ancestors who constituted the sub-clan of the Bashambo called Benishemulali were driven by the sub-clan Benikihondwa from Wishkatwa after a quarrel in South Kazhara into the west of the present Shema county where they settled. Rwamahe, Mbaguta's grandfather, came with this emigration and passed on till he came to Kangenyi hill, where he settled. Though this was the first movement of the Bashambo on a large scale into these parts it was not the first contact between the inhabitants of Mpororo and Ankole proper. Machwa, the Omugabe of Ankole, had married a daughter of Kahaya of Mpororo which had sealed a friendship between the two countries that gradually resulted in the ultimate absorption of Mpororo.

Machwa's grandson, Rwebishengye, was now on the throne of Ankole and followed his grandfather's example in picking a wife from the Bashambo by marrying Baganda, a sister of Rwamahe. After the birth of their child, Kayungu, Rwamahe and his cousin Mugurugunzhu left Shema and went to the Omugabe's court with their cattle, where they were made attendants to the newly born prince.

The Omugabe Rwebishengye was living at Kakukulu in Nshara at this time. The counties of Bukanga⁽³⁾ and Ngarama were given to Rwamahe and two groups of fighters for his personal use. It was in Bukanga that Rwabubi, Mbaguta's father, was born.

On the death of Rwebishengye, his sons Kayungu and Gasyonga, as was customary, fought for the throne. Rwabubi fought for Kayungu, while Mutambukwa fought for his father Gasyonga. On their defeat Kayungu and Rwabubi fled into Koki, from where they were recalled later by Mutambukwa, who had succeeded his father Gasyonga on the throne. Rwabubi was given a group of fighters, called Abataha, who had been the personal fighters of Bachwa;

(1) It is held by some authorities that the kingdoms of Urundi, Karagwe and Mpororo were founded by immigrations of Hamites from the north, who debouched from Kisozi-Bwera. There is some doubt, however, about the Bashambo of Ruanda and with them the Bashambo of Mpororo.

(2) The father of Kahaya is said to have been Ishegabo, the husband of Kitami, but according to Mbaguta the mother of Kahaya was not Kitami, but a girl named Komukyera, a native of Mpororo.

(3) Bukanga is the area in the south-east corner of Ankole bordering on Koki. When the Bahima first settled in Ankole it was in Bukanga and Ishingiro. They gradually spread from there to the north in the eastern areas of the present district. It is this fact as proved by the royal burial grounds being in this area which adds to the difficulties of deciding the route of origin of the Bahima. Many say they came from Karagwe, the neighbouring territory to the south.

this Bachwa had been exiled to Ruanda by his father Mutambukwa, and had died there. Mbaguta was born about 1867 either at Kaburegyeya near Nshongyi, or at Kigarama, both in Nshara county. While quite young his father was killed in Kabula with seventy princes, when Mutesa, Kabaka of Buganda, sent an army to help Mukwenda who was fighting his brother Ntare for the throne, on the death of Mutambukwa. Rwamahe was killed also when Mutesa's army invaded Ankole. He died at Nshongyi in Nshara. When Nshara was invaded his mother took Mbaguta into Buddu for shelter.

When Ntare defeated Mukwenda and became Omugabe the little Mbaguta was brought back to his own country and lived at Nyabushozi. At the age of eleven the young Mbaguta made his way to the Omugabe's kraal at Nyakakoni and stayed with him. It was customary for young boys to be attached to the court as in Buganda, where they were employed in various household duties. Mbaguta seems to have quickly won favour. Whilst at court he was employed in various capacities. At first he was an ordinary *omugaragwa* - household servant - whose work was to carry the Omugabe's milk, stool and tobacco. At one time he fulfilled the duty of milk boy to the Omugabe. He later was given the office of *Omugeni wa taba* - the keeper of the Omugabe's pipe and tobacco; it was his duty to light the pipe. He also fulfilled the duty of *Ombikyiki W'amarwa* - the keeper of the Omugabe's beer; it was his duty to arrange the supply and to look after it. Later he undertook the duty of housing all foreign visitors who came to the court. As he grew up he was counted among the favourites at court and took the title of *Mushongore*. Some, but not all, of the Bashongore, were allowed to wear leopard skins as a mark of especial favour; they were then called *Bakazherangwe* (the wearers of leopard skins). Mbaguta attained this rank. It would be one of these Bashongore who would be sent from time to time to command an expedition or raid into a neighbouring country.

During the troublous times in Buganda from 1886 onwards, when the Christians were persecuted by Mwanga and during the religious wars which followed, many Baganda found a home in Ankole. Ntare allowed them to settle in Bukanga, where there has been a settlement of Baganda ever since. In the Mohammedan wars the defeated Christians retreated into Kabula, where they were given places to live and where they remained until Mwanga, who had fled to the south of the Lake, returned to Buddu. Here many of the fugitives rallied to him, but there was always a nucleus of Baganda left in Ankole, each man armed with a gun. These, Mbaguta was allowed by the Omugabe to collect and form into a band of fighters. Seventy of them he housed and concentrated at Katete on the south bank of the Ruizi river, opposite Mbarara. They had the title of Abagonya and, being armed with guns, proved themselves redoubtable fighters.

About 1890-91 a successful raid was made by Mbaguta with his Abagonya into Mpororo. This was at a time when rinderpest had decimated the Ankole herds, just before Captain Lugard passed through the country, so the addition of two hundred head of Mpororo cattle, which the raid produced, was a welcome present to Ntare.

Another successful raid was made into Ruanda in 1894 when seven hundred head of cattle were brought back. As a mark of gratitude for this exploit Mbaguta was rewarded with the gift of various areas of country to rule over. This was a very usual form of recognising good services rendered to

an Omugabe. Amongst other places given to him at this time were Ngarama, which had been given by Gasyonga to his grandfather, and Kabula.

It seems that it was about this time, 1894-95, that Mbaguta was made Enganzi.

The first occasion on which we hear of Mbaguta coming in contact with Europeans was in this same year, when Colonel Colvile, the first Commissioner of the newly constituted Uganda Protectorate, instructed Major Cunningham to endeavour to make a treaty with Ntare of Ankole.

While there was a period of peace in Ankole, events were taking place on all sides, which, while not properly understood, were somewhat disturbing to this Hima ruler. The expeditions of Stanley, Emin Pasha and Lugard had passed through Ankole a few years before, and though they did no harm their presence had been rather disturbing. Stanley and Lugard had been kept from harm by making blood-brotherhood with Ntare, but Lugard had made a treaty. Kabarega and the Banyoro bands had been harassing in the north, and caravans of arms had been passing through from the south to help them.

The Belgians were beginning to encroach on Busongora in the west, while the Germans were making their presence known in the south. As recently as 1893 Lieutenant W. Langheld had passed through the Ruampara mountains, almost within sight of Ntare's capital, on his way from Katwe Salt Lake to the Kagera river. At Birere, near Mbarara, it is remembered that twenty Banyankole were shot in a skirmish and others ill-treated by the Germans⁽⁴⁾.

All these events decided Ntare to send a messenger to Entebbe to ask for British protection in accordance with the treaty made by Lugard.

It is not known whose the persuasive counsel was, for, like all African potentates of the time, Ntare did not really wish for any close contact with the white men.

Cunningham decided to proceed to the Katwe Salt Lake in the first instance and hoped to interview Ntare on his return. Whilst passing through Buzimba a messenger was sent from Ntare to say that his master hoped he would see the white man when he returned from the lake, but instead of waiting to guide him he disappeared in the night. On his return, Cunningham determined to take a more southerly route so as to visit Ntare's capital. Two guides were procured from Kaihura, the Omugabe's representative in Busongora, but every effort was made to lead the expedition on a northern road in the hope of getting it away from Ntare's. "It was quite evident", reported Cunningham⁽⁵⁾, "from the general scare that we had arrived close to the latter's capital which, I believe, has never before been visited by a European". At Ruampoko the guides fled, but the messenger who had come to Entebbe "turned up accompanied by another ambassador from Ntare, and a present of a sheep, sent to ask what I had come for. I replied, at his invitation, to make a treaty and because he had told you (the Commissioner) Ntare wanted a European to come. Hereupon the second envoy exclaimed that Ntare had never given such instructions to the other messenger. I declined to accept this, saying Ntare had sent for us, and I must see him. He went off to see

(4) At a later date a steel box was left behind by a German who is said to have entered Ankole from Bukoba to search for Mwanga after his escape from Mwanza in 1897. The box was borne in triumph to the capital.

(5) Parliamentary Papers, Africa No. 7 (1895) - No. 53.

the King, returned in the evening with an ox, saying he had instructions to ask me to go to Maronga, where I should hear from the King, and affirming that the latter had left his village and taken refuge in the mountains, as he would on no account see a white man. I refused. He then said he would take me next day to a place conveniently near to Ntare's, from whence negotiations could be conducted.

"Next day we marched at 6 a.m. The guide took us by a road north into what seemed a sterile and waterless country. After numerous stoppages I declined to go further. The messenger went off to get fresh orders, while we marched across country back to the main road to Ntare's, halting at 9 a.m., at Kasari. Next day another messenger arrived, and the same thing took place, he trying to take us north, while I steered east, and after two hours' march we arrived in sight of Ntare's village. Here I halted on a hill called Kitabwenda. Numerous messengers arrived from the King, begging me to proceed to Maronga, where I should hear from him. I replied that the King must send some person of note as his representative."

In due course Mbaguta - called here Magota - arrived. He was said to be Katikiro, though in 1893 Langheld speaks of Schingoma (Isingoma) as Katikiro⁽⁶⁾. Mbaguta himself always states that he was made Enganzi, or Katikiro, one year before Ntare's death, which would be in 1895, in which case Mbaguta would have been only a Mushongore of Ntare.

However, Cunningham continues to the Commissioner: "At 4 p.m. on the 29th August the Katikiro Magota arrived with full powers (so he said). He signed the treaty for the King; requested that a black man might be sent in future as your representative as Ntare could not see a European. He said that the King did not wish for a post in Ankoli at present, but that, if he did later on he would send and ask you for it. He wants to fight the Ruanda⁽⁷⁾ because the latter killed his brother years ago. The Ruanda have never raided Ankoli, though the latter has the former⁽⁸⁾. He denied that a *safari* has passed through to Kabarega with powder and arms, but admitted it came to the frontier and was turned back. On my pressing him he said it might have passed during the night, and added he would send for all the chiefs and warn them not to let such a thing occur I heard subsequently in Buddu that this caravan had passed. I warned the Katikiro that Ntare was responsible for the Futabangi⁽⁹⁾ as they were living in Ankole and that Mwanga had nothing to do with it. He tried to make out that Ntare could not furnish them without reference first to Mwanga. I gave him a copy of the treaty".

The next day Ntare's village was visited by Cunningham who seems to have been disappointed with it, he called it "a mere village". It was situated at this time at Kaigoshora in Kashari County.

The exact text of the treaty signed by Mbaguta as set out in Parliamentary Paper No. 53 is as follows:—

"Treaty made at Ntali's in Ankoli, this 29th day of August, in the year 1894, between Major Cunningham, Derby Regiment, for Colonel Colvile, C.B.,

(6) Langheld, the German representative in Bukoba; in his book *Zwanzig Jahre* stated that at Antali's he met the Katikiro, Schingoma. This man was not Katikiro or Enganzi at this time, but was in fact only a Mwiwo who was head of Ntare's band.

(7) This was later successfully carried out. See p. 126.

(8) The Banyaruanda, e.g., the Batutsi and their serfs the Bahutu, were certainly raiding into Ankole at the time of Ntare's death.

(9) Futabangi = abagonya. See p. 132.

for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., her heirs and successors, on the one part, and the undersigned, Magota, Katikiro, of Ntali, King of Ankoli, for his (Ntali's) heirs and successors on the other part.

I, THE UNDERSIGNED, Magota, do, in the presence of the Headmen and people assembled at this place, hereby promise:—

1. That there shall be peace between the subjects of the Queen of England and Ntali's subjects.

2. That British subjects shall have free access to all parts of Ankoli, and shall have the right to build houses and possess property according to the laws in force in this country; that they shall have full liberty to carry on such trade or manufacture as may be approved by Her Majesty; and should any difference arise between the aforesaid British subjects and Ntali, the said King of Ankoli, as to the duties or customs to be paid to Ntali the said King or the Headmen of the towns in Ankoli country by such British subjects or as to any other matter, that the dispute shall be referred to a duly authorized Representative of Her Majesty, whose decision in the matter shall be binding and final; and that Ntali will not extend the rights thus guaranteed to British subjects to any other persons without the knowledge and consent of such Representative.

3. That Ntali, the said King, will at no time whatever cede any of Ankoli territory to any other Power, or enter into any Agreement, Treaty, or Arrangement with any foreign Government except through and with the consent of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, Etc.

DONE at Ntali's this 29th day of August, 1894.

(Signed) G. Cunningham, Major.

Magota, his X mark.

Signed in the presence of—

Said Abd-el-Rahman, Mulazim.

I, THE UNDERSIGNED, do swear that I have truly and honestly interpreted the terms of the foregoing Agreement to the Contracting Parties, in the Mhuma language.

Witness to signatures:—

(Signed) Said Abd-el-Rahman, his X mark.

Mulazim."

Mbaguta though not more than thirty years old at the time, was made Ntare's Chief Minister about a year before the latter's death which took place late in 1896. The post carried with it the title of Enganzi, which was the equivalent of Katikiro in Buganda, and signified the brightest star nearest to the full moon. The Omugabe was thought of as the full moon, and was given the title of Rubambansi. As Enganzi he was not only chief adviser in all affairs of war and state, but the Omugabe relied on him as a leader in war and a personal friend in peace.

It was natural that this quick promotion of such a young man should cause a good deal of heart-burning and jealousy among the older favourites of the Omugabe, and it only needed the death of his master for this ill-will to show itself. Mbaguta tells us that one chief, Kyabatende, did his best to make trouble, but that Ntare deprived him of his land and property and gave them to Mbaguta instead.

The last year of Ntare's reign was a troublous one. The Banyaruanda, who scarcely ever fought in Ankole, raided this year right up to the Ruampara and Ishingiro hills. Bagyendanwa, the royal drums of Ankole, were being constantly moved about in Ishingiro to avoid their falling into the hands of the raiders. Ntare fought with his usual valour, but before peace returned to the land he became a victim of that dread scourge of Africa, smallpox, which had been rampant in Ankole since 1890, and died at Nyakokoni.

Mbaguta, who had been successful in helping to drive back the Banyaruanda, brought the body to Katebe, where the Omugabe's kraal was situated, and guarded it, while the wives and women of Ntare strangled themselves in accordance with the usual custom at the death of the Omugabe. He afterwards buried the body at Kaigoshora, nearby. Various reasons are given as to why Ntare was not buried with the customary ceremony in the sacred and royal forests at Isanzhe on the south edge of Lake Nakivali, in Bukanga, where the tombs of his ancestors are situated. One of these is that he died without leaving a son to succeed him; another that he died of smallpox, but undoubtedly the real reason is the third, that the Banyaruanda had overrun the south and it would have been impossible for the usual slow ceremonies of embalming the body and waiting for several weeks while it disintegrated to have been carried out in the disturbed state of the country at the time.

