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A. H. RUSSELL, M.B.E., D.S.C.

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MEMORANDUM

TO : [Illegible]

FROM : [Illegible]

SUBJECT : [Illegible]

[Illegible text follows]

11-11-11

THE DIARIES OF EMIN PASHA—EXTRACTS I

Edited by SIR JOHN GRAY

[These extracts from *Die Tagebücher von Dr. Emin Pascha*, edited Dr. Franz Stuhlmann, vols. i, ii, iii, iv and vi, (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1916-27), have been translated and provided with introductory notes and comments by Sir John Gray. They are planned to appear in *The Uganda Journal* as a series covering Emin's first visit to Buganda in 1876, his visit to Bunyoro in 1877 and his second visit to Buganda in the same year, followed by such portions of his later diaries as are relevant to Emin's contacts with the Uganda region during the years spent as Governor of Equatoria until his withdrawal in 1889.—EDS.]

I. EMIN'S VISIT TO BUGANDA IN 1876

Introductory Note

EMIN PASHA'S original name was Eduard Carl Oscar Theodor Schnitzer. After qualifying in Germany as a physician, he took service under the Ottoman Government and adopted Turkish dress and the name of Mehemet Emin. Later he migrated to Egypt and eventually made his way to Khartoum, where he set up in private practice. In 1876 he accepted the post of chief medical officer of the Province of Equatoria. The Governor of the Province at that date was Colonel Charles Gordon, who had instructions from the Khedive to extend Egyptian influence as far as the Central African Lakes. His plans for carrying out the Khedive's wishes are to be found in his correspondence with Colonel (afterwards General Sir) Edward Stanton, British Agent and Consul-General in Cairo, which has been printed in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1927.

In a letter to Stanton, which was written at Magungo on the banks of the Victoria Nile, on 28 July 1876, Gordon says—

"I hope to go to Mruli (at the junction of the Kafu River with the Victoria Nile) and Cossitza (sc. Ripon Falls) and then back again to this place, my object being to map the whole of the Nile and hoist the Egyptian flag on Victoria Nyanza. I calculate (all going well) to finish this and to be back here about 10 September. Then I have done with explorations for a long time."

Before Gordon despatched this letter, a post came in from Mruli with certain information which Gordon inserted in the letter.

"I want you to understand what I write well, in order to explain it to His Highness (the Khedive). When I left Mruli in January, I gave one hundred and twenty men to my officer, Nur Aga, with orders to go and establish a post at Bulondoganyi, where the Nile ceases to be navigable, and then to place a post at Cossitza (Ripon Falls). I told him first to go to Mutesa and then to Bulondoganyi. It appears that, though he had reported to me that he had

formed a post at Bulondoganyi, he had not done so, but that Mutesa had begged him to make his stockade at his (Mutesa's) capital, and he has done so. My object in choosing Bulondoganyi and Cossitza for stations was to avoid interference with Mutesa. However, as he has of his own accord chosen to ask for a station to be there, I shall let it stay and now have one hundred and sixty men there. I shall put twenty or thirty men at Bulondoganyi and the same number at Cossitza. You see that, by having my garrison at Mutesa's capital, I shall certainly secure the ivory trade and that I can make him prisoner, if troublesome, and that he, Mutesa, has voluntarily given up his independence: so far it is very well for the Egyptian Government. It is Mutesa's own fault entirely . . . What an affair this business of Mutesa's is and quite unsought for by me. I did everything I could not to meddle with him. It is done now and there is no hope for it, for we could never retire. Fortunately I have one hundred and sixty men there, all old soldiers and armed with breech loaders. What will missionary Captain Smith say when he arrives?"¹

On 13 August 1876, Gordon found it necessary to write to Stanton in a very different vein. The letter reads—

"Read this and kindly forward. This a nice mess we are in, but I do not apprehend we shall have any trouble in getting the men out of Rubaga. Do not say much about this, for it will only be a scandal. If you can see your way to get His Highness to send me up a man, whom I can coach up a bit and then get away, I shall be very glad . . . I have now the Nile from Lado to Mruli, and hope to get up to Bulondoganyi, but I fear I cannot get it up to Ripon Falls . . . I shall (D.V.) go to Rubaga and have written to Mutesa two letters, one as Governor, telling him I know his preparations for war, and warning him of his certain ruin. The other I wrote was a friendly one advising him."

The contents of the enclosure, which Gordon requested Stanton to pass on, can be ascertained from a letter which Gordon wrote to his sister on the same day.

"When I got here, I meet A. (sc. Nur Aga) and hear that when he got to Mutesa, he (A) sent off his porters, as Mutesa said he would give him porters. Well, day after day Mutesa kept making excuses, till A, driven to desperation, agreed to keep the troops at Rubaga. He makes a stockade, and the soldiers are virually prisoners there, for they cannot get away. In fact we are in the same state as Baker was at Masindi. Mutesa is buying from Zanzibar powder in quantities, and is evidently meditating something. So now I am going down (D.V.) to get my men out of the mess, and to withdraw them, and to follow my original intention by putting them at Nyamyonjo . . . There we must wait events . . . Mutesa has with him an Arab of Zanzibar, who writes English and was brought up by the mission there. He writes to me in Mutesa's name—a jumble of bits of prayers, etc., and keeps repeating he is the King of Uganda, etc., and the greatest king in Africa. Mutesa has annexed my soldiers; he has not been annexed himself."²

On 18 August Gordon again wrote to his sister informing her that for various reasons set out in the letter he had decided not to go to Rubaga. Though he does not mention the fact in this letter, he had already deputed Emin to proceed on a visit to Mutesa in order to establish friendly relations

between him and the Egyptian government. Emin had arrived there on 27 July to find that Nur Aga had departed in search of Gordon, having left his troops behind in a very precarious situation. It was left to Emin to take what measures he could to extricate the troops from their perilous position. This, as the diary shows, he succeeded in doing.

As Gordon's letters to his sister and certain entries in Emin's diary show, Gordon and Emin did not always get on very well together. The latter, who was short-sighted and wore a beard, was the most unmilitary of men. Moreover, Gordon with his strong Christian principles had a profound contempt for a European, who had become a convert to Islam. After Emin arrived at Mruli with the evacuated Egyptian troops intact Gordon appears to have shown himself not ungrateful to the bespectacled Emin for having rescued the soldiers without a casualty, but some of his slighting references to Emin in his later letters to his sister were petty and unworthy of him. It is true that Emin was a somewhat undisciplined civil servant, but the fact that after his return from his first visit to Buganda Gordon employed him more than once on missions of some delicacy to several African chiefs and potentates show that Gordon did realize that he had in Emin an administrative officer of considerable tact and ability.

It should be mentioned that many of the daily entries in Emin's diaries are very lengthy indeed. They include descriptions of scenery, flora and fauna as well as copious notes on anthropological, geographical and other scientific matters. Many of these entries have been considerably condensed. Much of what has been omitted is undoubtedly of great interest and scientific value, but it will be seen that the extracts here given are such entries as deal with Emin's personal experiences and with matters of historical interest which from time to time came to his notice.

In cases in which it is possible to identify a personal or place name with some well-known person or place, I have altered Emin's spelling so as to conform to modern orthography. Thus, 'Kabrega' becomes 'Kabarega', 'Mtesa' becomes 'Mutesa', 'Uganda' becomes 'Buganda', and 'Shuli' becomes 'Acholi'. Where the identification of a proper name remains doubtful, I have left Emin's spelling as it is.

Where a long entry in the diary has been summarized, I have inserted the summary between brackets.

A few biographical and explanatory notes have been added, but one of my chief objects has been not to burden the text with too much of such detail.

Extracts from Emin's Diaries

May 7, 1876. (Emin reached Lado and proceeded southwards. On 12 May at Kiri he found Gordon, with whom was Gessi recently arrived from Lake Albert. Emin returned at once to Lado, perhaps to prepare for the journey to Buganda.)

June 3. (Emin left Lado, whither Gordon had returned about a week before.)

June 14. (Reached Dufle. Description of station.)

June 16. (Crossed over to right bank of Nile opposite to Dufle and reached Djeifi (? Jaifi of Speke's *Journal*), where inhabitants belonged to Madi tribe.)

June 17. (To Khor Ajuli, Gebel Abu Salah and Khor Unyama.)

June 18. (To Muhatta Abd-el-Aziz, Gebel Shua, Khor Shua, Khor Pauvel and Patiko.)

June 19. (Friendly reception from the Acholi.)

June 27. (Reached Foweira: crossed Nile on 29th.)

July 5. (Reached Mruli.)

July 6. Yesterday I sent to Mutesa's people who are five hundred strong at an observation post several hours from here. Today came the answer that without Mutesa's permission nobody can take me. To this I replied.

July 7. To judge by the manner of their unrestricted comings and goings the blacks regard this place as being their possession, as Mruli really forms a boundary. It is most unfortunate that it is situated so near the Chor river, which is surrounded by masses of reeds, in which millions of baudah (? mosquitoes), dwell, which every evening made work impossible. All night the river is frequented by crocodiles of the largest size. Beyond it is a flat treeless plain. Despite the plentiful supply of durrah (grain) and bananas, which grow in the vicinity, this station is always on the *qui vive*. Strong patrols and sentry posts are absolutely necessary here. The Lango blacks come from the opposite bank in canoes made of tree trunks which have been hollowed out by means of burning. At the east end of it there is a separate settlement, in which a son of Ruyonga dwells.

July 11. Arrival of Mutesa's people with two soldiers bringing mail from Nur Aga. He has been three months with Mutesa, having set up his small posts in Bulondoganyi and Cossitza.³ The soldiers were being badly treated and had nothing to eat. (Later)—Their chief Matandi by name was told by Mutesa to go to the Pasha and hand over two letters written in English in a wonderful style full of references to the Trinity, in which he asks us to allow a clergyman to come from England.

July 15. (Report that Kabarega's people are lying in wait for the Baganda and Emin.)

July 16. (Murema arrives early; Emin marches from Mruli.)

July 24. In the afternoon a messenger came from Mutesa with two complaints in writing in bad English against Nur Aga with the request to send him somewhere else, and then he will grant all other claims.

July 26. Murema, who had stayed at Muwambia came . . . Nur Aga will come by another way with his rear guard of 100 men.

July 27. In bright smiling weather we proceeded, without much hesitation, right through the banana groves, knowing that our journey must come to an end today. The road has been formed by burning down all the grass to a width of from six to nine feet, and is occasionally varied by a block of stone or a white-ant hill as high as a hut; it is a fairly even, well-trodden track. Thus we descend the steep mountain side, passing large plots of wild dates and bananas, all of them surrounded with high reed fences, and finally, descending a steep narrow footpath between tall reeds, we arrive at a small watercourse, babbling in a clear stream over granite blocks, the first flowing water we have seen since leaving Fauvera.

Thence we proceed through marsh-land along the dams and log bridges which we had already descried in the distance, then up a rather steep hill and, after a slight descent, we ascend a still steeper solitary mountain, beyond which, at its foot, is a wild-date wood—a genuine forest with its undergrowth . . . surrounding a black swamp crossed by a trestle bridge. Then we again follow the King's highway, passing between numbers of well-fenced zeribas, and through tall reeds, to an open space, where I order a halt. All the morning I had seen nothing of Murema, who was instructed to act as our guide; he had remained behind as usual in order to drink *mrisa* (banana beer) at one of the zeribas. After half an hour's halt, when I

proposed to start again, my guide Kitaka declared that he would go no further, as he had orders to await Murema here, who, on his arrival, would take the lead. Objecting to this, I called on the guide to proceed, and, as he declined, I left him there with the goods and chattels, took the compass in my hand, and marched off with my six soldiers.

Again taking the Royal highway, we went up hill and down dale, the road widening and narrowing, through marshes and over hills; then we had to climb three parts of the way up a very steep mountain to reach the road that leads straight south to the King's zeriba.

While I was on the march, the whole host of *batongole* (chiefs) and the porters, with Murema at their head, came rushing after me, entreating me to halt, but I simply proceeded on my way. Near the mountain top I found a guard of honour, men dressed in white, some armed with guns and some with swords, among them two with black *abajas*, who brought me the King's greetings and his welcome and told me they had orders to conduct me to the hut set apart for me. We now marched on to the strains of martial music. Every moment the crowd of spectators increased, till at last we crossed the hills. All the soldiers were drawn up in parade. I made a short speech, thanked them, and proceeded, accompanied by an officer and ten or fifteen men. The Aga had only left a few days before, and his wakil (deputy), Mohammed Effendi Ibrahim, had gone to the Arabs to make purchases.

Then we descended into a marshy, low country, mounted another hill, and eventually halted in front of a wretched solitary house. We arrived, *el hamdu Lilla* (thank God), though first impressions are not very encouraging. My tent was put up; caller after caller came; but on my asking for water and wood, they replied: 'The King sleeps, we have no orders'. At last, towards four o'clock, after I had rested a little, Mohammed Effendi Ibrahim came to present himself and place himself at my service, and while we were talking, a deputation which had come to see me on behalf of the King was announced. It was composed of the fourth Vizier of the King, and his relative Kyambalango,⁴ a quiet, well-dressed young fellow, the first and second secretary of the King, and many attendants. They brought me a letter written in English, in which the King welcomed me as his 'very dear friend', and congratulated me on my arrival. They asked what I wished for, and when I begged for a decent hut, a nice large one was immediately placed at my disposal, and thither I at once removed. Two young bulls, a goat, a quantity of bananas, and sugar-cane, were brought to me as presents from the King. I hastened to offer each of the two leaders of the deputation a new white shirt, with which they were delighted; the third accepted two boxes of soap; it was then we made the discovery that my soap had been stolen. The chiefs took their leave highly pleased, promising to arrange everything and, in the course of the same evening a quantity of wood (a scarce article in that neighbourhood) and five to six earthen vessels for water were all sent to me by the King. The evening was lovely, but swarms of gnats do not add to one's enjoyment on a cool evening.

[Mutesa's letter of welcome has been inserted in the diary. It reads as follows:

"To my Dear Friend!

I thank be to God for bringing you home safely. Therefore I send Chambalango my chief to see you how do you do and thank be to our Lord Jesus Christ to be thy shield."]

July 28, Friday. . . . So the first night in Mutesa's country is over. A cool clear morning was spent in preparations for the audience which I expect today. After Mohammed Effendi, who proposed I should go uninvited, had received a reply in the negative, Murema came to receive his present. Though he did not deserve it, I

gave him a good white kufthan, which sent him into a mild ecstasy of delight. While we were still talking, we heard the report of a gun, indicating that the King had left his harem. Soon after, a soldier dressed in a blue blouse with white shoulder-straps and blue trousers with broad red stripes, carrying his rifle in a strict military fashion, came up and told me in good Arabic that the King was awaiting me in the great hall, and that I was requested to come.

I started under the guidance of Mohammed Effendi accompanied by about twenty of our soldiers, and was preceded by the cases containing presents, and followed by a servant carrying my camp stool. Outside my door I again found a large escort of well-equipped armed men carrying handsome silver-mounted swords. The escort increased in numbers as we proceeded, and we made our way over the hills to the residence of the King, which was about twenty-five minutes' walk distant and lay between large zeribas and banana plantations. On the crest of a hill we saw some fine palms resembling the yucca, only taller. We came across a repulsive sight; a human arm recently cut off and a partly decomposed thorax lying in the road. On the way the same Chief who called yesterday, as also the first Secretary, came up to join the escort. The crowd, mostly consisting of children, all gesticulating around us, may have numbered about 1,500. When any one became too obtrusive or came unnecessarily near, a gentle rap with a stick, or a push with the butt end of a gun, warned him to keep his distance, and so we got along pretty well. A little way outside the outer gate of the royal residence stands an unfinished red-brick building, a mosque began at the command of Mutesa by Abd-el-Aziz (Linant de Bellefonds, Junior),⁵ but subsequently abandoned. When we arrived at the outer gate where the sentries presented arms—this was done at every gate—the whole crowd went through five or six large courtyards in which the watch-men's huts stand in rows, past hosts of slaves and household menials, through five or six high gateways—the gates are made of reeds and have a number of bells attached to them—until at last we arrived at a closed gate where we had to halt a moment.

The gate was soon thrown open, the assembled crowd remained behind, and I was conducted by the Chief through a lane formed by about two hundred well-armed soldiers, the men in white uniform, the officers wearing blue or red, to a house with a small covered-in vestibule leading to a large chamber. In this room, near the doorway, Mutesa was reclining in Oriental style on a raised dais, covered with handsome Persian carpets. He rose as I entered, advanced half-way down the vestibule to meet me, and shook hands with me. Thereupon he returned to his seat; I placed my camp stool just in the centre of the vestibule the floor of which was covered with fine hay and all the high dignitaries ranged themselves on either side, each sitting on the floor on fine mats.

The King is a man of good presence, youthful appearance, and engaging manner. He was handsomely dressed in Arab costume, and wore a turban trimmed with gold braid, one end of which was left hanging. His chiefs are also all fine-looking men, arrayed in red and white or black and white.