After he had buried his Omugabe, Mbaguta proceeded at once to Kabula, where he drove out Kyabatende and there remained for upwards of six months. Not being of the royal clan of the Bahinda he was better out of the way while the Bahinda decided among themselves as to the succession. This unfortunately was not so easy. As was customary among African princes, and was not unknown in the history of European countries, the death of the potentate was the signal for the beginning of a scramble for the throne. Ntare himself, it will be remembered, had only gained the throne after much bloodshed and the death of his own brother. In this case there was no obvious claimant.

Kahitsi, a brother of Ntare, assumed the authority of Omugabe for a time and seized all his cattle, but various important Bahinda also laid claim to the title. It was always thought that Ntare died without leaving a son. Mbaguta, however, knew the facts of the case and stated that when Ntare went to fight the Banyaruanda in one of his wars he sent his wife, who was pregnant, to live in the kraal of his nephew Igumira, where she in time bore a son Kahaya. It was said that he was Igumira's son, but Mbaguta was determined that he should succeed his father as the rightful heir. Kahitsi and Igumira had always been rivals of Mbaguta for the royal favour and were jealous of the young Enganzi; they therefore put up the boy Rwakatogoro, the son of Nkuranga who had been put to death by his brother Ntare, to be Omugabe. Kahitsi always imagined that Mbaguta was present when Nkuranga was killed, thus increasing the enmity between them. In addition Kahitsi thought, no doubt, that he would become Nganzi under Rwakatogoro.

When Mbaguta saw these various rival parties arising all over Ankole, each sparring among themselves, it was clear to him that he would not be able to advance his candidate without outside help. As so often happened in the past history of these lacustrine Bantu kingdoms in times of dynastic trouble, help was sought in a neighbouring kingdom. Kahitsi was sent to Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and informed him of events in Ankole, stating

that Rwakatogoro was the obvious heir to the Omugabe. Mwanga therefore made arrangements to send Katabalwa from Buddu to be his representative at Rwakatogoro's enthronement.

Mbaguta, seeing no time was to be lost, hastened with a Muganda friend, Semukuto Masimbi, from Kabula to Mengo to plead for help. Having been introduced by the Queen Mother they were taken before Mwanga, who asked what the exact position was in Ankole, as he had heard so many rumours about the many rival claimants for the throne. Mbaguta therefore told him that there was no Omugabe at the moment, but that there was a young prince who had been born in Igumira's kraal, whose mother had gone there when she was pregnant and that Ntare knew well before his death that the boy was his son.

Mwanga, on hearing this, asked Mbaguta why he did not seize the kingdom himself. To which the latter replied, "Sirs, I am not a Muhinda to put myself in control of the sacred drum Bagyendanwa of Ankole; had it been our tribal sacred drum, Murorwa of Mpororo, which was abolished and hidden under the ground, when it was left behind and my family was forced to run away and escape from Mpororo into Ankole for ever, I should have agreed to your suggestion".

Mwanga therefore gave him three hundred armed men under Masimbi to help him put Kahaya on the throne. On their return to Ankole with this small army at his back Mbaguta enthroned Kahaya, who was a boy of about sixteen, as Omugabe, with himself as Enganzi. Most people recognised him as the rightful heir, but Kahitsi and Igumira were not disposed to accept him and were in a state of rebellion causing much trouble and not a little fighting⁽¹⁰⁾.

The threads of the history of this period are difficult to disentangle. In July 1897 Mwanga rebelled against the British Government and fled from Mengo to Buddu, where his army was defeated. Mwanga then escaped to German territory where he was kept under guard at Mwanza, leaving his army leader Mujassi Gabrielli to carry on guerilla warfare and harass the Government troops on the borders of Ankole. Eastern Ankole was used as a retreat for malcontents and sympathisers with Mwanga. During this time it would appear that Mbaguta was not so single minded in his sympathy for the British Government as he would have us believe after a space of forty years. When Mwanga was defeated at Nyendo in Buddu on 23rd August 1897 we find Mr. Grant informing Mr. Wilson that Gabriel had collected two thousand guns and was assisted by three hundred men from Ankole under "Vagooto" (Mbaguta)⁽¹¹⁾. These would be the three hundred Abagonya mentioned above. All Baganda malcontents joined this little

⁽¹⁰⁾ If we turn to Parliamentary Papers of the period we find that George Wilson, writing from Kampala, on 5th October 1897 states that he on several occasions got into touch with "the young King Kawera and his two advisers". He continues, "of the two Regents, one Kaish, is reputedly sympathetic with the Administration; the other, Gomira, is a very powerful Chief of the old savage class, disinclined to receive any innovations from outside. Both are relatives of Ntale, the late King of Ankole".

It is significant that no mention is made of Mbaguta as being adviser of Kawera (Kahaya), but only of Kaish (Kahitsi) who appears to be reconciled to Kahaya's rule and of Gomira (Igumira), the irreconcilable. This would bear out Mbaguta's word and implies that he was not in complete authority, and saw little prospect by himself against such stout protagonists. He was evidently looked on as an outsider by the Bahinda princes.

⁽¹¹⁾ Parliamentary Papers Inclosure 3 in No. 16 of 1897.

group and under the leadership of the outlaw Gabriel became a thorn in the side of the Administration long after Mwanga had ceased to count. Frequent reference is made to the Futabangi in official correspondence at this time. These were the same as the Abagonya, and were so-called because of their propensity for bhang smoking. How far Mbaguta associated himself with Mwanga's cause it is difficult to discover. He had been in touch with Mwanga before, and had got Kahaya recognised as Omugabe, but he had much difficulty yet to contend with before he could supersede his rivals at court. Wilson does not appear to have appreciated the domestic difficulties of Ankole. He states that Kauzi was sent by the Omugabe to capture Gabriel, and later he states that Mwanga had been shewing active preference for an unpopular pretender in Ankole. These statements are difficult to reconcile with known facts, unless it was that Mbaguta did not have the authority at this time he would have us believe.

Certain it is that after Mwanga had escaped from Mwanza he proceeded to Ankole and tried to effect a union with Kabarega in Bunyoro to the north. Grant was given authority to enter Ankole for any necessary operations against Mwanga's forces, and messengers were sent by Wilson to the Omugabe pointing out the consequences if he continued to harbour and ally himself to the enemies of the British. It was pointed out that if Grant entered Ankole it would not be with the idea of occupying it or conquering it, but to carry out military operations which might involve Ankole itself.

One of Kahaya's envoys was detained by Wilson to impress him with the strength of the British authority in Uganda, and ultimately professions of loyalty were received from Ankole which, out of deference to Mwanga's superior force, preferred to remain neutral until called on to co-operate. Whether Mbaguta fought with Mwanga, it is difficult to say. He himself, however, admits that he undertook to conduct Mwanga to the borders of Toro where Mwanga fought against his enemies⁽¹²⁾ and ultimately slipped through and effected a junction with Kabarega.

Mwanga, a fugitive from Buganda, could not longer give moral or physical help to straighten out the affairs of Ankole. There seemed little chance of having peace and a strong government to put down the warring factions within, unless outside help was obtained. Mbaguta was sufficiently shrewd to see that the British Government not only were in complete authority in Buganda, but were strong enough to back their will with deeds in Ankole. If they could be induced to come and take control of Ankole, Kahaya would be firmly established on his throne and the dissensions which were ruining the country could be brought to a close, while Mbaguta himself could retain his office of Enganzi and would be the power behind the throne without a rival. He therefore sent to Buganda to Apolo Kagwa, the Katikiro, who had been fighting Mwanga and Gabrieli in Buddu and Kabula.

Soon after, in 1898, the first administrative officer, Mr. R. L. D. Mac-Allister, was sent up to take charge of the country.

The first station was made at Mbarara on a site overlooking the Ruizi river. The Rurembo or headquarters of the Omugabe were established at Kamukuzi, a couple of miles away, where Mbaguta also built his house.

⁽¹²⁾ Mbaguta gives the route as Lugaga, Kigarama, Biharwe, Sanga and Mawogola. We know, however, that Mwanga was hovering about in Ankole a good deal and was at one time much further west.

A year later Bishop Tucker tells us⁽¹³⁾; "Mbaguta, the Katikiro, is a 'Progressive', and his house and its surroundings were after the Uganda pattern. The King's enclosure was simply a huge cattle kraal, with filth within and without".

Mbaguta never failed to shew his progressiveness and his loyalty to the British Government. He was instrumental in establishing the banana plantations round Mbarara in order to feed the Buganda agents and helpers who came with the British. These plantations are now a feature of the countryside.

The early days of the British Administration in Ankole were in difficult and troublesome times. The Omugabe Ntare had been undisputed ruler of the eastern marches, which were Ankole proper. The semi-independent countries of Igara and Buhwezhu were vassal states who paid tribute and partial allegiance to Ntare, but were not disposed to do so to a new Omugabe. The southern border was undefined, neither Britain nor Germany feeling inclined to bring to heel the truculent leaders in the no-man's land.

The western boundary with the Belgian Congo was in dispute, there being a difference of opinion as to whether the 30th meridian ran to the west of Katwe in Busongora or to the east of Lake Edward on the borders of Igara. There was constant friction in the north between the people of Toro and of Mitoma; Ankole was shorn of its county of Kabula which was handed over to Buganda by the Uganda Agreement.

In 1900 Mr. R. R. Racey relieved Mr. MacAllister and, after the Uganda Agreement had been signed in Buganda, Sir Harry Johnston visited Ankole. He, Racey and Mbaguta proceeded to Igara with a view to inducing the chiefs to consent to be included in Ankole under the suzerainty of Kahaya. They were only partially successful. In 1901, however, Mbaguta and Racey were again in Igara, where they escaped being ambushed by the ruler Msinga, who was then ordered to come and pay his allegiance to the Omugabe in Mbarara. After making one more effort to kill the Government party he defeated their purpose by slaying himself. Msinga's son succeeded him and when the Ankole Agreement was signed in August, he was one of the signatories.

Mbaguta accompanied Racey at about this time to Buhwezhu, where they went for a similar purpose; for Ndagara⁽¹⁴⁾ the Mukama, who had undoubtedly at one time paid allegiance to Ntare was now no longer willing to do so to Kahaya. Ndagara was defeated and slain in a skirmish and his young son left to rule the country. The royal stool which was covered with charms and considered full of magic was taken and burnt on the way back to Mbarara.

Whenever there was trouble Mbaguta was either sent alone, or accompanied the Collector, to aid in quelling it.

In 1901 after an agreement had been made with Toro the Ankole chiefs heard of it and asked if the British Government would make a similar one with them. Mbaguta was of course one of the signatories of this latter Agreement. When in 1906 Mr. Galt was murdered in northern Ankole the

⁽¹³⁾ In his book *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The Bakama of Buhwezhu at one time got their authority direct from the Mukama of Bunyoro, but in recent years the Omugabe of Ankole became their overlord. It is related that once Ntare sent a packet of cowdung to Buhwezhu to show what he thought of his vassal state.

Agreement was suspended for a time. 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 opprobrium of the Government with the rest of the Ankole chiefs and suffered with them.

When the war against Germany broke out in 1914 Mbaguta was given a commission with the rank of Lieutenant and Ankole became a war zone. He was responsible for making arrangements for herding the captured enemy cattle; seven thousand in all passed through his hands. He also undertook to feed five hundred refugees. For his services he was awarded a present of five hundred and twenty head of cattle and received the M.B.E.

With ordered government more firmly established the last thirty years of his life were not so eventful. Never was a more apt description of character made than Bishop Tucker's appraisal of him as being a progressive. This could be applied to everything he did. He was always enthusiastic in putting to the test every new suggestion of the British Administration. He encouraged the growing of cotton, coffee, and other economic crops and was the first to carry out such suggestions on his own land. Such a man of vision and acumen one would expect to be among the first to be converted to Christianity, but it was not without a great struggle that Mbaguta and Kahaya were persuaded to help those who first came into the country to teach the new religion⁽¹⁵⁾.

In later years he delighted in helping to provide land and labour or money for the erection of churches and schools. He quickly realised what education meant to his country. Many are the chiefs and men in prominent posts today who can look back with gratitude to Mbaguta for their schooling, which would not have taken place but for his generosity and foresight.

A man of Mbaguta's forceful character impressed himself on all who met him. It could not be otherwise. Major Jack of the Anglo-Belgian-German Boundary Commission wrote in 1907 of him: "His (the Omugabe's) chief assistant, or Katikiro, to give him his proper title, is Mbaguta, a pure-blooded Muhima of considerable ability and a very powerful chief"⁽¹⁶⁾. He not unnaturally completely eclipsed the Omugabe Kahaya. Mbaguta, the king-maker, outlived all his savage contemporaries, and it was inevitable that one should look to and appeal to him on all matters connected with the customs and traditional law of the Banyankole. It was to be expected therefore that a certain amount of friction would develop between Mbaguta and Kahaya as years went by, which, though often quiescent, broke out from time to time. Any wounds inflicted were healed for a time when one of Mbaguta's sons married Kahaya's daughter.

Perhaps Mbaguta will be best remembered by the casual visitor to Ankole for his generosity in bestowing gifts of local work on those he met. He kept his own craftsmen who turned out every type of traditional wood, basket, bead or iron work, and he took a never failing delight in publicising their skill to visitors. This form of generosity was remarked on by Sir Frederick Jackson. Speaking of him in his "Early Days in East Africa" he writes: "Baguta's generosity, though lavish in the food line, appealed to me the more as he loaded us up with 'curios' of the finest workmanship There are

⁽¹⁵⁾ An interesting account of Bishop Tucker's first meeting with Kahaya and his advisers including Mbaguta, is given in his *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, pp. 275-8.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *On the Congo Frontier* - Jack.

many who maintain that in the black man there is no real feeling of affection or great personal regard for the white man, and they stress the fact that in most native languages there is no word for gratitude. That may be so, but it is all nonsense to assert or even to suggest that they have no way of shewing it"⁽¹⁷⁾. Those of us who knew Mbaguta in later days know how true these words are.

Mbaguta's Christian name was well chosen - Nuwa - the African equivalent of Noah. He certainly was a patriarch and father of his race.

Like many old men of his calibre he tended to think that the country could not get on without him and was loath to retire. Perhaps he was right as his wise counsel was invaluable to old and young alike. Nevertheless he was happy in his retirement and with a true Muhima's instinct went to live in the neighbourhood of his herds which he loved.

With his death on August 11th 1944 the people of Ankole lost a wise counsellor, the Government a loyal servant, and all who knew him well, a friend.

(17) *Early Days in East Africa* - Jackson, p. 387.

THE RULE OF THE KINGS OF BUGANDA

By HAM MUKASA

I

The Kabaka (King) had three principal names:—

Kabaka, meaning the person who is the best at catching things. He knows everything best of all.

Sabasaja which means the best and strongest of all men in everything.

Sabalongo which means the father of all. Salongo is the father of twins, but Sabalongo is the father of many twins.