When we were seated, and the troops in the yard had presented arms and sounded drums several times, I suddenly heard that Murema, who was sitting on the ground outside, and, as far as I could understand, giving an account of his journey, was very bitterly complaining about me. This gave rise to some long discussions and, to put an end to the matter I handed to the First Secretary, who was sitting close at hand, the letters from His Excellency the Governor, the usual formalities being complied with, and commenced to explain in Arabic the purpose of my mission. Needless to say, I spared no compliments, but maintained my dignity. An intelligent-looking person of very fair complexion, even for an

Egyptian, who was seated among the dignitaries, and was introduced to me as Sheikh Ahmed of Zanzibar⁶, acted as dragoman. Mutesa understands a little Arabic, but prefers his own language; his superior officials all speak Arabic. My speech seemed to please the King, for he repeatedly placed his hand on his heart and on his forehead, and even the absence of some white calico, which was missing from among the presents, was graciously pardoned. The cases were removed, and after I had spoken a little longer, I asked to be permitted to retire, as I was fatigued after my journey, saying that I would at any time willingly comply with the King's command to present myself again. Next came the leave-taking with the same formalities; the Chief and Sheikh Ahmed were permitted to escort me to my dwelling, and accompanied by soldiers, etc., I returned to my tent, where a good cup of coffee awaited us. Soon after the chiefs took their leave and I was at last at liberty to write my notes. This was my first audience with Mutesa.

Soon after, two boys appeared, one of whom, kneeling, offered me two fowls and some eggs as a present from the King, and the other brought a large gourd filled with mrisa as a gift from the Vizier; my men are very well pleased with these offerings. Shortly before four o'clock the King's Secretary came and brought me a letter in hardly intelligible English, in which the 'Dear Friend' is informed that the King is a Christian and desired to see his people Christians. A reply being desired, I simply wrote that I had come, not to discuss religion, but as the bearer of the presents, and that for the rest I was at the King's disposal, even if my immediate departure were desired, as I was a Muhammadan. The Secretary asked for and received a piece of opium, and went away promising to send me some onions from his garden; they thrive very well here. In consequence of a wish I had previously expressed for some milk, a sergeant, whom I already knew, appeared with ten soldiers bringing a potful of sour milk. Sweet milk is only taken here by women and girls. Smoking is very common. The natives eat half-ripe coffee beans after being roasted in hot ashes till they are browned.

(Copies of this letter are inserted in duplicate in the pages in Emin's diary setting out the events of the following day. The documents had been written with a lead pencil on yellowish pieces of paper. The words appearing in italics are omitted from one of the two documents. Otherwise they are *in ipsissimis verbis*.)

"My Dear Friend hear what I say I am a Christian and be thou Christian first I was the Mohammedeens and find it is all lie and now I am away from them I am among the Christianys and I had the wite man but I myself arsk the people that how is among the Christian but I my self am Christian. From Mtesa king of Uganda.")

July 29, Saturday. . . . Shortly before midnight an indescribable tumult arose in the surrounding zeribas; men came rushing up to me, repeating in accents of terror the word 'Muzungu' (a white man); amid all this could be heard the shrieks of women and children. The noise spread from one zeriba to another, ceasing for a moment, then breaking out again louder than before. It was a regular witches' sabbath, and was kept up till about 2 a.m. I have not yet discovered the cause of it all.

Early in the morning a man presented himself—as he said, sent by the King to inquire after my health—a pretext to get a present from me, because he had brought me the bulls sent by Mutesa. Then, long parleys with my dragoman Kisa, who demanded meat, although he had had 20 lb. yesterday. It is incredible what quantities of meat the negroes will devour.

Fleas abound all over Uganda; there are no scorpions; snakes are very rare, and mostly of a harmless description. There are two varieties of bananas, one small and

very sweet and soft, the other, large and long, rather firmer, not so sweet, and in taste similar to bread. I afterwards found that one of our soldiers had run away during the night, taking with him his arms and ammunition, and had gone to join Mutesa not an uncommon occurrence; this accounts for the noise, as it is strictly forbidden to be out after 5 p.m. and any one found out alone is killed forthwith.

Mohammed Effendi has just come to tell me that he intends to insist on the four runaway soldiers being given up, and failing this he will apply for leave to depart. I am determined to support him energetically in this matter. Our soldiers are short of food and are being enticed by the King's people to desert to them, and, when they do so, their surrender is refused under all sorts of pretexts. By establishing the zeriba here and departing suddenly, leaving only a few men, the Aga has acted unpardonably.

12 o'clock, noon. Mohammed Effendi has just returned. The King, with all his entourage, is rat-hunting in the royal gardens; hence he is invisible. Sheikh Ahmed, whom Mohammed has seen, explains the King's letter to the effect that he believed I was a Christian, and meant to pay me a compliment. However, all the Arabs were ready to leave with me if the King did not explain himself. To-morrow he will bring me his explanations. He says that news arrived last night from Zanzibar to the effect that after a revolution the Sultan's (of Zanzibar) troops had gained a firm footing there, and 'all Christians had been expelled from the country'. Goodness knows what really has happened.⁷

July 30. Sheikh Ahmed is the first Arab to arrive here. He lived to see the birth of the present Sultan (35 years), who holds him in high respect.

July 31. (Mutesa's army is reckoned at 2,000-3,000 well-armed men.)

The Sultan is a puppet in the hands of his higher chiefs to make of him what they will.

(Several soldiers ill of venereal disease (old infections).)

August 1. At 2 o'clock came a merchant, Mohammed bin Nassib, of Zanzibar, who talked much of the dangers of his six months' journey and inquired the relative prices, especially of ivory, at which he could sell his merchandise in Khartoum or Cairo.

August 2. Mohammed Effendi brought me tomatoes. Although the Sultan has sworn to the contrary on the Koran to Sheikh Ahmed, namely, that he would pay attention to their food and deliver up the deserters, his (Mohammed's) soldiers have been three days without bananas or meat . . .

The people had a terrible fright before the occupation when they heard that the steamer had come from Dufile to Magungo.

(At an interview) he (Mutesa) asked whether if he sent ivory to Cairo and sold it, he would be able to buy a steamer or other vessel. I replied in the affirmative. How he will bring it here, he must learn for himself.

August 3. At four o'clock another unannounced visit of the Vizier Kyambalango who told me that tinder-boxes and powder were very bad and dear and Abdul Aziz (Linant) had given him white salt.

August 4. (Interview with Mutesa.) The Sultan was dressed as usual, . . . in commemoration of Friday a big red and white flag flew in the forecourt. Then I was asked if I possessed Christian books. I said I did not. The Sultan then said he possessed some and Abdul Aziz (Linant) had often translated different passages and taught him to read a little. Would I be willing to translate for him? 'Most willingly'. Then the talk turned on religious subjects. The Sultan, who does not rightly know what he wants, was inclined to put his reliance in the Christians and especially the English because he instinctively felt that his only escape from annexation by Egypt

lay there. He complained bitterly of our two officers, who, as regards everything he did, thought he was a Kaffir (infidel) who had submitted to his master and would not let him fly his flag. Speke and Grant gave him an enormous Union Jack which our people had taken, because the red diagonals together with the blue diagonal on their white background made a cross. I must let him know, whether our lords had been sent to teach religion, or to ask for Bulondoganyi. With reference to this last, the Sultan explained to me that he was willing to cede to the Pasha or to me Bulondoganyi and other posts on the lake, on the condition that neither Mohammed Effendi or Nur Aga was sent there to take command. He hates these people, who once demanded bananas from him and he said to them they might come with their hundred odd slaves and take the fruit, and they had replied that their people never carried loads, and he must send his own people. He also complained of the Arabs of Zanzibar, who troubled him with their fanaticism, and he asked me whether all were not equal before God and if all people were not God's creatures. I replied to him with the opening words of the Fatiha—*El hamd ul-lillah rebb ul alemin* (First sura of Koran) and told him the Prophet had not said *rebb ul muslimin*. Thereafter, when he had heard me from the beginning, he thought his heart was so pleased that he would treat me as a relative (*garib* and *nasib*). He would also write to the Pasha and Effendina to thank them for sending me.

August 6. The slaves of Uganda, who in commerce and sale are valued according to the beauty of their forms and also according to their intelligence, seek at first by all possible means to procure their liberty, sometimes by running away. All that their owners can do is watch them by night or fetter them.

... The big chiefs hold themselves out as being Muhammadans, and also practise its particular usages—by fasting in Rajab and Shaban, but at the most they know very little about it. The Sultan is more disposed towards Christianity, because hitherto all his most sought after visitors have been Christians and have left many presents with him, whilst the two Egyptian Muhammadans (Nur Aga and Mohammed Effendi) have done everything possible to disgust him with Islam and its creed. There are few witchdoctors here and they hardly make enough to eat and drink ...

There was brought to me—we were about 25 persons, all of the Sultan's entourage—a wooden black-board, on which questions and answers were written in bad English: For example—"What is the meaning of the word Christmas?"—"Christmas is the day of birth of Jesus Christus"—"What is the meaning of the word Good Friday?" etc. I was asked to translate these word for word into Arabic, presumably to see whether I understood English. It would appear I passed my examination ...

Sheikh Ahmed, who in Zanzibar had much to do with the 'Dutch' (Hamburg merchants) and the English as well as being personally known to Hamerton,⁸ Rigby⁹ etc. as well as on good terms with all travellers (Burton¹⁰, von der Decken,¹¹ Speke, Stanley), developed a long-winded explanation, but for a Wahabite—this I learnt today¹²—a remarkably tolerant one ... Then the Sultan's proposal of a journey to Egypt and England was discussed ...

... I went part of the way with Sheikh Ahmed, who explained to me that Stanley had received here 1,000 reals—presumably from him—and on 21 Moharram 1293 (16 February 1876) had left here for Tanganyika, to make his way into the interior. If hostilities prevented him from continuing his journey, he would come back. He himself, Ahmed, had come here three times during the time of Suna, Mutesa's father, the first time being in 1270.¹³ Suna had been most obliging. Ahmed speaks the language of the Baganda, but he is a bit of a liar, though he is a Wahabite.

August 7. Mohammed Effendi sent me a letter of excuse for not seeing me for four days; he is sick and asks for medicine.

(New caravan arrived from Zanzibar.)

(At this point the following copies of correspondence have been inserted in the diary. Both letters are set out in German.

"4 August, 1876.

"My dear friend! I want you to tell me the truth as to whether you are one of the Turks and not a white man I asked the Pasha for. He writes to me that he has sent you to me and I thought at first you were the white man I wanted. But you have denied persistently that you are a Christian and I must therefore ask you to tell the truth as to whether you are a white man and confirm it by oath.

From Mutesa king of Uganda and Dallington Scopion Mouftah."

Emin's reply was as follows:—"You asked His Excellency the Pasha to send a distinguished white official. His Excellency has sent me, as the letters and presents I have brought and handed to you prove. If I have failed in my mission, or said or done anything that displeases you, you need only complain to His Excellency the Pasha. If you require a Christian official, please write about it and probably one will be sent."

August 10. At 10.30 Dallington¹⁴ came, accompanied by other people, to explain what I had long known, namely, that the Sultan wanted neither Arab nor Turks, but only French or English. I told him to apply to the Consul-General. He also showed me his letters of discharge, signed by Stanley, and also Stanley's letter to the *Daily Telegraph* which I knew of long ago. After a number of useless remarks and questions (Stanley had left at the end of December to return to Zanzibar) he asked for paper pen and ink etc.

August 11. At 12.30 Sheikh Ahmed came to correct his information, and stated that he first came here to Suna in 1260¹⁵ and that Suna and Seyyid Said of Zanzibar both died in Safar 1273¹⁶, that Speke's route followed the merchants' route up to today etc. By the way, he inquired with great cordiality after Haji Abdallah (Burton), whom he admired very much. He will write to him and I shall procure the letter (to be sent to Burton).

August 12. (A caravan of about 200 arrived from Zanzibar. In five months Sheikh Ahmed had collected 1,400 kantars of ivory. The journey from Zanzibar takes 4-5½ months.)

August 13. Today is the big Council of the Sultan, to which the soothsayers, women, Sheikh Ahmed and three newly arrived *Batongole* of Kabarega have been summoned. My belief is that the question to be discussed is that fear of the occupation of Lake Albert, where the steamer is now working.¹⁷

August 14. Sheikh Ahmed, or, as he was called by Burton, Hammed bin Ibrahim—he met him in Kirira—had nothing new to say.

(At a further interview with Mutesa.) Finally a New Testament (English) was brought, which Speke had left for the Sultan at his request. The Sultan asked if I knew this book and I replied that according to Muhammadan teaching the Gospels were also given by God. He was very pleased and asked me if I would come and read to him and translate as Abd el-Aziz had done. This often happened at night. I explained myself to him and said "I will come early in the morning and read to you". I saw this caused him surprise.

August 16. (On the question of Bulondoganyi.) After a long debate as to the suitability of each way, I received again a promise regarding this locality. As I explained, I would go there myself until another officer came (for the Sultan does not want Mohammed Effendi at all and asserted that he had demanded the handing

over of Stanley and also demanded Bulondoganyi for himself). The conversation was changed and I was left without a direct answer. Then the gospel came up for explanation, wherein Dallington once again showed his want of tact. The conversation lasted up till 7 o'clock at night, when I was finally allowed to depart. The Sultan and his viziers seemed to attach much to one phrase I had introduced into the conversation. I had said to him, that if he did not give us Bulondoganyi, we would clear a way to the lake outside of his country and then the trade and commerce with Egypt would be lost by him. This seemed to vex him.

August 19. For some days (six) I have received no news from Mohammed Effendi.

August 20. (Sick parade of the soldiers reduced from fifteen or sixteen daily to only seven.)

Yesterday Mohammed Effendi saw the Sultan, who proposed to him to give him Bulondoganyi and send a vizier with him to that place. Only he must swear on the Koran, that the Pasha had no evil intentions, and he must leave 15 soldiers here. This is the position with these people. He told me that I must tell Mohammed Effendi nothing of what he had said to me and then he, the Sultan, is the first to talk about it. On Friday Mohammed Effendi and Fakih Ibrahim¹⁸ had not come to me and had celebrated the Friday festival with him and his people but to me he holds himself out as a Christian.

I was given two letters from the Pasha, one for Dallington, and one for the Sultan. In these dated at Foweira 12/8, the Pasha writes "Tomorrow I go from here to Mruli on my business, so that I may come and bring presents." In the letter to Dallington he promises he will help him to civilize Mutesa; he will be very surprised if he sees the civilized Dallington.

August 24. Dallington appeared, scratched himself for a little time and then went away. He must have received a good education from Stanley. According to Idi, Nur Aga is on the way with 30 men and will arrive here in three days.

August 28. Nur Aga arrived in the meantime and brought me an unpleasant and impertinent letter from the Pasha. According to it I must go back to Patiko and Dufile and to Lado to receive instructions for making stations . . . Nur Aga had orders to take Fakih with him which would certainly be very disagreeable to the Sultan.

August 29. Nur Aga and Mohammed Effendi appeared with letters in English from the Pasha, which under a semblance of truth and lies demanded leave for us to depart.

August 30. (Emin sent word to Mutesa of his intention to depart with Nur Aga, as Gordon had ordered him to return.)

August 31. (Emin set out for Mruli.)

September 7, Thursday. We marched through tall grass, over very dry land, until we reached the Meshra (place of embarkation) at 8.36 a.m.; there we made a short halt, and started again at 9.28 a.m., arriving at the Mruli Zeriba at 10.21 a.m. The road is very different from the one over which we passed on our outward journey. As His Excellency the Pasha was there, I waited on him soon after one o'clock and received my *congé*, as another doctor is on his way from Cairo. I soon retired, had some brandy and tobacco sent me by the Pasha, as also a number of welcome letters from friends in Khartoum. Even Slatin had written. Towards night I was again called to the Pasha, who told me he was going to Cairo; Major Prout was to be his substitute, and he asked me what I proposed to do now. I told him frankly I did not know yet, and he then proposed that I should now go to Lado, and said he would speak to Prout. I thereupon withdrew, but was

soon sent for again, and chatted with him until after 11 at night, about Marno, etc.

September 8, Friday. Rain during the night; early in the morning twenty-four patients. I was then called to the Pasha, who told me he had appointed me chief of all the store depots in the province, so that when Prout arrives he may find the matter all settled. A long conversation then ensued, and eventually I returned home, but was again sent for, and asked to publish my adventures and experiences at the court of Mutesa, in French and German, dated from Mruli. I think of writing to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Explorateur*.

September 9, Saturday. Last night I was again the guest of the Pasha until after 11 o'clock. We had a long talk over my experiences in Uganda and the improvements to be introduced in our provinces; nor were Marno's and Lucas's experiences here forgotten. This morning the Pasha left for Nyamyongo, but before starting he sent for me early and told me to await him here, as he proposed to take me with him to Masindi and Magungo; he then took leave of me most cordially. He expects to be eight days on his journey. It will be rather lonely now, though since my appointment the officials have become very civil.

(On 11 September Gordon set out from Mruli for Nyamyongo, returning to Mruli on 17 September. Emin did not accompany him. For details of this journey of Gordon see Birkbeck Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, pp. 185-91; and H. B. Thomas, Gordon's Farthest South in Uganda in 1876, *U.J.* 5 (1937-8), 284-8, where the slight discrepancy between Emin's and Gordon's dates is referred to.)

September 12. Mutesa's embassy for Cairo arrived led by Yuzbashi Mutandi and a twelve year old boy as Mulazim.¹⁹ Fifteen persons. All very dirty.