Besides the above names, the Kabaka was nicknamed many names to suit the occasion. Some names were given to him in gratitude of what he had given to his people; such as chieftainships and many other things. A guilty person on being forgiven to undergo his punishment would address the Kabaka by a different name, etc. But these names had evil results. They induced the Kabaka to regard himself as superhuman and not one of the other people; in fact he thought he was a god. He was no different from Hitler. The following are among the worst:—

“*Magulu-nyondo-nantalinya-ku-Katebe*”, which means you are so heavy that when you tread on anything it crushes, just as the blacksmith's hammer crushes iron.

“*Mufumbyaganda-nantabalira-basenya*”, which means that he is like a cook who has plenty of firewood; he uses it as extravagantly as he wishes without caring for those whose job it is to bring firewood. In the same way the Kabaka can kill any people as he wishes, without mercy to the parents.

“*Bukajumbe-anabusereka-akera*”. If you want to use old grass that has been used on another house (*bukajumbe*) for thatch, you do it early in the morning, because old grass is full of dirt, and if you use it during the hot part of the day, the dirt infects you with a cold. In the same way those who have particular pieces of work for the Kabaka must do them early in the morning otherwise they are killed by him.

“*Semanda-agamenya-embazi-n'okuyunga*”. The blacksmith's charcoal has the power to smelt iron, and also it helps to shape iron into shape. The Kabaka, in the same way, has the power to kill and the power to save life.

“*Kyukyu-olusubi-olusaja-nantasimbwa-muge*”. *Kyukyu* is a particular kind of grass, which pricks (burns) people. In the olden days warriors made grass ribbons round their heads, but no warrior could use *Kyukyu* for a ribbon. The Kabaka is like *kyukyu*, no one can be on intimate terms with him.

“*Ma'nyonku-zisa-busolo*”. One with big, long teeth that do eat all the animals in the neighbourhood. The Kabaka was like that; he had the power to destroy the life of anyone he wished.

“*Segulu-ligamba-enjuba-tegana-munyazi*”. The power of the Kabaka is like that of heaven. The sun is one of the heavenly bodies; its light helps both the good and the evil doers, whereas heaven hates evildoing.

But time comes when the evil are punished. The Kabaka may treat the bad with equal respect as the good, but time comes and he punishes the bad.

"*Namunswa-alya-ku-nswa-ze*". *Namunswa* is the queen of the white ants. As such she has the power to eat whichever ants she wants. The Kabaka in the same way has the power to kill anybody he wants.

"*Nabe-fulula-biswa*". *Nabe* is a small insect of the ants class. When it enters white anthills all the ants migrate from them. The Kabaka has the same power over nations. The rulers of all the nations which he enters give way to him.

"*Segwanga*". A cock. He is the cock of the human Society.

He had many other names which room does not allow one to cite all.

II

The Kabaka had absolute power although he had the Parliament. Yet cases were settled by the Katikiro (Prime Minister) and sometimes by a committee of senior chiefs, and it was very difficult to make an appeal to the Kabaka unless the appellant had someone of great influence to help him to do it, and in appealing one had to say something like this: "I am not satisfied with the arbitration of this case; I appeal to the Kiwu". The Kiwu was the seat of the Kabaka in the Parliament as distinct from the seats of the chiefs. If by any good luck the appellant won, the other people said that he had *Omujunga*, meaning that the person who helped him was so important that he was one of those who had the red fez (*Omujunga* is the black soft cotton ornament on top of the fez) for if your friend were not a man of great influence at the court you were almost sure to lose the case every time. There was a great deal of bribery, only good Katikiros did not accept bribes.

III

The Kabaka had a system of tax, and the following were the chief taxes:—

(1) the seed tax, (2) the new hoe tax, (3) the old hoe tax, (4) the barkcloth tax, (5) the salt tax, (6) the white ants tax, (7) the sim-sim tax, (8) the tax of beads, (9) the fish tax, (10) the tax of widows, (11) the tax of old men who kept the gardens of the Kabaka's wives, (12) the tax of lady singers, (13) the tax of those who did not go to war, (14) the cattle tax, (15) the goats tax, (16) the porters tax, (17) the tax of basket-makers, (18) the hoes handle tax, (19) the tax of young girls, etc. The Katikiro was also the treasurer of the Kabaka. It was during the reign of *Sekabaka Suna* that the treasury was removed from the hands of the Katikiro and had a separate office, because the Katikiro, then *Kaira*, was too extravagant, and the new treasurer was called *Musunku*. But this taught *Kaira* a lesson and he gave up drinking altogether and he became a different man in every way. That is why he helped young *Mukabya Walugembe* afterwards *Mutesa*, to become a good ruler in the end. *Mutesa* started as a reckless young king given to drink and very fond of killing his people. But *Kaira* did not rest in remonstrating him and showing him the evils of drinking. Afterwards he changed and gave up drinking and stopped killing people. That is why we find his name changed from *Mukabya* (one who makes people wail) to *Mutesa* (the peacemaker).

IV

The Kabakas waged wars against the surrounding kingdoms. And this is how the Kabaka set about it, if he himself was not going to lead the armies. He consulted the Katikiro and the following chiefs, Kibale, Kimbugwe and Kago, and asked them who, in their opinion, was the man to be selected as the leader of the army. And the conditions of the suitable General were: if he was brave and hard-working, a chief who looked after his area well, and was not a drunkard.

The following were the kingdoms against which the Kabakas frequently went to war: Bunyoro, Busoga, Kiziba, Nkole, Koki, Toro, Karagwe, Buzinja, Jangiro, Ruanda, Mpororo, Kiyanja, Bululi, Bugerere, Bukedi and the islands in the lake such as Buvuma, etc. But for a long time the Kabakas failed to conquer Buvuma, for the Bavuma were very clever in sea warfare. In fact, the Baganda feared to fight them on the sea, just as in Europe all nations fear to fight a sea battle against the British. They fought with stones thrown from a sling, and they had an ingenuity of approaching the enemy boats, and some of them disembarked with huge knives in their hands and went under water and cut the bottom of the enemy's boat, and the boats sunk just as a torpedoed ship does. Again they were very strong boatmen and the Baganda and the Basese were not a match for them. That is why they could not conquer them.

If the Kabaka himself led the army, the Kibale acted in his place for looking after the welfare of the Kingdom. When he was coming back from the field of battle, Kibale was the man to whom he sent first, when he was still a day's journey away from the capital. He used to send to him in these terms, "Go and tell the Kibale that Sabasaja, the warrior, will arrive tomorrow at such and such a time". Then when the Kibale heard the drums of the Kabaka some four or five miles off the capital, he went to the main gate of the King's enclosure, just outside in the Mbuga, and waited there for the arrival of the Kabaka. When the Kabaka came near where Kibale was, the carriers put him down, and chief Mukwenda gave him a shield and two spears and he paid allegiance to the Kibale saying, "I have come back from the field of battle, and I conquered the nation that I fought, and that is why I am holding my shield and my spears so that you may understand how brave I am". Then the Kibale congratulated him saying, "Well done, my Lord; now I understand that you will conquer all nations. Come in your palace in triumph. Buganda is peaceful". After saying that Kibale went aside and introduced the Kabaka's chief wife, who holding a vessel full of water and kneeling said, "Oh! Salongo, the conqueror of all nations, drink this water so that you may quench your thirst and restore your energy. I know you will conquer the other nations as well". Then all the wives gave a volley of cheers by shouting aloud together and then the chief drums: Mujaguzo, Kawulugumo, Basege, Nyenya, Endoda, Njagala, Kwetika and many others, about a hundred and twenty in all, were sounded together with the bugles. After that each regiment would sing a song, and then the Kabaka entered the Lubiri while Entamivu and Entenga (Kings of drums) sounded. In the morning the Queen-mother came to congratulate the Kabaka and brought all kinds of eatables and drinks called "Ebi'nono'go". Ebi'nono'go was supposed to be the best kind of food cooked only by the queen mother. And that was the end of the war.

V

The *Namasole* (Queen-mother) had great influence in matters of state, for in Buganda she is regarded as the second King, and the respect given to her is equal to that of the Kabaka. If anything went wrong at *Lusaka* (the palace of *Namasole*) the chiefs responsible for that place were very heavily dealt with, and their goods plundered. But they were clever and hid their most valuable properties in the *Namasole's* palace where they were safe, for it was regarded a taboo, in Buganda, for anybody to go and plunder the palace of the *Namasole*. Anybody who fell in this fault was charged for the fault of putting the mother of the Kabaka to shame. All the Kabakas from a long time ago respected this tradition. On the other hand, if the *Namasole* vexed the Kabaka, the Kabaka would order to plunder all the property that belonged to the servants of the *Namasole*.

Namasole had two other names, namely: *Nabijano* and *Kanywabibumbwa*. She got also the name of *Nabijano* for three reasons:—

- (1) She had been the wife of the Kabaka;
- (2) She was the mother of the Kabaka;
- (3) She must have been a very careful woman to be able to bear the Kabaka;

and when you take these three things together they are great wonders (*Bijano*), and in the Luganda language if one sees something extra beautiful he exclaims, "Jano"!

VI

In the royal family, next to *Namasole* in importance, was *Nalinya*. *Nalinya* is the sister of the Kabaka with whom he succeeds to the throne. She is the third Kabaka in the Kingdom. But her proper name was *Lubuga*, which means one who is excited for joy; she was excited by the thought of succeeding her father.

Nalinya which means "I will climb", is a nickname which was given to her in this way. In the former days there was a dispute that if a woman climbed a house which was building, that house would not last for a long time. One day this dispute was raised at the Court and the Kabaka wanted to try it and see, but women were afraid to try, the *Lubuga* said that she would climb the house and see if it would not last long. She did so. The house was finished and they waited for about ten years, and the house was still as good as any other. At the end of that period the Kabaka invited his chiefs to court and told them how those who alleged that the house could not last had lost, because the house was still standing. And he said to his sister, "Because you were so brave in saying 'I will climb it', when all the other women were afraid, your name shall be 'Nalinya' from now henceforward".

Nalinya had a palace of her own, and the Kabaka gave her a chief called *Sebugulu* to look after her palace. *Sebugulu's* enclosure was near the *Nalinya's* palace. *Sebugulu* spent all day in that palace, and it was he who settled cases in that palace, and he was regarded as the *Katikiro* of *Nalinya*. At night before he left he had to see that all the gates were well kept, and if anything went wrong in the palace the gate-keeper who was negligent of his duty was sentenced either to death or to the extraction of his eyes. If the Kabaka saw that the *Nalinya's* palace was not well looked after, he would choose some of his own pages, preferably the best among them, to go and

look after the Nalinya. In fact, Mutesa chose the late Staneslas Mugwanya to go to his Nalinya's palace. My father told me that when Stanley arrived, Mugwanya had been at Nalinya's for about one year.

The palace of Nalinya of Mutesa comprised about forty-five houses, and there were about three hundred and fifty maid-servants.

The idea, in looking after the Nalinya in this way, which was not applied to other princesses, was to try to keep her chaste. It was Sekabaka Mwanga who abolished this custom. He asked Rev. Father Lourdel whether it was good to keep the Nalinya in that way, and the Rev. Father said that it was not a Christian thing to enforce any person to be celibate. One must choose for oneself. If one chose marriage let him or her marry. Therefore Mwanga allowed his Nalinya to get married, and he gathered all the princesses and told them how he had abolished the custom of enforced celibacy to the Nalinyas. In this way they were set free, and his aunt, the Nalinya of Mutesa, who was between sixty and seventy years, got married to a young man.

VII

The Lubiri, which means palace of the Kabaka, was a place of great respect and the people who inhabited it, men or women, were carefully selected by the most important chiefs from among the best products of the land, preferably the sons and the daughters of the chiefs. Special care was taken to know the clan and family of the candidate. Also the different offices of the Lubiri were carefully filled with people of approved ability and character. The following were the officers in the Lubiri:

(1) *Sabakaki* - He took charge of all the Kabaka's pages.

(2) *Mulamba* - He was the head of the gate-keepers, both the inner and outer gate-keepers.

(3) *Musalosalo* - This office was a new invention of Sekabaka Mutesa. The former Kabakas had it not. Musalosalosalo looked after all the slave-pages, who were captured in fighting. At first they were so many that there were not enough houses for them and they had to sleep in trenches (nsalosalosalo), hence the name of the officer who looked after them, Musalosalosalo.

(4) *Muwanika* and his assistants - The meaning of Omuwanika is one who puts things up (awanika), for they made tall shelves on which they kept the treasure of the Kabaka.

(5) *Kalindaluzzi* - He looked after the drinking water of the Kabaka.

(6) *Omusenero* - His work was to look after the beer of the Kabaka.

(7) *Omufumbiro* - Who cooked the food of the Kabaka.

(8) *Omutebe* - On whom fell the duty of looking after the chairs.

If any officer was found in another man's office, he was very strictly punished, and he might lose his life for that.

But when the Kabaka made friends with corrupt chiefs and young drunkards and opium-smokers, the Lubiri lost much of its dignity, and these high offices came to mean very little. People went and lived in the Lubiri as they liked, without the careful selection that was the custom of his predecessors. The result was a general deterioration of the Lubiri. The chiefs were too weak to show the Kabaka his mistake, because they feared that if they did so they would be expelled from their chieftainships. Those who were brave and dared to try to correct him were very much hated by him

and by the other chiefs as well as by the reprobate young men. He very often wanted to expel them but feared the British Government. For a long time he wanted to expel Sir Apolo Kagwa, and appoint a chief who would side with him in everything, but every time he failed to find convincing reasons.

VIII

No paper about the rule of the Kings of Buganda would be complete without devoting a complete paragraph to Sekabaka Mutesa I, the founder of modern Buganda.

Mutesa, as we have seen, started as a very bad ruler, and his first name, Mukabya, signifies how badly hated he was. But his Katikiro Kaira, himself a reformed man, realised the grave responsibility of such a rule of harsh punishments and reckless living, and he was instrumental in reforming the young Kabaka. One day Mutesa paid a visit to Kaira, and they talked about many things that were not good to do in a Kingdom, and they discussed what a peaceful Kingdom would be like. During the course of their conversation, Mukabya suddenly remarked, "And my name Mukabya strikes terror among my people. I will henceforward be called Mutesa, the peacemaker". From that day onwards, he was known as Mutesa and his conduct changed to suit the name.

This great change coincided with the coming of the first Europeans. He was now very desirous to learn everything about his Kingdom and about other countries. He invited the Arabs to his court and asked them many questions concerning other countries. He learnt a great deal from them, especially as regards their religion. His three principal Arab teachers were Abdulla Harkim, Medi bin Ibrahim and Idi. He became versed in the Koran.

When Speke came he was subjected to the same rigour of questioning, but the story of Speke and Stanley at the Court of Mutesa is well-known. The important thing to note here is that their coming had a far-reaching influence on him. He, as it were, saw light in darkness. He became a different man altogether and he made reforms in his rule so that the new light might reach his subjects not only in words but also in deeds.

Among the reforms he made, the chief ones were:—

(1) He realised the evils of war and gave up waging war against other Kingdoms, and he taught his subjects thus. He also taught the neighbouring countries that war was an evil thing. He made friends with those nations which once had been his enemies, and he persuaded them to agree that none of them would aggress another nation and compel it to fight. He also avowed that if any nation violated this agreement, he would combine with the aggressed state to fight the aggressor. He fulfilled this obligation, when the Abakedi attacked the Abadama, and he sent an army to help the Badama (he died while this war was still in progress).

(2) He taught his men that it was wrong to kill people in the way people were killed in Buganda.

(3) He gave up the trade in slaves and prohibited his men never to sell human beings as if they were animals.

(4) He taught his chiefs to clean their bodies and their homes by washing and using clean clothes and clean barkclothes.

(5) He taught chiefs to be truthful and to stop slandering other people for he realised that he had killed too many chiefs for nothing, simply because

they were falsely reported to him. He discovered that many reports were due to jealousy. He found that every chief that was doing good work was the victim of a bad report from the other chiefs. Therefore he prohibited reporting to him.

(6) He prohibited drunkenness, first among the chiefs, and then through the chiefs, he extended it to the peasants. It was rare at that time to find people drunk, and if a chief was known to be drunk, he would at once be expelled, for he said, a chief who gets drunk cannot settle the cases of my people. He based his precepts upon the teachings of both religions: Christianity and Islam.

(7) He abolished the system of plundering the men on the Namasole's land on being vexed by her. He learnt this from both the Arabs and Europeans. In conversations with them he discovered that they respected their mothers a great deal, and he realised how wicked he was to treat his own mother with so much rudeness. He called his Katikiro and told him that no more plunder of the property of the men of the Namasole was any longer permissible. If anything went wrong in her palace, there was no reason why he should interfere with violence.

(8) Above all he abolished the heathen religion and introduced Christianity.

He was a seeker after truth, and I am sure he arrived at it, although many things and many people pulled in the opposite direction. It was because of this that he received Europeans so cordially. He and his late Katikiro, Mukasa, in the late years of his reign, were of one mind in trying to make the stay of Europeans a favourable one. (Mukasa was buried near Mutesa's tomb at Kasubi, just in front of the Kasubi palace. Here I would put in a humble request that the Buganda Government ought to do something to the tomb of this man who was one of the strongest instruments to bind together the friendship between the white men and the black men).

This is what I have been able to write but there is much else I would very much like to add, had room permitted. I learnt most of these things from my father, and others I saw with my own eyes. In conclusion I must say this, that although much of it appears as fables and mere stories, and we are not sure whether all of it is true, yet it is worth learning, for in all countries things of this kind do happen; each one is free to choose what one must believe and what one must leave out. Only the officials of this great Empire must scrutinize such things very carefully, lest they are misled by irresponsible people, who do not care a whit as to the things that do matter in the development of nations. I refer to the kind of people who will simply stick to the so-called customs of the good old days, whose day has gone and whose place better things have taken. Many of the old customs were repressive of individual freedom, and to try to revert to them, after the advent of Christianity and the Union Jack, is to lose sight of the meaning of the principles of Christianity and of the British Empire. Wherever Christianity has reached freedom has sprung up, and it is upon the same spirit that the British Empire is built. The Hindus in India had a custom of killing the wives at the death of their husbands so that the wives might not marry again (Suttee). This was a purely selfish custom. The British Government could not tolerate it, and so they abolished it. To quote from Katherine Mayo's book "Mother India", "Although demanded in the Scriptures already quoted,

the practice of burning the widow upon the husband's funeral pyre is today unlawful. But it must be noted that this change represents an exceptional episode; it represents not a natural advance of public opinion, but one of the rare incursions of the British strong hand into the field of native religion".

Again the Zulu, a fine race of tall and strong people, had a custom whereby any child that was born a cripple was killed. They called this purification of their race, being proud of their bodies. And their King used to kill people as he wished. But when their country became part of the British Empire such customs were abolished.

I have chosen these two examples out of countless others to show how the British Empire has helped backward races to the enlightenment of freedom for all. And in such a venture thousands of her sons have lost their lives so that other people may live fuller lives. Has this blood been shed for nothing? I fear some rulers can forget the true spirit of the British Empire and revert to something that is not its own. Luckily when such a case reaches the home seat of this great Empire, it is redressed. And in such justice is the hope of all backward races.

EXTRACTS FROM "MENGO NOTES" - II

(9)

THE CHIEF GABULA

"The chief Gabula⁽¹⁾ has turned against Christianity, burnt down the church and teachers' house which he had built, and is now doing all in his power to turn out the teachers and suppress Christianity. The chief of his soldiers (Mujasi) is an earnest Christian and perseveres in spite of the enmity of Gabula and is doing all he can to help his fellow Christians in their trouble". (*Mengo Notes*, May 1900, p. 4).

"Some time ago we mentioned that the chief Gabula (Gabula is the title connected with the chieftainship) was giving a great deal of trouble, and amongst other misdeeds had burnt down the church and evicted a number of his people who were readers. The Government Officer in charge of the district insisted on his reinstating all these people in their gardens, and sent a native mubaka to see that this was done. Gabula refused to acknowledge this messenger's authority; kicked him and, ordering some of his party to be beaten, deprived him of his belongings. The Rev. H. W. Weatherhead had proceeded to the neighbourhood on hearing of the disturbances with the readers; and the Government Officer, fearing the trouble was a serious one, insisted on sending a guard of Soudanese soldiers with him. On the ill-treated messenger returning to headquarters with his story, Captain Fowler sent him back with two soldiers, this time to order Gabula to appear at once at the Fort. He answered the summons, and was fined thirty guns, and ordered once more to put back all the evicted readers and restore all their possessions. Of course he promised, but returning home did nothing of the kind, in fact, after the mubaka had told them to return to their gardens, Gabula again turned them out with a good deal of noise and fighting, in which one man was killed.

Mr. Weatherhead at once communicated with Captain Fowler; and Gabula, seeing the letter sent off, began to make a show of repentance, and agreed to palaver with the evicted readers, the mubaka to act as judge; Mr. Weatherhead writing down all the decisions. Meanwhile Gabula himself got a letter written by a renegade Muganda, containing false charges against the people he had evicted, and sent this to the Fort; and on receiving these letters Captain Fowler himself decided to go to the scene of the disturbances.

Gabula heard of this and promptly sent off his wives, all his goods, and his cattle, he himself not going very far, and giving out that he had taken men to cut poles to build a new church, in place of the one he had burnt down.

From various sources Mr. Weatherhead got wind that the old rascal himself intended to run away, and to prevent this put a guard of Nubian soldiers over him and his uncle, to compel them to await Captain Fowler's arrival. Gabula was apparently under the power of the old uncle to a great extent. On his arrival Captain Fowler tried the offender and fined him sixty head of cattle and sixty guns on pain of being deposed, if not produced in three days. The cattle he brought, but the guns he could not without collecting

(¹) For further information concerning this chief, see *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 4, p. 195. - Ed.

them from his people, who refused to give them up to redeem him, as they had for some time wished to see him turned out. Failing to comply with the conditions, the offending chief was deposed, and a young half-brother appointed in his stead. As the brother is only ten years of age, three Regents have been appointed to manage the important district for him for the time being." (*Mengo Notes*, September 1900, p. 18).

(10)

NEW GOVERNMENT STATIONS

"Government stations have been established at Mruli, Fajawo, Foweira, Dufile, and Fort Berkeley (not far from Lado). We hear that the Uganda Administration has entered into a contract with the Indian trader Alidina Visram to open stores at all these places, as well as at Masindi. He is to supply cloth, wire, and beads for paying the troops, and will no doubt do a good business besides." (*Mengo Notes*, June 1900, p. 8).

(11)

GALIKUWA WAMPAMBA

"Uganda is gradually being relieved of the disturbers of her peace. Early in June, Galikuwa Wampamba, a noted rebel, was killed. He has for years been a noted character as a robber and a murderer. Some five years ago he was made prisoner, and chained up in the jail at Kampala.

The story runs that he made his guards drunk, and escaped; taking with him a gun. When Mwanga was in Unyoro shortly before his capture, Galikuwa and his followers joined him, and was wounded during one of the fights in North Kyagwe. After Mwanga's capture he went off to the forest district known as the Mabira, and though many efforts have been made to track him, he has hitherto managed to elude all would-be captors.

The other day, during a heavy storm, five men entered the hut of a peasant near Nakanyonyi to shelter from the rain. The owner of the hut, recognising one of them as Galikuwa, immediately went to Methusalah Mukabya with the news. Methusalah, who is one of our most earnest and zealous churchmen, at once despatched fifteen men, with guns, to bring in the rebel. Galikuwa admitted his identity, but refused to give himself up, or to come out of the hut. The men therefore fired through the grass walls, and the first volley killed two of his followers, and wounded the leader, and the other two got out and escaped. The soldiers then entered the hut, but Galikuwa showed fight, and to simplify matters they shot him through the head, cut it off and brought it in to the Katikiro, to show there was no mistake about the man. He never travelled with a large following, but was greatly feared for his methods of attacking caravans, digging into houses at night, and having few scruples about murdering anyone who offered resistance." (*Mengo Notes*, July 1900, p. 9).

(12)

KABAKA'S ACCESSION DAY, 1900

"For the first time in the history of Uganda the anniversary of the King's accession to the throne was celebrated by a formal service in church on August 14th by arrangement of Bishop Tucker and the Katikiro.

King Mwanga was not sufficiently fond of church to have any such service, but better things are expected of Daudi (David).

At 9 a.m. the king, carried on the shoulders of Namutwe, the chief to whose pleasant (?) lot this duty falls, reached the cathedral on Namirembe, together with the Queen Mother, carried by two men; the Queen Sister, also shoulder high; the Katikiro, on horseback; another Regent, the Rev. Zakariya Kizito; and a great following of chiefs of various ranks, with their retainers. The procession was a very imposing sight, and was headed by the usual drummers, native buglers and hornblowers. No one, unless dressed in white cloth, was allowed to join in it quietly. One man in bark-cloth tried to, but was at once turned out, and threatened with the loss of his clothes, and rough handling, if he persisted in attempting to slight his Majesty by following him in such a garb.

At the church gates the Bishop, supported by the Revs. J. Roscoe, E. Millar, Henry W. Duta, and seven other native clergymen, in their robes, awaited the arrival of and preceded the King into church. Mr. Hattersley presided at the harmonium, and on the approach of the Royal party played the National Anthem, and as they entered the church the hymn, "Onward Christian Soldiers" was sung by the assembled congregation as processional.

The service . . . was very impressive indeed, a short address being given by the Rev. J. Roscoe. The vast congregation almost quite filled the church, and everything passed off most successfully. The King made a special thank-offering of a tusk of ivory and ten thousand shells to the church." (*Mengo Notes*, September 1900, p. 17).

(13)

MAIL AND TELEGRAM DELAYS

"After waiting seven weeks a mail was received in Mengo on September 19th bringing letters only as far as June 29th (London) and two later mails are now, we hear, this side of the Nandi country, though some weeks late.

The most striking feature of the irregular communication with the outer world Uganda just now enjoys, was the receipt of telegrams on September 19th sent from Mombasa on July 28th, and worse still on September 14th of another dated Naivasha July 18th. Seven weeks for a telegram from the coast, and letters should only take four weeks at the most. We heard that the Wanandi had cut and removed sixty miles of wire, but that must be one of a series of interruptions. Apparently this sort of thing must be put up with a little longer, for the fighting is still going on in spite of the fact (which we have on good authority) that two thousand head of cattle, and twenty thousand sheep and goats, have been captured by the Government forces from the Wanandi during the recent operations, and numbers of their villages burnt.

The Wanandi do not allow their better armed opponents to attack them in open country. They fight in two's and three's and lie in ambush in the long grass, or behind stones, and shoot arrows from very close quarters with marked effect. It was reported not long ago that with the Walumba, who have also risen, they numbered sixty thousand but this is probably an exaggeration. At any rate the trouble is far from over, and transport is practically at a standstill this side of Nandi." (*Mengo Notes*, October 1900, p. 21).

(14)

DISTRIBUTION OF WAR MEDALS TO UGANDA MISSIONARIES, 1900

"On Monday October 15th an interesting little ceremony was performed at Namirembe. Missionaries are not usually associated with military decorations, but after the Nubian rebellion in 1897 the Government announced their intention of conferring medals on such of the Missionaries as were in Uganda during that somewhat troublous period.

As time passed on this promise was almost forgotten, and we were surprised the other day to receive a parcel of thirty-two medals for the C.M.S. Missionaries. I am glad to say the natives also received some, which was a source of great gratification to them, and indeed they had well deserved them. A meeting of the Namirembe Missionaries was hastily convened, and after tea -- the Englishman's indispensable adjunct to any function -- the medals were pinned on the coats (or blouses) of the various recipients by Mrs. A. R. Cook. The medals are apparently silvered bronze -- the obverse being a finely executed figure of Her Majesty with *Victoria Regina et Imperatrix* in raised letters round, the reverse being Britannia accompanied by a lion one would not care to meet in the dark alone, holding an elongated kind of toasting fork in her right hand, and in her left a palm branch and a roll of blank parchment. Her costume is strictly tropical and she seems to be afraid of the sun, represented as surrounded by a fearsome set of rays just rising in the horizon. Her helmet doubtless would answer the purpose of a solar topee. Underneath, to obviate any doubt as to the locality, is engraved 'East and Central Africa'. Round the margin is engraved the recipient's name. On the clasp is printed in clear letters 'Uganda 1897-1898'. The ribbon is half orange and half crimson, doubtless to represent the bloodshed on the one side, and the iodoform used to heal the same on the other.

Those in the capital who received the decoration were Miss Chadwick, Mrs. A. R. Cook, Rev. J. Roscoe, Dr. A. R. Cook, Mr. Hattersley and Mr. Borup. Miss Taylor, the Revs. G. K. Baskerville, H. Clayton, H. W. Tegart, C. H. T. Ecob, Messrs. Lloyd and Maddox had their medals sent to them. The rest, namely the Misses Furby, Thomsett, Bird and Pilgrim, the Ven. Archdeacon Walker, the Revs. H. R. Sugden, A. J. Pike, G. R. Blackledge, T. R. Buckley, H. W. Weatherhead, B. E. Wigram, Messrs. Fletcher, Lewin, Wilson, Whitehouse, Purvis and Force-Jones, who were on furlough in England, had theirs sent to them.

Two of our number, Mr. Pilkington and the Rev. Martin Hall, were alas not here. They had received already the crown of glory which fadeth not away. The Missionaries who had been at Lubwa's had a second clasp appended to their medal bearing the word 'Lubwa's'." (*Mengo Notes*, November 1900, p. 28).

(15)

UGANDA'S FIRST ROSE

"Mr. H. E. Maddox sends us the following from Toro. 'A few months ago I planted some English rose seeds in a box. Two plants have come up; one produced a wild rose (reversion to type) but the other bore the genuine article -- a small well-formed white rose, but with little smell. I think this is the first ever produced in the Uganda Protectorate'." (*Mengo Notes*, January 1901, p. 34).