September 13. The servants of Ahmed bin Ibrahim came from Uganda with four loads of goods and some hunters from Karagwe.

September 14. Much noise and much work—the women are to live in their own part of the zeriba, which it is intended to enlarge, and the soldiers must only visit their houses once or twice a week. The reason for this is not clear to me. In the early morning they began transporting the framework of the houses, from which the thatch had been removed, and which look like large bird cages, so that they put them on the ground and cover them again. The smaller household effects, a few *burena* (? stone pots), calabashes, an *ankareb* with a *soi disant* bed and a *marbakka* (? stone grinding mill) follow and everything is finished.²⁰

September 17. (Gordon returned to Mruli.)

September 18. He (Gordon) saw the people from Zanzibar and Karagwe today and bought all their goods, sending rich presents to Ahmed bin Ibrahim and Rumanyika. Then he received Mutesa's people and gave them a serious homily, and refused to let them go to Egypt, threatened Mutesa with war and finally gave them presents.²¹

September 19. (Emin and Gordon set out for Masindi.)

September 20. (Extract from letter of Gordon to his sister printed in Birkbeck Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, p. 192.) an elephant made us halt today. The men were quite afraid to pass. He stood like a mountain in the path, and had broken down a thick tree, a foot in diameter. (Subsequent entries are, unless otherwise stated, from Emin's diary.)

September 21. (Came to an abandoned town of Kabarega's which had been burnt.) We find ourselves with our small body of troops in hostile country, and may be attacked at any moment. Wad el Mek, whom we supposed to be with troops in Masindi, has left us in the lurch.²² At the Pasha's request I will describe my journey in French.

September 22. Arrived at 10.58 a.m. below Sumbije (Usumbi of Baker).

Kabarega, who dwells about two hours from here, has recently gone to his capital at Magangesi (Bugangadzi). (False alarm of a hostile attack.)

September 23. (Reached territory of the chief Janjok.)

September 24 . . . The guide, one of Ruyonga's people, went off to find the route and has not returned.²³ As a reward for their service on this journey the Pasha wishes to give the officers half a month's pay and the soldiers a whole month's pay.

September 25. (From letter of Gordon to his sister printed in Birkbeck Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa* p. 194. Marched nine miles—dense jungle—thank God, unmolested. (D.V.) shall reach the *soi disant* Masindi tomorrow.)

(Emin's diary continues as follows.)

September 26. (Reached Kirota.)

September 27. (Marched 19 English miles.)

September 28. (Marched 20 English miles.)

September 30. (Reached Magungo.)

October 2. (*Nyanza* sailed towing another vessel.)

October 3. (Proceeded to Butiaba and Kibiro by the *Nyanza*.) We met a vessel manned by a single man, who tried to flee but was quickly captured. After many assurances that nothing would happen to him, he was brought on board the ship, which had stopped. He was quite naked and behaved quite ingenuously in the cabin and showed not the slightest astonishment. He was next given a present and questioned. Kabarega resides two days from here. From Kibiro there is a well-watered highway with large herds of cattle to Masindi. The young man explained that the villagers would willingly supply wood for the steamer, provided they were given glass beads. He was then taken into the engine room, but expressed no surprise; only he was frightened by the noise of the steamer's whistle. After he had received a piece of white calico and a letter and some glass beads for Kabarega, he went in his canoe quickly to land to tell people the incredible story of the fire-breathing ship and the two white men. (Returned to Magungo that night.)

October 5. (Left Magungo 8.21 a.m. and reached Sheikh Wadelai 2.22 p.m. where Murjan Aga disembarked and wood was taken on board. Murjan returned in the evening with 100 lb. of ivory.)

October 6. (Reached Dufile).

NOTES

¹ Lieutenant George Shergold Smith, R.N., leader of the first C.M.S. missionary party to reach Buganda did not arrive there until 30 June 1877, ten months after the Egyptian troops had been withdrawn. On 14 October following he wrote to Dr. John Kirk, British Consul-General at Zanzibar, saying "If you would exercise your influence to prevent the annexation of Mutesa's dominions to Egypt, I shall be much obliged". Kirk adds "I see by a letter from Colonel Gordon he speaks of this as having been already completed, saying 'Mutesa has annexed himself'. Though it is not the case yet, it shows which way the wind blows" *U.J.* 15 (1951), 11).

² Mutesa's secretary was in fact Dallington Muftaa, details of whose career are given in a subsequent footnote.

³ Cossitza equates with Ripon Falls. The name is a puzzle. It seems to be Gordon's invention, appearing in *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, pp. 154, 177-8, 441, but its use soon ceases. It is not a vernacular word (Gordon never reached the Ripon Falls). It has been suggested that Gordon may have appropriated the name from the lower Danube regions, where he had served as English Commissioner of the European Commission of the Danube immediately before coming to the Sudan. There is in fact a village Kozitsa in Bulgaria south of the Danube, but there is no known reason whatever to associate Gordon therewith.

⁴ For the origin of the title Kyambalango see M. B. Nsimbi, *Amannya Amaganda n'ennono Zaago*, pp. 88-9. The holder of the post at the time of Emin's visit would appear to have been Tebukozza of the Lugave clan, a personal favourite of Mutesa, who made

him Owesaza (county chief) of Busiro and subsequently promoted him to the post of Kimbugwe. After Mutesa's death Mwanga made him Owesaza (Pokino) of Buddu. Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*, pp. 97, 114, tells us that he "could read both the Koran and the New Testament", but was bitterly opposed to both Islam and Christianity and was one of those who instigated Mwanga's attempt to massacre Christians and Muslims alike in 1888. When the plot was detected, both he and Mwanga had to flee and the Pokino's place was looted. He was not restored to his chieftainship when in the following year the Christians reinstated Mwanga on the throne.

⁵ Ernest Linant de Bellefonds met Stanley, when the latter arrived at Mutesa's court in 1875 and undertook to forward to its destination Stanley's letter calling for Christian missionaries to be sent to Buganda. Details of Linant's journey are to be found in the *Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie de Caire* Series 1, 1876-77 pp. 1-104. A good summary thereof is to be found in H. B. Thomas, 'Ernest Linant de Bellefonds and Stanley's letter to the *Daily Telegraph*' (*U.J.* 2 (1934-5), 1-13), which incidentally most clearly and incisively destroys a legend which has sprung up regarding the fate of Stanley's letter.

⁶ For an account of Ahmed bin Ibrahim el Ameri see 'Ahmed bin Ibrahim—The first Arab to reach Buganda' (*U.J.* 11 (1947), 80-97).

⁷ The rumour seems to have related to the deposition on 29 May 1876 of Abdul Aziz, Sultan of Turkey (and not of the ruler of Zanzibar).

⁸ Atkins Hamerton was British Consul at Zanzibar from 1841 until his death in 1857.

⁹ Christopher Palmer Rigby (1820-1885) was British Consul at Zanzibar from 1858 to 1861.

¹⁰ Burton and Sheikh Ahmed met at Kirira in Unyamwezi on 26 December 1857 (Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa* ii, 392-3).

¹¹ Baron Carl Claus von der Decken made several expeditions from Zanzibar into the interior of the main continent. After one short expedition from Kilwa in 1860, he had another to Kilimanjaro in 1861 and a third to the River Tana, Ozi and Tula in 1864. He was murdered whilst exploring the River Juba in 1865.

¹² Sheikh Ahmed was in actual fact a member of the Ibathi sect.

¹³ As will be seen later (11 August 1876), Sheikh Ahmed corrected this date to A.H. 1260, see note ¹⁵ below.

¹⁴ Stanley enlisted Dallington for service in his transcontinental expedition in 1874. He describes him at that date as being "probably only fifteen, with a face strongly pitted with traces of a violent attack of smallpox, but as bright and intelligent as any boy of his age, white or black". (*Through the Dark Continent* i, 76.) He had been rescued from a slave ship and handed over to the care of the Universities Mission to Central Africa in Zanzibar, where he had been educated at the boys' school at Kiungani. Before being engaged by Stanley it was reported that he "had not been a great credit to the Mission". (Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*, p. 112.) In *Through the Dark Continent* i, 322, Stanley describes how in September 1875 during a campaign against the Bavuma he introduced Dallington to Mutesa so that he "could translate the Bible into Kiswahili for him, and otherwise communicate to him what I wished to say. Henceforth, during the intervals of leisure that the war gave us, we were to be seen—the king, court, Dallington and I—engaged in the translation of an abstract of the Holy Scriptures. There were readers enough of these translations, but Mutesa himself was an assiduous and earnest student." When Stanley himself set out finally from Buganda on his journey across Africa, he left Dallington behind to continue the instruction of Mutesa in the Christian religion. In addition to his duties as a Scripture reader Dallington became, as Emin's diary shows, Mutesa's scribe and translator of his correspondence into English. After the arrival of European missionaries, Dallington failed to give satisfaction to Mackay, who described him as leading a "godless life, after all the teaching he got at Zanzibar". In 1881 he was given by Mutesa the *kitongole* chieftainship of Mutezi under Kago, the county chief of Kyadondo, and withdrew from the service of the Church Missionary Society. (H. B. Thomas, Jacob Wainwright in Uganda. *U.J.* 15 (1951), 205.)

On 23 April 1875, Dallington wrote to Bishop Steere in Zanzibar as follows:

"My dear Bishop, Let thy heart be turned to thy servant, and let me have favour in thy sight; therefore send me Swahili prayers, and send me one big black Bible. I want slates, board, chalk, that I may teach the Waganda the way of God. I have been teach them already, but I want you to send me Litala Suudi, that he may help me in the work of God. Oh, my Lord pray for me. Oh, ye boys pray for me. And if thou refuse to send me Litala Suudi send John Swedi. Your honour to the Queen and my honour to You—J. Scopion, alias Dallington Naftaa—I am translating the Bible to Mtesa, son of

Suna, King of Uganda. I was with Henry Stanley together with Robert Feruzi, but Robert is gone with Stanley, but I being stop in Uganda translating the Bible." (Anderson-Morshead, *op. cit.* p. 112.)

In a letter to Stanley, dated 30 January 1876, Dallington also wrote asking for more paper to write upon. (*Through the Dark Continent* i, 448.)

It was only to be expected that the aggressive Christianity of Dallington grated upon Emin, the recent convert from Christianity to Islam.

¹⁵ The year 1260 of the Hejira began on 22 January 1844, and ended on 10 January 1845.

¹⁶ Seyyid Said bin Sultan of Zanzibar died at sea on 13 October 1856 (corresponding to 12 Safar A.H. 1273).

¹⁷ "He (sc. Mutesa) was desperately alarmed at hearing of your poor brother's arrival at Magungo with the steamer. His faith in either the Mussulman or Christian religion broke down and he sent for his magicians and had a conference of five hours with them. However, it was not satisfactory, for he then sent for my officer and protested how he loved me etc., besetting him with questions about why I came" (Gordon to his sister, 11 September 1876: Birkbeck Hill. *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, p. 186).

¹⁸ As the title Fakih denotes, Ibrahim was a teacher of Islam. On 17 May 1874 Gordon informed his sister that "two sheikhs are going to Mutesa to teach him the Koran", but later on 29 August 1875 he informed her that, in view of Linant de Bellefonds' account of the wholesale executions which were occurring at Mutesa's court, "it is as well I did not send the Mussulman priests there, for he might have killed them". In reporting on 9 September 1876 the return of the Egyptian troops from Buganda to Mruli, Gordon told her that Mutesa, "in spite of the change of his religion to Christianity, (he) wanted to keep my Mussulman priest, but I would not allow it". (Birkbeck Hill. *op. cit.* pp. 16, 115 and 185.) It would appear that the Fakih arrived at Mutesa's court together with the troops under Nur Aga's command.

¹⁹ Yuzbashi is the rank accorded in the Egyptian army to the commander of one hundred men, i.e. the equivalent of a captaincy. Mulazim corresponds in rank to a lieutenant.

²⁰ A picture depicting a similar house removal amongst the Madi is to be found on p. 588 of Speke's *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*.

²¹ On 30 August 1876 Gordon informed his sister that "I have proposed to Mutesa a treaty recognizing the independence of the country of Uganda, and offering to take his ambassador down to Cairo". On 18 September he informed her that on his return to Mruli "I found some letters from Mutesa, in answer to mine about the treaty. He, however, says nothing about that, and his letters, are as usual, mixed up with bits of prayers, and requests for guns, etc. I have given him a good letter and have (D.V.) done with him". (Birkbeck Hill *op. cit.* pp. 183, 192.)

²² Muhammad Wad el Mek had at one time been in the service of Abu Saud, one of the principal slave traders in Equatoria. In 1872 he had taken service under Baker as the commander of some irregular troops (Baker. *Ismailia*, Chapter XXIV). When Chaillé-Long met him at Patiko in 1874, he recorded that "his face was deeply marked with smallpox, and the effect of merissa was clearly shown in his husky voice and his blood-shot eyes". (*Central Africa*, p. 68.) When Gordon reached Kirota on 26 September, he "found not a move had been made to come out and meet us. However, after a fearful row I quieted down, and as mercy had been showed me, I did the same. Poor creatures, you cannot expect better". (Birkbeck Hill. *op. cit.* p. 195.)

²³ Ruyonga had been an unsuccessful claimant to the throne of Bunyoro at the time of Kamurasi's accession. (K.W. The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara. *U.J.* 5 (1937-8), 62.) In 1872, after his rupture with Kabarega, Baker had proclaimed Ruyonga as ruler of Bunyoro in Kabarega's place. (Baker. *op. cit.* p. 405.) Ruyonga died in 1881. He never succeeded in evicting Kabarega from his kingdom or even in gaining any really permanent foothold at any place in Bunyoro.

THE TURKANA PATROL, 1918¹

By R. O. COLLINS

STRETCHING westward from Lake Rudolf to the Karamojong escarpment lies a plain of low altitude broken only by isolated hills or groups of hills, which although steep and rugged do not exceed 6,000 ft above sea level. The plain itself is covered with thick thornbush, but on the hillsides there is excellent grazing. Rainfall is scanty, coming almost entirely in the months of April and May with only occasional light showers during the succeeding months. It is then that the rivers run dry, and although water can be found under the stream beds, one must dig deep to obtain it. In the hills many springs are found, but the water of some, like Lake Rudolf itself, is brackish and unpleasant to the taste. In the dry season the plain becomes a desert, pasturage is sparse, and the landscape reminds the traveller of the plains of Kordofan west of Omdurman. The climate is hot, dry, and decidedly unpleasant; and "the country cannot be said to be one which would repay exploitation".²

This is the land of the Turkana, a nomadic people who graze their herds of cattle and flocks of goats and sheep on the plains and hillsides in order to eke out a meagre existence from their hostile environment.³ Today the Turkana have accepted the peace and order of British Colonial rule; but only thirty years ago they were still a belligerent and warlike people, and just over forty years ago their razzias terrified the neighbouring tribes in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and British East Africa. They were encouraged in these forays by Abyssinian and Swahili poachers, who for many years had roamed the wild country between Lake Rudolf and the Nile poaching elephants and carrying on an extensive but illicit trade in ivory, guns, ammunition and slaves. When the Abyssinians did not incite the Turkana to pillage and poach along the frontier, outlaws from tribes of East Africa and Uganda did. Supplied with quantities of arms and ammunition and even led by these Abyssinian and East African desperadoes, the Turkana with their natural courage and dash soon acquired a well-deserved reputation as a fighting race. Armed with a two-headed stabbing spear, a *simis* or short sword, a circular wrist-knife, shield, and curved finger-knives for gouging out an enemy's eyes, the Turkana would attack with great force, overpowering their opponents by the sheer momentum of their assault. As early as 1915 many were armed with Gras rifles purchased from the Abyssinian gun-runners, but largely because of faulty ammunition their shooting was often ineffective. If attacked or placed on the defensive, the Turkana would put up a stubborn resistance particularly when protecting their cattle.

With the gradual extension of effective administration throughout East Africa and in particular over the neighbouring tribes of the Turkana, the British authorities had the unenviable responsibility of providing protection to these tribes. Some like the Suk, the Samburu, the Dodoth, and the Karamojong were administered, more or less, by the governments of East Africa or Uganda and loyally supported those governments. Others however such as the Toposa,

the Didinga, and the southern Latuka, who lived near or astride the frontier between the Sudan and Uganda, were not effectively administered but were traditionally hostile toward Abyssinian raiders and their Turkana followers. Nevertheless, hostility for the Turkana, either traditional or newly acquired, was no substitute for the protection and administration implicit in British rule.