NOTES

STOMACH CONTENTS OF CROCODILES

By E. V. HIPPEL

The following facts and figures have been compiled from monthly reports rendered between June 1st, 1944, and September 30th, 1945, to the Game Warden of Uganda. My grateful thanks are due to Captain Pitman, not only for kindly permitting me to publish these data, but even more for his much appreciated advice and assistance in all matters concerning our crocodile catching industry.

Little seems to be known of the East African crocodile's feeding habits which, we believe, are anything but uniform. We would therefore point out that our observations do not necessarily apply elsewhere. We are concerned only with *Crocodilus niloticus*, of which there may or may not be two different races. Our catches were made over a wide area to the East of Long. 33 deg. 0 min. E. in Lake Kyoga and in the Aputi-Ekwera-Kachung region of Lake Kwana.

The stomachs of 293 male and 294 female crocodiles were examined and without exception all 587 were found to contain quantities of stones which appear to have some function as part of the digestive apparatus. Ignoring the stones, which may perhaps be described as part of a crocodile's equipment, the contents of the 587 stomachs were as follows:—

Item	Number of times item occurred in:		Total occurrences in
	293 male stomachs	294 female stomachs	587 stomachs
(1) FISH, of the following genera:—	166	160	326
<i>Protopterus</i>	57	51	108
<i>Barbus</i>	51	45	96
<i>Tilapia</i>	35	37	72
<i>Clarias</i>	11	13	24
<i>Bagrus</i>	10	11	21
<i>Mormyrus</i> .. .. .	..	1	1
<i>Haplochromis</i>	2	2	4
(2) AMPHIBIA (Frogs) .. .. .	..	1	1
(3) REPTILES, as follows:—	33	32	65
Crocodile remains ⁽¹⁾	19	18	37
Crocodile eggs	1	1	2
Turtles	13	12	25
Snakes .. .. .	..	1	1

⁽¹⁾ I have ascertained from Mr. Hippel that these remains could not derive from the carcasses of captured crocodiles. The arrangements for the disposal of the carcasses of crocodiles caught by his organization are such that this is impossible. — Ed.

Item	Number of times item occurred in:		Total occurrences in
	293 male stomachs	294 female stomachs	587 stomachs
(4) BIRDS, as follows:—	21	17	38
Darters (<i>Anhinga rufa</i>) ..	21	16	37
Ducks .. ..	..	1	1
(5) MAMMALS, as follows:—	3	4	7
Antelopes	2	1	3
Goats .. ..	..	1	1
Hippo remains	1	1	2
Rats .. ..	..	1	1
(6) INSECTS (Grasshoppers)	2	1	3
(7) PLANTS, as follows:—	91	71	162
Water lily leaves	3	2	5
Water lily tubers	11	8	19
Water weeds	62	50	112
(8) MISCELLANEOUS, as follows:—	65	56	121
Hippo dung	2	4	6
Shells	31	19	50
Native gourds	1	1	2
Native fishing gear	29	32	61
Charcoal	1	..	1
Americani cloth	1	..	1
(9) EMPTY (except for stones) ..	61	80	141
INCIDENCE OF PARASITES:—			
Leeches (found externally, on the skin)	23	22	45
Nematode worms	31	29	60

Our ideas of 'cast-iron' stomachs underwent radical changes when we found that a crocodile can completely digest, in anything between six and eight months, our special six-inch mild steel hooks. Ordinary No. 6 fish hooks are absorbed in a much shorter time. In one case we caught a male crocodile in reasonably good condition with a native spear iron healed into its back. About four inches of this iron had penetrated into the crocodile's stomach where it had been digested away without leaving a trace.

THE REASON FOR THE CREATION OF THE POST OF
MUGEMA IN BUGANDA

By E. W. S. MUKASA

Prince Kalemera, son of King Chwa I, committed a serious offence in the residence of Walusimbi, the Chief Minister, and was fined fifty cowrie-shells. Owing to the shortage of shells in Buganda at the time, Kalemera went to Bunyoro to sell barkcloth and ivory to get money with which to pay the fine. He was accompanied by certain people selected, at the King's wish, by the heads of clans. Bwoya, head of the Monkey clan, who was living in Malangala village (Busuju county), appointed Kamulegeya. Kamulegeya took with him his son, who was named Katumba.

They received a warm welcome from the King of Bunyoro. The Prince was accommodated at the palace, but the rest of the people slept in the homes of the chiefs. Mischievous as he always was, Kalemera committed another offence in Bunyoro, leaving Wanyana, one of the King's wives, with child. He ran away before this was noticed but died of plague at Kibulala (Singo county) after crossing the River Kafu. Katumba remained in Bunyoro and taking up pottery-making, earned much money and accumulated many women, slaves and cattle. Kinyolo and Jumba were his sons.

As Wanyana was a very stout woman, nobody knew of her condition until she actually bore a son, Kimera. She told her maids to throw the child in the jungle and they, intending to drown it, threw it in one of the marshes from which Katumba got his clay. Katumba found the child and put it under the care of one of his wives who was tending a baby. News of the discovery came to Wanyana's ears, she informed Katumba of the royalty of the baby, demanded that it be given special attention, and gave Katumba some cows from which to feed it.

Some time later there was anarchy in Buganda; King Chwa I abdicated as a result of worry about the death of Prince Kalemera, Walusimbi was made a scapegoat and forced to resign, and the whole country was in turmoil.

Katumba despatched word to Buganda about Prince Kimera, and the latter was soon sent for. Katumba, the Prince, and Wanyana left Bunyoro quietly, pretending to be looking after cattle. After crossing the River Kafu, they met many people sent from Buganda. Sebwana of the Civet clan stationed at Nsumbi village (Busiro county) near Nansana, was the Chief Minister. After the official reception Kimera mounted the throne, succeeding his grandfather.

In grateful recognition of what Katumba had done for him, King Kimera made known to all the story of his narrow escape and of Katumba's help. He paid as much respect to him as to a father, appointed him Mugema or head of Buganda⁽¹⁾, made the post hereditary, and allowed him to select heirs to the throne with the help of the Chief Minister.

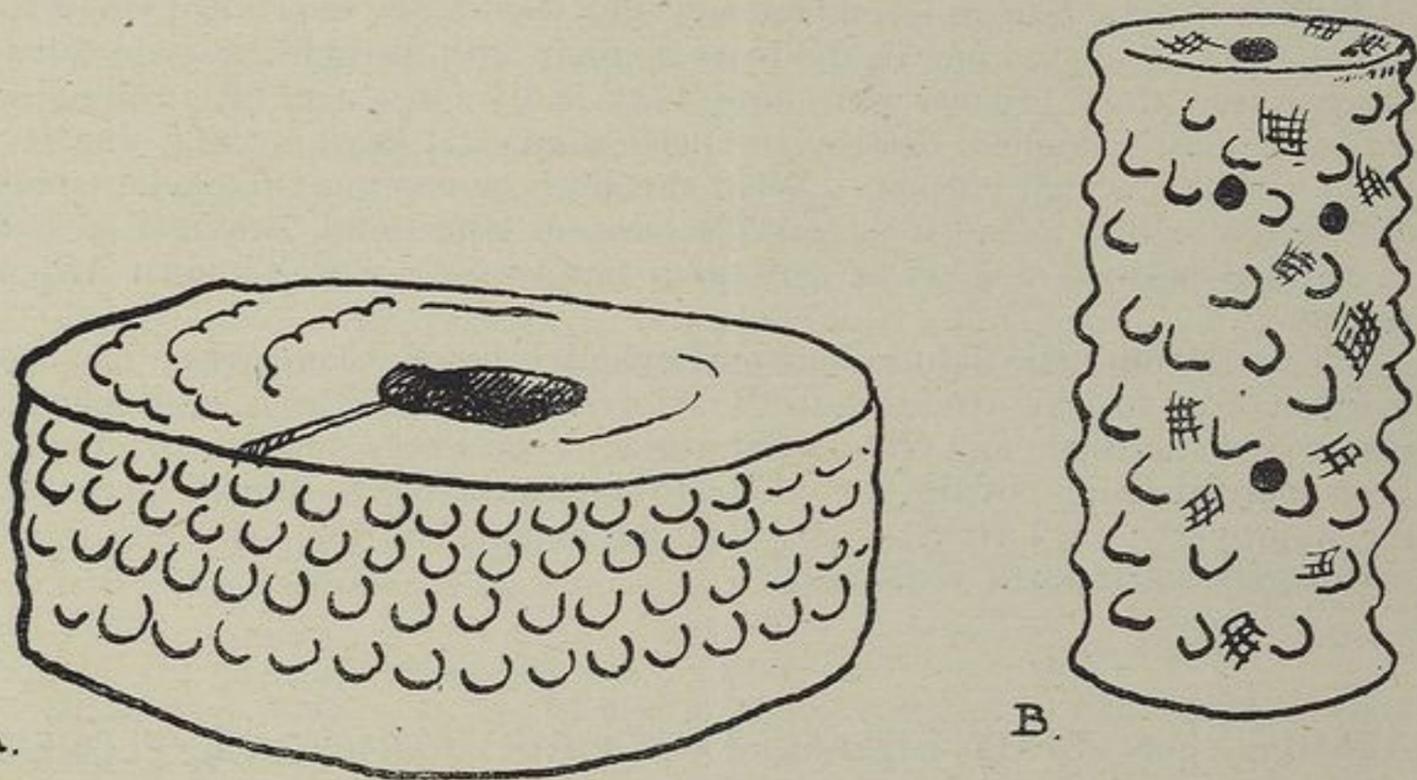
⁽¹⁾ The word *Mugema* means "the head or most important person" and therefore was a title which only the Kabaka could confer. He was called *Nakazadde wa Buganda* or the "Parent of the parents of Buganda". It is the inherited right of the Mugema to *Sumika* ("invest") the Kabaka at the accession ceremony - see *The Coronation Ritual and Customs of Buganda* - Uganda Journal, Vol. 4. - Ed.

THE ROSETTE CYLINDER FROM NTUSI

By MARGARET TROWELL

Some while ago the local Gombolola Chief sent to the Museum through Mr. Balaam Mukasa a curious object which had been turned up by a woman cultivating near the Ntusi earthworks.

These earthworks form part of a large system in the Masaka District. They were discovered in 1909 but have not yet been investigated with any thoroughness, although the Government Field Geologist made an official report on them in 1922 and Wayland⁽¹⁾ wrote notes on them in 1935. They consist of the Biggo bya Mugenyi, a fortified camp with ramparts and ditch extending over $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles, with two similar but smaller fortifications some six and four miles away. There are no middens or other traces of extensive occupation.



The Rosette Cylinders

- A. The *Zimbabwe* cylinder.—Showing regular rows of bosses, and large central hole. Size given as 8" diameter, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " height.
- B. The *Biggo* cylinder.—Showing irregular bossing, roulette pattern, patches and small holes, diameter 3", height $5\frac{1}{2}$ ".

About $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-west of these fortifications are the earth works of Ntusi near which the rosette cylinder was found. The hillside here is covered with middens which contain bones of indigenous game and pottery fragments. There are two large dams and several smaller ones forming what would appear to be irrigation works, and some curious elliptical bunds. This site appears to have been a settlement of considerable size.

The object found in the shamba consists of a cylinder 14 cms. high by 8 cms. in diameter. It is of fired clay and is covered on the sides with irregular

⁽¹⁾ *Some Notes on the Biggo bya Bagenyi*, E. J. Wayland, Uganda Journal, Vol. 2.

knobs. At the top and bottom and at places on the sides between the knobs are marks of roulette patternwork, apparently made with the roulette of plaited reed still used for pottery decoration in this part of the country. At the centre of the top and bottom are two small holes some 2 cms. in depth. Eleven similar holes have been bored at the sides in irregular positions to the same depth, entering at a sloping angle. One hole pierces the cylinder right through from side to side. The cylinder would appear to have no utilitarian purpose and it can only be supposed that it had some magico-religious significance.

In view of Mr. Wayland's suggestion that there is some connection between the Biggo earthworks and those of Zimbabwe it is interesting to compare the cylinder with a somewhat similar one from the Zimbabwe ruin. A drawing of the two cylinders is reproduced here. In her book *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Miss Caton-Thompson quotes a description of the Zimbabwe cylinder as "a soapstone cylinder decorated with rosettes, closely resembling in form and decoration the cylinder found in the Phoenician Temple at Paphos in Cyprus . . . it is pronounced by antiquarian experts to be an undoubted 'cup or ring' lingam or female emblem of fertility". This theory she disproves as follows - "The lingam resemblance would seem to be dependent upon the radial grooves, but no one in the least familiar with antiquities could fail to observe that these grooves were cut - very badly too - ages after the object was originally fashioned, destroy the decoration, and have nothing whatever to do with its original purpose. What this purpose was must remain a matter of conjecture but to me it suggests a base, or ring-stand, destined to hold in vertical position a shaft or perhaps a small tusk - a well-known African conceit".

This throws little light on our own cylinder, but the comparison has been made in order to draw attention to the interesting possibilities of archaeological research in the Biggo and Ntusi earthworks. Very wisely amateur digging has been guarded against by the laws of the Protectorate, but we should surely plan for a properly authorised exploration by experts of this interesting site discovered nearly forty years ago.

EMILE JONVEAUX - AN ARMCHAIR AFRICAN EXPLORER

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

Browsing recently in a Bloomsbury bookshop, I came upon *Two Years in East Africa: Adventures in Abyssinia and Nubia, with a Journey to the Sources of the Nile*, a translation from the French of Emile Jonveaux. It is an 8vo. volume of 407 pages by an anonymous translator, published by T. Nelson & Sons, London, in 1875.

On looking into this book I was startled to find that it described a journey from the Sudan through Uganda to Zanzibar between 1867 and 1869. Here indeed was a major discovery for this would be the very earliest recorded traverse by a European of the Equatorial Lake region from North to South. The Rev. G. Litchfield was the first hitherto known to have made this journey. He with Felkin and Pearson formed the Church Missionary Society's party which, with General Gordon's aid, reached Uganda by way of the Nile in 1879; and he returned to England, *via* Zanzibar, in 1881, Pearson following

him by the same route in 1882. The next to complete the journey in this direction was Dr. Junker who reached Zanzibar from the north in 1886. In 1867-69 no Europeans but Speke and Grant had visited Mutesa of Buganda: nor had any but Speke, Grant and Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Baker seen Kamurasi of Bunyoro.

The author's journey is recounted with a good deal of circumstantial detail and incident, interspersed with frequent dates. More than once he quotes the *ipsissima verba* of "an extract from my diary". Setting out from Marseilles to Alexandria, he was at Korosko in Nubia in May 1867: and thence passed by way of Berber and the valley of the Atbara to Kassala by the end of June. Some months were spent in hunting and exploring on the confines of Abyssinia: but in November Arab tribesmen handed him over as a prisoner to King Theodore of Abyssinia. He was interned at Magdala and was among the captives released by Sir Robert Napier's Expedition in April 1868. He resumed his travels and, passing through Metemma (Gallabat), reached Khartoum in September. On 5th October he left in boats for the South. In November at Gondokoro he got together a caravan and, by way of Latuka, Obbo and Shoa, reached the Victoria Nile at the Karuma Falls by the end of 1868. While awaiting Kamurasi's permission to enter Bunyoro he followed the north of the river to the Murchison Falls and Lake Albert, and eventually crossed the Nile at Magungo. Traversing Bunyoro he arrived at Kamurasi's at Mrooli in January 1869. After a few weeks delay he moved on to the palace of Mutesa (22nd February). In March he made a flying visit to the Ripon Falls, returning to Mutesa's. A little later he was on the way by road to Karagwe: and on 28th April he was at Roumanika's. In May he set out on the final stages of his journey. At the last recorded date, 5th June 1869, he was moving through Unyamwezi, and shortly after reached civilization and Zanzibar.