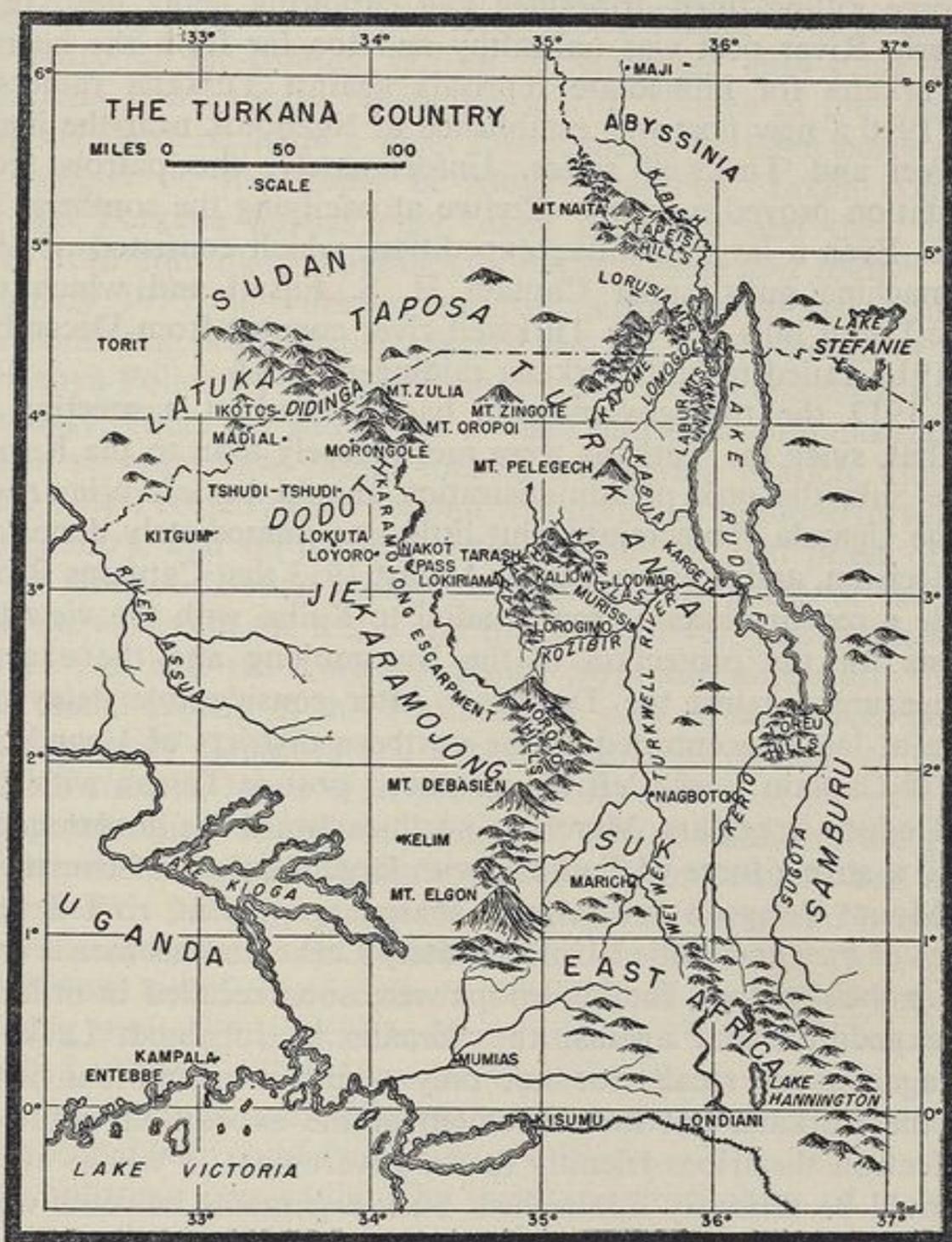


FIG. 1

Not only was the prestige of British administration in the Protectorates and the Sudan at stake among those tribes already under control, but the whole future relationship between the British authorities and the unadministered frontier tribes depended upon the ability of the British officials to forestall Turkana raiders, East African outlaws, and Abyssinian poachers. If allowed to plunder and pillage unchecked and uncontrolled, the raiders would soon drive the tribes, particularly in the East Africa Protectorate, back onto the European settlers who had established their farms in the highlands east of Mount Elgon.⁴

In 1908 the first attempt to pacify the Turkana was undertaken when a detachment of the King's African Rifles under Captain F. H. Span was stationed on the River Kerio. From this post numerous patrols were carried out against the southern Turkana to punish them for raiding Suk villages and encampments. In one engagement Captain Span and his men surprised a large Turkana force killing thirty tribesmen and capturing many head of cattle.⁵ But the Kerio River post was unhealthy and too far from the heart of the southern Turkana for immediate reprisals against Turkana raiders, so in September 1910 a new post was established at Ngabotok near the junction of the Wei Wei and Turkwell rivers. Unfortunately, the patrols from this advanced station proved no more effective at pacifying the southern Turkana than before. Even a large punitive expedition, which consisted of 106 rifles and two machine guns under Captain H. S. Filsall and which marched through the Loreu hills and the Turkwell river country from December 1912 to March 1913, failed to halt Turkana raiding parties.⁶

In May 1912 the two governments had decided at a meeting held at Naivasha that, since the Turkana were more closely akin to the Karamojong than to the Suk, the task of administration should be left primarily in the hands of the Uganda Protectorate. But little was immediately done to implement this decision, and it was not until August 1913 that Captains Brooks and Leeke made a reconnaissance from Madial to Kelim with the view to establishing posts for the protection of the Karamojong and the execution of punitive measures against the Turkana.⁷ After considerable delay sufficient forces were at last concentrated in the northern districts of Uganda, and on 2 April 1914 Captain Leeke left his advanced post at Tarash with 200 rifles and some Dodoth irregulars. Marching north-eastward the government troops encountered a strong force of Turkana with large numbers of livestock on the slopes of Mount Pelegech and, after a sharp engagement, routed them with heavy losses of men and cattle.⁸ Unfortunately Leeke and his men were unable to follow up their victory, for his troops were soon recalled in order to reinforce an expedition sent against the Somalis in Jubaland. Leeke bitterly protested against his recall, for not only would a precipitous withdrawal embolden the Turkana but the retirement of the expedition would have an adverse effect on the tribes friendly to the government in whose eyes British prestige would be seriously diminished. Such arguments however were of no avail, and the patrol duly retired to Morongole and Lokuta posts. True to Leeke's predictions the Turkana immediately recommenced their raiding, and although Captain Lilley and a detachment of the K.A.R. stationed at Morongole killed 150 Turkana and recaptured much looted cattle in a fierce running battle near Mount Oropoi, Turkana raids continued with alarming persistency.⁹ By the summer of 1914 the situation on the frontier had deteriorated so sharply that the East African authorities resolved to send a strong punitive patrol into the Turkana country at the conclusion of the Jubaland expedition, and this resolution was sustained in spite of the demand at the outbreak of the First World War for the use of all available troops against the German forces in East Africa.

While this punitive expedition was slowly being assembled in the autumn of 1914, the Turkana raiders were held in check by the Uganda Police and forces from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Units of the 9th Sudanese had temporarily occupied Morongole, Madial, and Kitgum at the outbreak of the war so that the permanent garrisons of the King's African Rifles at those posts could be sent against the German force in the south.¹⁰ The Sudanese troops not only patrolled the frontier, but on 10 November 1914 some 73 Sudanese under Captain Fairbrain, in co-operation with 31 men of the Uganda Police under Mr. G. Waters, made a night attack against a large party of Turkana raiders camped on the slopes of Mount Pelegech. Taken completely by surprise the Turkana offered only token resistance and then fled, leaving behind 19 dead and many thousands of cattle, sheep, and goats.¹¹

By January 1915 the Turkana punitive patrol was at last made ready at Nairobi. Consisting of 20 British officers and 428 native troops of the K.A.R. and the Kenya Police Service Battalion, the expedition entrained for Londiani on 11 January. There the patrol was divided into three columns each of which marched to separate base camps located at Ngiyan, Marich, and Ngabotok respectively. By February each column was prepared to move forward into the Turkana country, and on the 4th of that month the first phase of the patrol was put in motion. Lasting nearly two months this phase of the operations embraced the valleys of the Kerio and the Sugota rivers and reached westward to the Wei Wei and the Turkwell rivers. Sweeping northward the columns drove the Hellai section of the Turkana and part of the Neseto before them, inflicting numerous casualties and capturing a large number of livestock. In spite of such success, however, it became quite clear that the effectiveness of the striking columns was seriously impeded by the failure of the government forces to acquire sufficient intelligence about the movements and attitudes of the Turkana. This failing was a constant source of worry and irritation to the officers of this and subsequent patrols against the Turkana. The second phase of the operations lasted only for the first ten days of April 1915 and comprised the remaining territory between the Kerio and the Turkwell rivers and beyond up the valley of the Kozibir. Here too the government forces were successful in routing the Turkana and capturing much stock, but the resistance was decidedly more stubborn, and frequently the Turkana attacked at night in the hope of recapturing their cattle. The third and final phase of the operations extended over the vast area between Lake Rudolf on the east and the Karamojong escarpment on the west and as far north as the Labur mountains. From 26 April to 18 May two flying columns of the K.A.R. and the Uganda Police, reinforced by Captain Fairbrain and a company of the 9th Sudanese, vigorously pursued the fleeing Turkana. Most of the tribesmen sought safety in the Labur mountains to which Ebe, the powerful and recalcitrant Turkana leader, had escaped. Certainly, by the end of the patrol, the power of the Turkana appeared to be completely broken.¹²