When I had finished this narrative, I had a curious feeling that I had heard it all before and had gleaned no new facts, where every new detail or name would have been of quite exceptional interest. It occurred to me first to verify the author's name among the captives of Magdala: but Holland and Hozier's official *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, which contains a nominal roll of those released, gave no name which would fit.

Searching further, in the British Museum, I found a copy of the French original "Jonveaux (Emile). *Deux Ans dans l'Afrique orientale . . . illustrations par E. Bayard*", published at Tours in 1871: and this at once supplied the solution of the problem. In the preface, referring to the "savage regions" which had lately been revealed to the world was one sentence *Je ne les ai vus, que par la pensée: mais une longue étude m'a identifié avec eux*. But this sentence is omitted from the translated preface of the English edition. For this literary hoax, therefore, the responsibility rests not on the French author but on the English publishers.

There is little difficulty in determining the method of construction of this book. For the section from Egypt to Abyssinia, the author has made use of Baker's *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*. For Abyssinia, the French traveller Lejean has apparently been referred to; while there were current a number of accounts of the Magdala campaign; but the Abyssinian episode has been "doctored" in the translation and I have not studied it closely. From Khartoum to Bunyoro, Jonveaux has followed, in reverse, Baker's *Albert Nyanza*; and Speke's *Journal* has been laid under contribution for Buganda and

Karagwe. The whole has been dovetailed together with no little ingenuity and literary skill, so that it reads with a disarming, if rather inconsequent, smoothness. Nearly every name given or incident related can be traced, though sometimes transposed, from one or other of these books, which were virtually the only authorities regarding the route traversed which had appeared at the date of the French publication in 1871.

The illustrations also make an interesting study. The English edition contains all the French illustrations with some additions whose provenance I have not – with a minimum of search – identified. But of some of the French illustrations it is not too much to say that they are blatant plagiarisms. One in particular entitled “The Traveller in his Litter” was indeed responsible for my first uneasiness. I *knew* I had seen this before: and found it at length at page 401 of Speke’s *Journal* where is “Captain Grant leaving Karagwe”. The French artist has completely redrawn the picture, but there are the same four sprightly carriers with, on their heads, the same litter, even to such a detail as two circular hoops apparently for the support of a curtain. A view of the Murchison Falls is very patently redrawn from that appearing in Baker’s *Albert Nyanza*, while pictures of Mutesa’s Reception Hall and of the Ripon Falls are adapted from Speke’s *Journal*. One is left wondering whether there was any challenge as regards copyright of both text and illustrations by Speke’s or Baker’s English publishers.

Emile Jonveaux was, it seems, a French *littérateur*. Between 1868 and 1873 he translated into French a number of English works. Among these are translations of Palgrave on Arabia, Whymper on Alaska, W. H. Dixon on Russia, and of some of Samuel Smiles’ writings.

NOTE ON EARTH TREMORS ON AND ABOUT 18TH MARCH 1945⁽¹⁾

By C. B. BISSET

Enquiry was made of all District Offices in Uganda, together with a number of other stations such as Tororo and Kitgum, distributed so as to cover the country generally; reports were also received from Sembabule between Masaka and Mubende, from Borderland Mine, Busia, and from Endebess, east of Mount Elgon. In addition, enquiry was made of Juba, Bukoba and Mwanza by the Geological Department, and of Stanleyville and Kisumu by the Meteorological Office, Kampala; nothing was, however, reported from these two latter places.

The reports are tabulated on the attached sheet. The chief feature was a tremor felt about or immediately after 11 a.m. on Sunday, 18th March 1945. This varied in intensity from place to place, and locally was preceded or followed by other movements usually of less severity; these subsidiary tremors seem to have been frequent or more marked in the areas where the main shock was severest.

⁽¹⁾ Copy of a Report to Government.

In considering the reports due allowances must be made for the use of similar terms in a somewhat different sense by different observers, or, in short, for the human factor in observation. There is no instrumental record since the seismograph at Entebbe was put out of action by the first shock.

The following conclusions may be considered reasonably safe: Greatest severity was felt near Masaka, and from there northwards to Mubende and north-eastwards to Entebbe, Kampala, and Jinja. Southwards round the Lake it was distinct in Bukoba, slight in Mwanza and not reported from Kisumu. Elsewhere severity seems to have decreased in proportion to distance northwards and north-eastwards. It was distinct but not exceptional in Fort Portal and Masindi, but more marked in Mbarara, Hoima and Kabale; it was felt in Arua, Gulu and Lira, but not in Kitgum or Juba, and while not perceptible in Moroto it was felt at Lotome, twenty miles south of Moroto. Intensity seems to have been greater at Soroti than at Mbale, while on the other side of Mount Elgon a house was shaken appreciably.

At its worst the tremor seems to have been sufficiently strong to cause cracks in walls, but not violent enough to have caused complete collapse of houses. This point seems to have been very nearly reached near Masaka as the following report relates: "At Kyamaganda the Roman Catholic Church was ruined. The spire did not collapse and the building for the most part is still standing but is in a dangerous condition and completely beyond repair. All the walls are closely criss-crossed with cracks. One man was killed by a falling pinnacle. A service was being conducted and there must have been several hundreds in the church at the time, so it was fortunate that the casualty list was not a very great deal higher. The brick dome over the altar fell, just missing the officiating priest. One side of the chapel collapsed and the rest of the building is badly cracked. Six people were sent to Masaka Hospital suffering from injuries.

At the Saza Headquarters at Sembabule, the Buganda Government buildings were badly damaged, including the Lukiko Hall, Prison and Dispensary which are permanent buildings and the Saza Chief's house which is a mud and wattle building with a corrugated iron roof. The underground water tank for the prison was badly cracked and will not now hold water. Two people were killed in Mawogola, one it is understood by a falling stack of firewood and the other by a house which collapsed.

A number of African houses were damaged in the District and it is believed that two people were killed in Sesse".⁽¹⁾

Elsewhere the shock was often severe enough to make occupants leave houses, and a feeling as of precarious balance was experienced; locally the tremor was accompanied by a rumbling sound; while the effects were often not alarming enough to disturb people in the open air, several motorists stopped and examined their springs.

There is a wide variation in reports of the direction from which the shocks came in different areas. This probably reflects the difficulty of making this observation.

The noteworthy features were, first, the unusual severity, and, second, the apparent centring of the shock in the Masaka area, where there are no known features usually associated with earthquakes such as faults or volcanoes.

⁽¹⁾ Report by the Protectorate Agent, Masaka.

SUMMARY OF REPORTS:
EARTH TREMORS ON AND ABOUT 18TH MARCH 1945

Place	Approximate Time	Duration in Seconds	Intensity	Apparent Direction	Effects
ENTEBBE	11.00	60	Severe	W.-E.	Several walls cracked. Seismograph put out of action.
KAMPALA	3.30 a.m. 19th 11.01	210	Severe	..	Impression of undulatory movement of ground.
JINJA	11.05	15	Very distinct	..	Doubtful cracks, one house.
TORORO	11.03	40	..	N.-S. or S.-N.	..
ENDÉBESS	11.00	4-5	Distinct	N.-S.	House shook appreciably.
BUSIA Borderland (Mine)	11.05	15	..	..	First noticed for three years.
KISUMU	..	..	..	..	..
MWANZA	11.05	..	Slight	..	..
BUKOBA	11.10	..	Very distinct	..	..
MASAKA	11.00 a.m. 18th 3.30 a.m. 19th 3.30 p.m. 19th 12.30 p.m. 19th 10.45 a.m. 20th 10.55 p.m. 21st 1.35 a.m. 22nd	under 60	Heavy Slight Slight Heavy Slight Slight Slight	S.E.-N.W.	Cracks in houses; some old huts fell. Walls cracked, plaster fell, bricks fell from church; reports of injuries to people are believed to be exaggerated.
Sembabule*	16 shocks felt on 18th March, several on 19th, and more on other days, probably about 31 in a week.				
Kyamaganda †	See report	..	..	..	..

* These may be the points where effects were most marked; Sembabule is 25 miles N.W. of Masaka and 45 miles south of Mubende.

† Kyamaganda is 20 miles west of Masaka.

SUMMARY OF REPORTS: EARTH TREMORS ON AND ABOUT 18TH MARCH 1945 - continued

Place	Approximate Time	Duration in Seconds	Intensity	Apparent Direction	Effects	
MUBENDE	11.00 a.m. 18th	20	Severest ever felt Apparent } Marked } Apparent } Distinct }	S.W.-N.E.	Effects not reported.	
	11.00 p.m. 19th	20				
	2.13 a.m. 20th	120			W.-E.	..
	10.40 a.m. 20th	30				
MBARARA	11.06	30			Unknown	Plaster cracks.
IBANDA	3.00 a.m. 20th, and at 7.30 a.m. 21st, distinct tremors probably			E.-W.		
KABALE	11.00 a.m.	60	Unusually severe Not exceptional Buildings shook Moderate severity Distinct but gentler Severe ..	Uncertain From N.E. .. E.-W. W.S.W.-E.N.E.	None reported. None reported. Nothing exceptional. Felt also at Kumi and Serere. None reported.	
FORT PORTAL	10.01	60				
HOIMA	11.02	60				
MASINDI	11.05	100				
LIRA	11.00	60				
SOROTI	11.00	60				
MBALE	11.30	15				
MOROTO	Not perceptible in station but felt at Lotome 20 miles to south					
KITGUM	11.00	10	Not felt	E.S.E.-W.N.W.	Nil No effects. ..	
GULU	Between 11.00-11.05	..				
ARUA	..	..		
JUBA	Not felt			

KAWERI

By E. V. HIPPEL

It appears that the Survey Department's description of the Kaweri region, Lake Kyoga, is somewhat inaccurate.

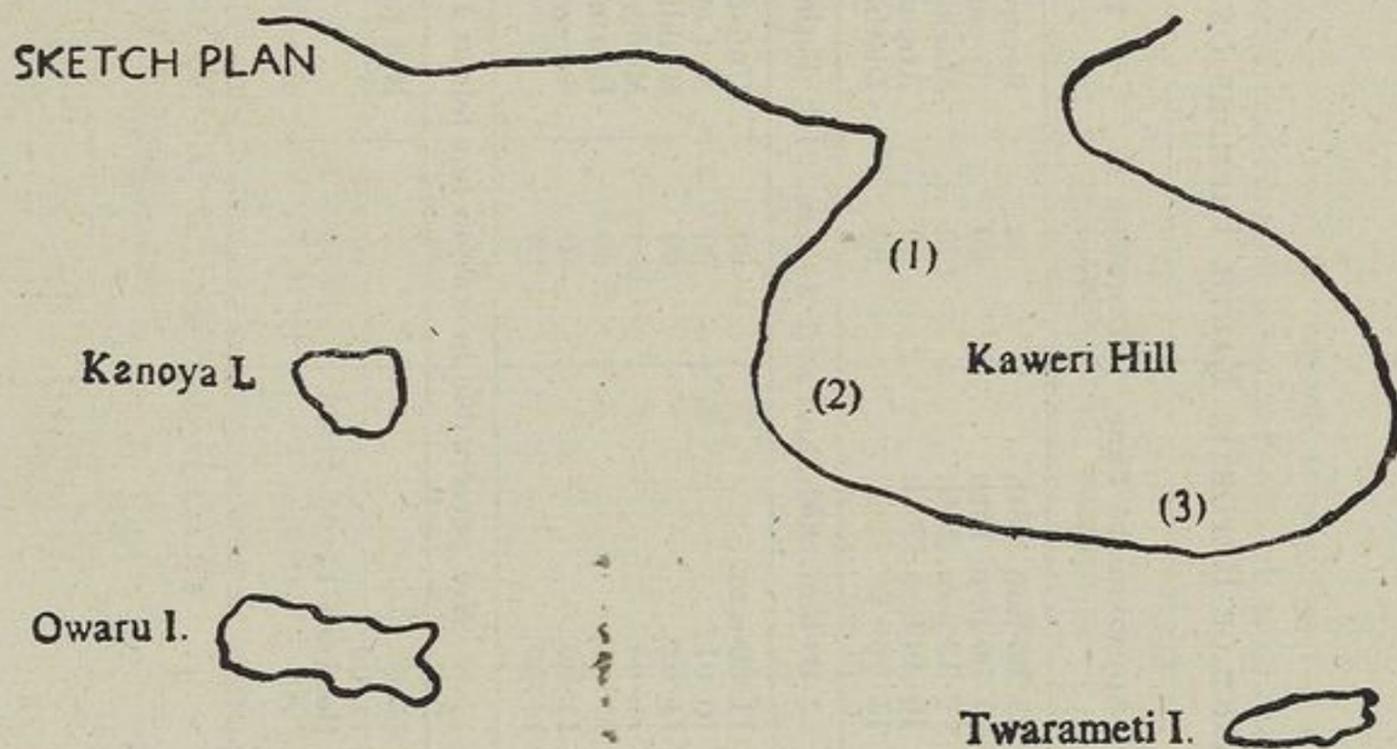
Near the intersection of Long. 1 deg. 38 min. N. and Lat. 33 deg. 15 min. E., Map No. A. 704 (Lango District) shows three islets.

The largest of these islets is exaggerated in size, placed too far to the east and too near the shore. It is called Kaweri island, but there is no Kaweri island now (May 1944). The name *Kaweri* denotes a different place, now situated on the mainland, as indicated on the sketch plan below.

The second islet is shown to the south-west of what is called Kaweri I., is placed too far to the west and in reality is of a much larger size. It is called Kigoti I., but that is not a place name at all. *Akigot* (with the stress on the O) simply means "a rock" or "a hill" in the Iteso language.

The third islet is shown to the south of what is called Kigoti I. In reality it is situated a fairly considerable distance away due east from the first two islets. It is called Bulongo I. This is nothing but a corruption of the Lunyoro word *Abalongo*, meaning "twins", by which term the two islets first mentioned are collectively known among the local inhabitants.

The following rough sketch plan (no scale) will serve to illustrate the points I am making.



The contour lines of a hill, bisected by Lat. 33 deg. 15 min., are shown on the mainland east of the name *Kaweri I.* This hill, which has remained nameless on the map, is in reality the sacred hill Kaweri.

Map No. A. 887 (Teso District) shows only two of the three islets, which are more correctly placed and sized than the corresponding islets on Map No. A. 704. But they are likewise called Kaweri Is., which application of the

name is incorrect. The third islet, situated due east from the "twins", is not recorded at all.

The only existing and, I therefore presume, applicable names for the three islets are in the Ludope language and are from north to south *Kanoya* and *Owaru* for the "twins", and *Twarameti* for the third islet to the east of the "twins". *Twarameti* is also sometimes referred to as *Kiiza*, meaning the child born in succession after twins (Lunyoro).

Human character is attributed to the "twins" by some of the local inhabitants who say, for instance, that Owaru's "eyes" face west and that they have some powerful "medicine".

The people here believe that, when several years ago one of the K.U.R. & H. lake steamers ran aground when trying to pass between the "twins", she was able to resume her journey only after a sacrifice had been made at the "eyes" of Owaru by the old Mudope priest referred to later in this note.

The frequent use of Lunyoro place names in this region seems to go back to the days of Kabarega. An imprint in the rock on the crest of one of the Bugondo hills on the southern lake shore still bears the name of "Kabarega's foot". Judging by its appearance, the fugitive ruler of Bunyoro must have worn an oversize in shoes.

Kirkpatrick in his report *Lake Choga and Surrounding Country*⁽¹⁾, published in 1899, states:—

"Kakunguru has a fort on Kaweri island, and says he is their chief. He says there are about two hundred men on the island."

I have no doubt that he was correct, at the time of writing, forty-five years ago, in describing Kaweri *hill* as an island, which was obviously then separated from the mainland by a channel at the isthmus.

Kirkpatrick shows, as correctly as possible on his small-scale survey map, the position of Kanoya, Owaru and Twarameti, although he makes no mention of their names.

Neither of the three islets could at any time have accommodated anything like two hundred men, although the presence of a very good and succulent type of *dodo*, *eyoby* (both popular native vegetables) and *nsambya* trees, none of which could have been carried there by birds, indicates that Owaru, the largest of the three islets, may have been inhabited to some extent at some time in the past.

But the remains of Kakunguru's fort can be seen to this day under the shelter of Kaweri hill, which now forms part of the mainland, at a point which I have marked (3) on my sketch plan. These remains consist mainly in the stone foundations, well-preserved in their original positions, of numerous granaries and in several well-worn hand-milling stones. Similar remains can be found in quantities all along the shore line of Kaweri hill, and they clearly indicate that the former Kaweri *island* was densely populated many years ago. With the exception of one old man and his dependants, whose dwellings are on the eastern part of the isthmus, nobody is living there now.

Nsambya trees, which are not indigenous there, are still growing everywhere in and outside the site of Kakunguru's fort, and a fair specimen of an *omukoga* (Lunyoro) palm (? *Borassus aethiopum*) stands out as a landmark about three

(1) Reprinted in full at the end of this note.

hundred yards north-west of the old fort. I am told that up to last year, when it died during the drought, the last survivor of many *ebitoke* (cooking plantains), planted by that great adventurer Kakunguru, could be seen between the old fort site and the lake shore. It was there when I lived at Bugondo from 1938 to 1940.

Kaweri hill is remarkable in many ways. I have called it "sacred", and it is held so to this day by the Badope, if by no other tribes.

At the point marked (1) on my sketch plan a natural altar-slab can be seen on which sacrifices of goats, sheep, etc., are made annually at a certain time by a religious sect. Their chief priest, a Mudope named *Anyaa*, is personally known to me. I believe that their practices are entirely harmless and are merely a surviving form of an ancient tribal worship. The old man, who lives in poverty, is held in friendly respect by the local Africans. I am trying to collect more information from him.

All round the altar-slab at point (1) there is a miniature canyon formation, carved out by the eroding forces of perhaps a hundred years. The Banyoro call this type of formation "*amaguli gabacwezi*" or "*amaju gabacwezi*", meaning the granaries or the houses of the spirits or gods.

I am told that a beacon was erected on the summit of Kaweri when it was surveyed more than ten years ago. It is marked on the map, but it is there no more. The people here say that it was struck by lightning and blown down in a storm immediately after its installation and that it was twice afterwards re-erected with the same result.

At the point marked (2) on my sketch plan a large deposit of what is believed to be a very inferior grade of bauxite is being worked from time to time by local Africans on behalf of several Indian soap manufacturers in the Eastern Province, who use it as a filling material or an adulterant, whichever view may be taken, in their soaps.

My investigations, such as they are, have necessarily confined themselves to comparatively recent history. But this particular region lies in the path of many of the great migratory movements of the distant as well as the near past, and archæologists may perhaps find at a future date that the Kaweri region is not without attraction.

LAKE CHOGA AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY⁽¹⁾

By THE LATE CAPTAIN R. T. KIRKPATRICK, D.S.O.

(Reproduced (without accompanying map), with the permission of the Royal Geographical Society, from the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, April 1899).

The lake is shallow for the most part; soundings varied from 2 to 3 fathoms. Patches of papyrus are scattered about, and in the shallower parts lotus and weeds of many kinds are abundant. Five or six miles east of Kaweri island

⁽¹⁾ This report from the late Captain Kirkpatrick was received after the sad news of his death, when with Colonel Macdonald's expedition on Nile to the east of Dufle. Colonel Macdonald and his staff have done a great amount of new geographical work during the trying operations in which they have been engaged. — Ed. *Geographical Journal*.

the lake runs into marshy country with channels and stretches of open water; it is hard to say where it ends exactly. Except where hills are actually shown, the shores of the lake are flat, and there is usually a fringe of papyrus 10 to 50 yards wide.

The north shore is thickly wooded, as also Gabula, Milondo, and Kagwara. The trees are mainly euphorbia, and two or three varieties of acacia. Drawing a line north and south through Kaweri island, the country east of this line is much more open, and all, both wooded and open, seems rich. There are many villages and paths, and the country south of the lake is thickly populated.

Heights of hills above the level of the lake:—

Pegi hill	.. ..	800 feet.
Hill on Kaweri island	.. ..	350 feet.
Hill west of Naiko hill	.. ..	600 feet.
Naiko hill	.. ..	1,000 feet (estd.).
Ungera hill	.. ..	1,500 feet (estd.).

The Wakedi live round the northern, eastern, and south-eastern shores of the lake. Kakunguru, the Kaganda chief who accompanied us, said those on the northern shore were hostile, and we could not land without a fight; we did not land or see anything of them. We found those on the southern shore perfectly friendly, and exchanged presents with Kenaga, chief of Msara, the chief of Sabot, and Tende, chief of Kahera. They have no tribal chief, and these men are only chiefs of villages. The men are of good height, 5 feet 7 inches to 5 feet 10 inches, slightly built, and wiry. They wear as ornaments shells, beads, brass wire round the neck, and bracelets of brass wire and ivory. Most of them wear skins or a little bark cloth round the waist, but some are quite naked. They carry spears. The women wear a string of beads round the waist, and a little skin hanging down in front, besides the usual ornaments. As a race, they have not the thick lips or flat noses which mark the negroid type, and are, in fact, less like the typical negro than are the Waganda. They keep cattle, and grow wimbi, metammeh, semsem, sweet potatoes, and bananas. Food is plentiful and cheap; two fowls could be bought for a brass cartridge-case. Their huts are circular, made of wattle and daub, and have grass roofs built in stages like the roof of a Burmese pagoda. They store their grain in circular constructions, like a large bowl, of wattle and daub, raised on piles and thatched. Their cattle are kept in enclosures of growing cactus. They make dug-out canoes with knives.

The Wadope live on Kaweri and Namlimoka islands. They have the Wakedi language, and all the remarks already made about the Wakedi apply to them. They are, I think, Wakedi who, through living on islands, have got separated from the main body of the tribe. They are, however, somewhat more muscular than the Wakedi, probably owing to the amount of work they do in their canoes. They catch fish with baited hooks set like night-lines. Kakunguru has a fort on Kaweri island, and says he is their chief. He says there are about two hundred men on the island. Most of them wear bark cloth obtained from the Waganda.

Northern Usoga to the south of lake Choga is very flat and closely wooded. There is a fairly thick population, and bananas, sheep, and fowls are plentiful and very cheap. In Gabula there are villages of Wakedi and Wanyoro as well as Wasoga; the three races do not inter-marry. About 25 miles north

of Lubwa's the country becomes more hilly, and the elephant grass, so familiar in Uganda, takes the place of trees to a great extent. The population also becomes denser.

Rounds of angles were taken from Pegi hill, the hill on Kaweri island, a rock near Msara, the hill west of Naiko hill, and a rock near Ngo. The instrument used was a large prismatic compass with a stand, of which the variation had been ascertained by Major Macdonald. Angles were also taken from time to time in the canoe. Distances on land were obtained from a pedometer, the time of the caravan being taken as a check. Distances on the lake were obtained from the time of the canoe, the rate of the canoe being got by timing it along the shore and then pacing the distance. A check was obtained from a rock fixed by angles from Bale, on the Kampala-Kakunguru's road, and Pegi hill. This rock is about 5 miles west of Ngo, and was also fixed by angles from Ngo and the hill west of Naiko hill. The latter position was half-a-mile west of the former. I did not correct for this. I took the map to all the places from which angles were taken except Pegi hill, and sketched in the details whilst actually looking at them. With regard to the names I obtained them from the Wakedi through Kakunguru, who himself wrote them all down. I then made the Wakedi repeat them two or three times.

The name of the lake should be Choga, not Kioga; the Wakedi, Waganda, and Wasoga all call it Choga. The names in Usoga I obtained through a servant of mine, who came from that country. As to the parts shown in dotted lines, Kakunguru, who is a very intelligent man, informed me that the Niriagite channel goes six hours north from the neighbourhood of Msara, and joins Lake Kwania; this information came from the Wakedi, who also said the Nirangite was marshy in parts. Lake Kwania, Kakunguru had himself seen. He said it was four to six hours march from the north of Lake Choga, about two miles wide, and joined the Nile near Mruli to the south of the Marusi or Mahorsi hills. He drew a sketch of it and Lake Choga on the ground. I may mention that, before seeing it, I put in Siria bay from his description within three quarters of a mile of the position finally fixed.

The Gogonis channel, Mpologoma, were put in from the description of the Wasoga at Ngo. They pointed out the direction and named the number of day's march; I do not regard this as so reliable as Kakunguru's information. The road through Usoga is very narrow and winding; six or eight compass bearings had to be taken to a mile. The work was done with a small pocket-compass, checked, whenever possible, by long bearings taken with the big compass. On reaching Lubwa's the latitude was correct; in longitude I was two miles too far to the east. A correction of a mile was made in the distance between Kibure and Namlimoka island, which was, I think, somewhat great, and the remaining mile was corrected between Ngo and Lubwa's. As the position of Lubwa's with reference to Kampala has not been absolutely fixed, it is doubtful whether these corrections should have been made. No astronomical instruments were available for my use, and I was unable to take observations.

CORRESPONDENCE

KAWERI

The Hon. Editor,
The Uganda Journal.

Sir,

A possible explanation of the disappearance of Kaweri as an island, as reported by Mr. Hippel in this volume of the *Journal*, is to be found in the level of Lake Kioga falling considerably below average in recent years.

You will recall that earlier this year the lake services of the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours were suspended to certain ports on Lakes Kioga and Kwania as there was insufficient depth of water to allow steamers and lighters to come alongside the affected piers.

An examination of the water levels taken on the gauges at Namasagali, Masindi Port and Atura indicates that between June 1942 and March 1944 there was almost certainly a very considerable drop in the level of the lake.

The following table sets out the difference between the maximum and minimum readings at the three gauges, with the months during which these occurred. The average drop in the level at the gauges was progressive from year to year, due allowances being made for the usual seasonal fluctuations :—

Gauge	Difference between Max. and Min.	Date of Max.	Date of Min.
Namasagali	5' 2"	June 1942	March 1944
Masindi Port	6' 11"	July 1942	March 1944
Atura	9' 8"	Sept. 1942	March 1944

There is little doubt that an examination of similar figures at Bugondo, if they were available, would show an equally large drop in the main lake level, and it would be interesting to know if Mr. Hippel can throw any further light on this aspect of the case.

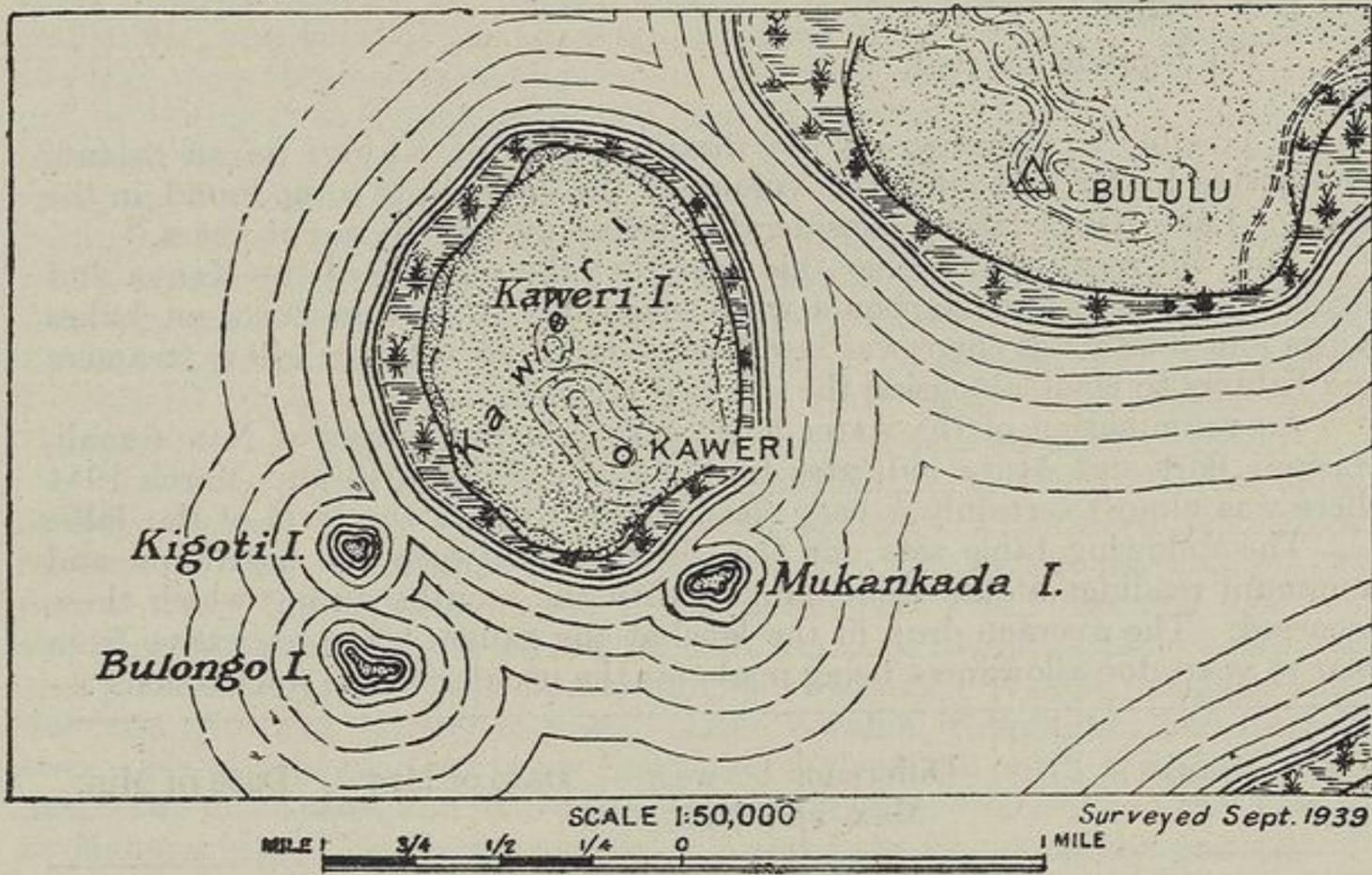
The writer visited Kaweri about the middle of 1939 and it was certainly an island then, though the depth of water in the channel between it and the Bululu coast did not exceed four feet.

The map, A 704, of the Lango District, referred to by Mr. Hippel, was an old one compiled from sketches made by various people; even now the whole of Lango District has not been the subject of a deliberate topographical survey though the more modern map, A 902, contains more up to date information about Kaweri and the Namasale Peninsula.

The reduction of a topographical field sheet from the 1:50,000 scale to the published scale of 1:250,000 necessarily results in the conventionalisation

of certain detail and to this can be attributed the reduction of the number of islands shown on the maps A 887 (Teso District) and A 902 (Lango District) from that actually surveyed.

A 1:50,000 scale plan prepared from the survey of Kaweri made in 1939 by the Topographical Survey Party of the Survey, Land and Mines Department is reproduced below. This shows the position of the various islands in the group as it was in that year.



Regarding the naming of physical features on a map, it must be remembered that more than one name can usually be obtained for features which are common to two or more districts, as in the case of Kaweri, and it is incumbent on the surveyor to record names for such features which will subsequently lead to their easy identification.

On the map above, the twin islands lying to the immediate South-West of the main island bear the names of *Kigoti* and *Bulongo*, meaning "twins" and "small twins" in Ludope and Luganda respectively, and what could be fairer? The island named *Twarameti* by Mr. Hippel is called *Mukankada* by the Survey Department. This word means "a very old man" or "of very great age", and presumably was so named by the Baganda who occupied the island with Kakunguru.

A survey beacon was first erected on Kaweri island about 1920 by the Survey Department and though the outward and visible token has disappeared the inward and essential mark still remains, though hidden from the uninitiated.

Yours faithfully,

G. M. GIBSON.

Land and Survey Office,
Entebbe,
4th September, 1945.

The Hon. Editor,
The Uganda Journal.

Sir,

In April 1944, when I first started collecting the material for my note on Kaweri (published in this volume of the *Journal*), the lake level, according to the official gauge at Bugondo pier, stood at 10.05 metres. During the succeeding twelve months this figure was subject to minor fluctuations only, until it began to rise sharply in May 1945. Between March and July I was away from Bugondo and it was not till the 27th July that I had occasion to go over to Kaweri again. On that date the lake level reading at Bugondo was 10.77 metres.

On reaching the summit of Kaweri hill I at once discovered that I had prematurely and indeed inaccurately, in my note, deprived Kaweri of its status as an island, and that the addition of approximately 2 feet 4 inches of water to the April 1944 level had restored the weed-choked channel between Kaweri and the mainland and submerged, but for a line of rocks and one small wooded islet, what I had thought to be a permanently established isthmus. In further support of my observations made before the lake rose, on revisiting Kaweri I saw three waterbuck (one good head, one immature male, and one female) browsing on the northern slope of Kaweri hill. In April 1944 and on several later occasions there were no signs of game (spoor, droppings, etc.) anywhere in this small area, and several local men told me that the three waterbuck seen in July had recently come over from the mainland and would then seem to have been cut off by the channel, which is infested with crocodiles.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly acquaint your readers with these changes in the situation at Kaweri, as I am most anxious not to create a wrong impression.

Yours faithfully,

E. V. HIPPEL.

P.O. Bugondo,
Eastern Province,
28th July, 1945.

The Hon. Editor,
The Uganda Journal.

Dear Sir,

Although maps A704 and A887 are not available to me, and although my recollections of the safari are becoming increasingly hazy, it is not, perhaps, impertinent, after reading Mr. E. V. Hippel's excellent note on Kaweri, to record the following which was told me when I visited Kaweri in December 1942. My informants were Kumam. They said, in effect:—

“Soon after we arrived in Kaberamaido from the East and had settled down round here, and found Kaweri island, we used this island as a penal settlement for our wives who wished without adequate reason to leave, or who ‘refused’, their husbands. These women were taken across to this island by canoe and just left there. There were three courses then open

to them. Firstly, they could repent and agree to return to their husbands as faithful, loving, and obedient wives, in which case the former would come and fetch them by canoe; or secondly, they could stick to their guns and live the rest of their lives in this female concentration camp; or thirdly, they were at liberty to try to escape, which meant swimming and struggling across the narrow sound between Kaweri and the mainland. If they made it, they were free and their husbands had no claim on them, but many were taken by crocodiles."

(When the Kumam actually came to Kaberamaido is not known accurately, but certainly five generations before Kakunguru).

From Mr. Hippel's description and sketch-map, I am pretty certain that I went to Kaweri hill as marked on the latter. I took a canoe from a creek well East of the hill and landed at a point where a line drawn under "Kaweri hill" and extended, would cut the coastline on the right, after some forty-five minutes unhurried paddling. Although I saw no actual *terra firma*, there was certainly no open water between the "island" and the "mainland". Crocodiles were abundant everywhere. I remember that at that time there were two families living there, on the Eastern shore, as Mr. Hippel writes. I did not meet the old Mudope, but there were certainly matoke trees, though few, near the huts. The bauxite workings were idle, due to legislation prohibiting the adulteration of soap. The erosion was remarkable.

That Lake Kyoga, or one hopes, only part of it, is drying up, is obvious. Lale Port to the East, and at one of its headwaters, now has a miniature resemblance to Hiroshima, and one wonders whether a boat will ever tie up there again. Gogonyo tells the same tale.

Twarameti and the "twins" may soon be accessible dryshod.

Yours faithfully,

R. O. H. PORCH.

Moroto,
Karamoja,
8th November, 1945.

KAVIRONDO

The Hon. Editor,
The Uganda Journal.

Sir,

I have only just read the *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 1, in which (p. 158) Captain E. M. Persse asks for information about the origin of the word "Kavirondo". Perhaps he may be interested in the following⁽¹⁾:—

I have lived in Nandi proper and in Kavirondo (North and South) for the best part of six years and have always understood that the term Kavirondo is of Nandi coinage.

KAP—"the country or place" and KIRONDO (KIRONDET), *pl.* KIRONDOS (KIRONDOSIEK)—"reed" can be combined quite convincingly to read

⁽¹⁾ For at least three other alternative suggestions as to the derivation of this name reference should be made to the correspondence columns of the *East African Standard* for November and December 1945. — Ed.

KAP-KIRONDO, meaning "the reed country". That, the Nandi told me soon after my arrival is Kapiyet, in what they call the low-lying swampy regions inhabited by the LEM (LEMEK, if the article is affixed)—"the Kavirondo". When we got to know each other better, they surprised me by adding that KAP-KIRONDO contains a second (hidden) meaning to convey that these inhabitants of that area do not practise circumcision. On numerous occasions I have since mentioned this derogatory interpretation to members of Lwoo tribes and to the southern Bantu. Their usual reaction has been a sheepish grin, to which is sometimes added the remark that "Kavirondo" is "a Nandi expression".

Yours faithfully,

E. V. HIPPEL.

P.O. Bugondo,
Eastern Province,
20th September, 1945.

DISTANT VIEWS OF RUWENZORI AND ELGON

The Hon. Editor,
The Uganda Journal.

Dear Sir,

In a previous number of the *Uganda Journal* (Vol. 4, p. 179,) Mr. A. J. Booth recorded a distant view of Ruwenzori obtained from a point in Lake Victoria some 12 miles east of Dumu Point in Masaka. Assuming that the snow peaks which he saw were the Speke-Stanley group, the distance involved must have been just over 160 miles.

On clear mornings and evenings in the rainy season these same peaks can be seen very distinctly from Busingiro hill in Bunyoro. Here the distance is not so great (142 miles), but from the clarity with which the peaks are visible I feel sure that if anyone cared to make the walk they would have much the same view from Igisi hill, 20 miles north of Masindi (distance 166 miles). It is quite possible, too, that Ruwenzori is visible from the range of hills lying close to the Murchison Falls (between the Falls and Igisi), a distance of 177 miles. The peaks are certain to be visible on occasion from Erusi hill on the West Nile-Congo border near Mahagi (150 miles).

I have heard, though not from an actual observer, that Mt. Elgon can sometimes be seen from Kigulya hill at Masindi. The distance in this case is almost exactly 200 miles, and it would be of considerable interest if this view could be confirmed.

Yours faithfully,

W. J. EGGELING.

Busingiro,
Masindi,
5th May, 1943.

REVIEW

"UGANDA MEMORIES (1897-1940)" by SIR ALBERT COOK,
Kt., C.M.G., O.B.E.⁽¹⁾

Patience is seldom so well rewarded. Several unlucky events have delayed the publication of Sir Albert's book during the past three years, and now we can enjoy reading it with appetite sharpened by anticipation.

Most of the books which deal with early days in Uganda were written close to the events they describe; their interest lies in the freshness of the impressions they convey, and sometimes (as in Lord Lugard's *The Rise of our East African Empire*) in their touch of propaganda for the cause they were intended to serve. Sir Albert has given us something different and, by common necessity, rarer: for the authentic voice from the past, his diary, is enriched by the reflection of long experience and by his view through an unique local perspective. Nothing of vividness is lost, and much is gained by ripe judgment: and the proportion of Sir Albert's comment is a true indication of the values which have qualified his great work in Uganda.

It would be presumptuous in your reviewer to attempt any estimate of this work, but no reader can fail to see the secret of its distinction in the combination in one man of high scientific ability and professional enthusiasm with the dominant Christian motive of love towards God and man. But there is something more - a rare zest for life and keen appreciation of its strange incongruities, as well as of its striking beauties and its pathos. Sir Albert often quotes from Robert Browning's poetry, and his own narrative has Browningsque quality in its humour and vivid sympathy and in its sense of dramatic detail. It is illuminated, also, by scenes of great natural beauty - sunrises and sunsets, glimpses of our grand mountains, and the quieter charm of green hills and fruitful lands; so that the reader never loses the sense that life in Uganda is lived against a background of diverse natural charm, the enjoyment of which may always bring gratitude and encouragement when other circumstances seem discouraging.

How tough and brave our pioneers were! The anxious years of revolt and mutiny called for real heroism from every one of that small European party, with daily alarms and constant moves for defence and safety, and with the repeated bitter loss in battle or by sickness of men who seemed indispensable. (The story of Pilkington's short and brilliant service is unforgettable). Throughout those agitated months our author went quietly about his business, occupied more by the interest of his clinical problems than by the constant danger and hardship which beset him. But his narrative of more normal times is no less impressive. We read of *safari* into undeveloped country (with or without that monumental companion, Bishop Tucker), through swamps and up steep and tangled hillsides, and after the day's march no pleasant rest-house with bath and meal prepared, but the uncertain welcome of a local Chief ("the Chief was too drunk to receive us" is several times recorded) and a throng of eager patients and sightseers. And at the end of

⁽¹⁾ Published by The Uganda Society, Kampala, 1945. Price Shs. 30/-.

each journey its summary is given – nine weeks spent, it may be 600 miles travelled, 5,000 patients seen and 50 operations performed.

Nor was life at Mengo less busy or liable to vicissitude. Sir Albert is justly proud of the variety and magnitude of the surgical operations performed in his simple £5 theatre, so comically unsuspected by medical friends at home, and he gives us hints of the mass of clinical work done for several years by himself with only one trained assistant, the skilful and devoted Miss Timpson, who later became his wife. What should we think today of the difficulties and set-backs which he recounts so quietly? The scarcity and expense of drugs and apparatus, the superstitious refusal of essential *post mortem* exploration, the cruel destruction by lightning of the new hospital within three years of its erection – these are a few of the difficulties amid which work of great scientific value was done. The human demand, so far beyond the apparent supply, was ever growing, and to a quite remarkable extent it was met. And the small Church Missionary Society party which so gallantly met it lived in conditions which to us, in this age of softer living, would be quite intolerable. Sir Albert hardly mentions these, beyond a note of the delay and uncertainty of mails from home and a casual remark that, at the time of his convalescence from typhoid in 1900, he had not tasted bread for nearly three years past. This reticence, and the flawless delicacy and courtesy of his narrative, are what all our author's friends would expect of him: yet the reader may sometimes wish his comment slightly less strictly restrained, and that he had now and then allowed his sense of humour rather wider play.

The paramount motives which actuated Sir Albert in his long service were, of course, those of the Christian missionary and of the medical practitioner. But three other themes, each with its special loyalty, are prominent in his book. He started his long walk from the Coast in the autumn of 1896 in order to bring spiritual and mental health to the African natives of Uganda, and comment upon Africans of many tribes, and particularly upon Baganda, naturally fills many pages of his narrative. This comment is a model of its kind, for his view is both realistic and sympathetic. He knew he had the means to help Africans and he used these means with growing understanding and affection, but without trace of sentimentality. His wise and candid judgment pervades the book: it is strikingly shown in his analysis of the Buganda land problem (Chapter 10) and in his account of the introduction of maternity training (Chapter 27). Sir Albert is the Africans' friend throughout, their honest friend.

The strict critic of literary form might suggest that the last five chapters, in which events in Uganda since the war of 1914–18 are summarised in what is inevitably a rather desultory way, impair the structure of the book: he might judge Sir Albert's long account of the Coronation of King George VI to be an incongruous addition to his *Uganda Memories*. On this latter point we take leave to differ. For our author's pride in his country and his loyalty to the British Crown and Empire are a part of his book as well as of himself; and his narratives of the Jubilee celebrations in 1897 and of those for the King's Birthday in 1908, as well as of the Kabaka's Coronation in 1910, find their fitting climax in his almost lyrical description of the great scene in Westminster Abbey in 1937, a climax not only emotionally but also artistically satisfactory. It was surely right that the friend of Tucker, Walker and Pilkington, of Thruston, Macdonald and Mackay, and of many another devoted servant of

our Christian tradition and our Crown, should have had an honoured place at this great religious ceremony of our Empire and that his record should be crowned by an account of it.

The last loyalty to be noted, and the most personal, is stated in moving words in Sir Albert's dedication, which makes his book (if that were not already plain to the reader) a memorial of Lady Cook and of their inseparable service. It is a special glory of English missionary enterprise, and not least of the Church Missionary Society, that married missionaries have worked together in a partnership of which the product is far greater than the addition of the service of two persons. The work which Sir Albert and Lady Cook shared for so many years and its splendid achievement are a striking example of this supernatural arithmetic, and perhaps of all impressions left upon his readers, our author may be most gratified by this.

It remains only to praise the Uganda Society for its initiative in seeing *Uganda Memories* through the Press, and to congratulate the Government Printer upon his excellent production of it, so comfortably exempt from the usual war-time cramps.

G. C. T.

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