The Turkana had lost over 400 killed, 86 wounded, and 63 captured in addition to the seizure of nearly 20,000 head of cattle and over 100,000 sheep and goats. On the other hand the British forces lost only 12 killed, 20 wounded, and 33 dead from disease. Measured by the great numbers of live-

stock captured and the apparent acknowledgement of government supremacy by many of the Turkana tribes, the patrol was ostensibly a success. In fact it was a total failure. Not only did the punitive expedition fail to forestall future Turkana raids, but the inability to follow up the patrol with effective administration only created the impression among the Turkana that such punitive patrols were the sole objective of the government and should consequently be met with counter-raids. Furthermore, many of the most belligerent sections of the Turkana, who live north of the Labur mountains in Sudan territory, had not been touched by the patrol. These northern Turkana possessed large numbers of firearms, while those Turkana tribes in the south, which had been dealt with most heavily, were primarily spearmen. This quickly led to the widespread but erroneous belief that the government was reluctant to fight against riflemen.¹³ The northern Turkana were, of course, encouraged in this belief by the numerous Abyssinian poachers and East African outlaws who had "succeeded in establishing an extraordinary and evil influence over the Turkana tribes as a whole".¹⁴

The Abyssinians had long possessed an unpleasant record of poaching in the Sudan and East Africa. Operating from Maji, a frontier market town 100 miles north of Lake Rudolf on the Kibish river, the Abyssinians engaged in elephant hunting, gun-running, slave-trading, and ordinary pillaging as far west as the Nile, east to Lake Stefanie, and south beyond 4° north latitude. Many of the more notorious Abyssinian poachers were well known and some like Ato Aparata Dasta, and Locherikus possessed private armies numbering seventy-five to a hundred rifles.¹⁵ In addition, the Abyssinians could count on the support of their protégés, the East African outlaws. Outcasts from some eight tribes of Uganda and East Africa and including a few Baluchis, these outlaws had been driven from the Karamojong and Turkwell river country by the British authorities in 1910 and 1911; and unable to liquidate their indebtedness to local traders, transferred their base to Maji in Abyssinia and continued their hunting and raiding expeditions into the Sudan, Uganda, and East Africa. Numbering between 600 and 1,000 men armed with rifles, these renegades roamed the countryside in groups of ten to forty rifles frequently attaching themselves to larger Abyssinian hunting parties when operating in the neighbourhood of hostile tribes. This co-operation between the Abyssinians and these East African outlaws was actually of long standing, dating back to the turn of the century when a Swahili caravan had been taken by an Abyssinian poaching party to Maji, and there given a most friendly welcome. This auspicious beginning was the start of a fraternization in hunting, raiding, and trading which culminated in the East Africans ostensibly becoming Abyssinian subjects under the governor of Maji.¹⁶

These Abyssinian and East African desperadoes were, for the most part, heartily welcomed by the unadministered frontier tribes, for the tribes, such as the Marille, the Turkana, and the Donyiro as well as the small agricultural tribes situated near the western shore of Lake Rudolf, the Kanabetel, the Ngara, and the Nimoretun, were as anxious as the desperadoes to keep the government out of the frontier territory. On the one hand the tribesmen resented the interference in their earlier freedom which was implicit in govern-

ment administration, while on the other the Abyssinians were indignant at the restrictions to poaching, hunting, and raiding which accompanied the extension of government control. Furthermore the Abyssinian poachers and raiders refused to recognize the official boundary between Abyssinia and the Sudan and East Africa, preferring to claim, on grounds of tradition as well as convenience at least the Lomogol and more often the Turkwell river as their southern boundary.¹⁷ Therefore, as the governments of the Sudan, Uganda, and East Africa gradually extended their administration into the frontier territory, they met increasingly stubborn resistance. For the past fifteen years not only the tribes but the Abyssinians and the East African outlaws had been steadily growing in power and strength as guns and ammunition became more plentiful. Such strength was best reflected by the growth of Maji which in 1900 was little more than a camp for a limited number of Abyssinian traders but by 1914 had grown into a sprawling town inhabited by traders, poachers, and desperadoes. Maji was the centre of the ivory and slave trade for the northern route to Addis Ababa. Here guns and ammunition of all kinds were openly sold without restriction, and live rounds of ammunition and even empty cartridges were used as a sort of local currency. But it was not only the Abyssinians and their protégés who increased their power. The frontier tribes themselves obtained through Abyssinian gun-runners large quantities of arms. It is doubtful if the tribes possessed many firearms before 1900, but by 1915 it was estimated that the Marille had over 400 Gras rifles, the Donyiro some 800, the Kanabetel 300, the Ngara and the Nimoretun over 1,000 apiece, and the Turkana tribal sections nearly 2,000.¹⁸ In spite of the notorious ineffectiveness of an untrained tribesman with a rifle these large numbers, combined with the Abyssinian and East African desperadoes, could provide formidable opposition to any government punitive expedition. So strong in fact had the Abyssinians and their tribal allies become that by 1917 they were no longer content merely to raid the neighbouring tribes but, urged on by a German agent at Maji, also attacked isolated government posts.¹⁹

Although the punitive expedition of 1915 had appeared to subdue the Turkana, the uneasy peace which followed the patrol was short-lived. On 20 February 1917 the Turkana launched a large raid against the Karamojong, causing 33 casualties and driving off some 8,000 head of cattle. Urged on by their Abyssinian allies the Turkana carried out other successful raids in February, March, and April in which the tribes loyal to the government lost over 15,000 head of cattle. The political effects of these raids were far-reaching. Not only did the southern Turkana, who were under partial administration, join their more warlike brethren to the north, but the inability of the administration to check Turkana raiders spread disaffection among the tribes hitherto loyal to the government. Taking advantage of the raids which they themselves had undoubtedly inspired large parties of Abyssinian and East African desperadoes raided and pillaged the Dodoth, the Suk, and the Karamojong. The Abyssinians were more bold than the Turkana. Encouraged and stimulated by the activities of the German agent at Maji, they were not content with simply raiding the tribes but vigorously attacked police posts and units of the K.A.R. On 26 April 1917 the police camp at Lorogimo on the

Kozibir river was assaulted but the attackers were successfully driven off, abandoning many loads of food and supplies.²⁰

Responding to appeals for reinforcements from the District Commissioner and the Officer Commanding the K.A.R. in the Turkana country, the authorities in Nairobi sent Captain Rayne and 76 men to Lokiriama to reinforce Captain Rainsford and his contingent of one company K.A.R. and 90 police. Moving in fast mobile columns both Rayne and Rainsford harried the bands of marauders that roamed freely over the Turkana plain, occasionally killing a few and recapturing looted cattle. On 17 May Rayne, accompanied by only 22 men, intercepted a large party of Abyssinians supported by Turkana warriors as they debouched through Nakot pass after raiding the Dodoth in the high country beyond the Karamojong escarpment. Although greatly outnumbered, Rayne and his men formed a square on the plain amidst some clumps of sansevieria plants and awaited the assault of the Abyssinians. With some 250 rifles and a Maxim Gun the attackers were well-organized into three companies, every man of which had been trained in the use of his rifle. They were led into battle by Ato Aparo who rode a mule and was accompanied by an umbrella-bearer and a trumpeter. On the flanks of the Abyssinians were large bodies of Turkana who, acting as auxiliaries, supported the main assault by the Abyssinians. The battle raged for nearly four hours as Rayne and his men fought off one attack after another. By noon however the final charge of the raiders had failed to penetrate the square and they hastily withdrew, leaving behind 37 dead. Many others who made good their escape were wounded including the Abyssinian leader, Ato Aparo. Rayne had lost over half of his men either killed or wounded and had so exhausted his supply of ammunition that he could not pursue the fleeing marauders. The neighbouring Dodoth, who had been the victims of the raiders, had lost over 60 killed and many others captured and enslaved.²¹

The situation on the frontier continued to deteriorate. Most of the raids were carried out by small groups of Abyssinians and Turkana working separately or in concert but in November 1917 a large raiding-party, consisting almost entirely of Abyssinians, attacked the Toposa tribe in the Sudan, killing over 40 tribesmen and driving off some 300 cattle.²² In British East Africa alone the tribes claimed that over 30,000 head of cattle had been looted, while those in Uganda lost another 3,000.²³ In spite of the best efforts of the British officers and their inadequate forces in Turkanaland it was apparent that peace and order would not be restored "until not only have the raiders been stopped but also the Turkana living north of Labur have been subjected to severe punitive measures, and until their country is taken under effective administrative control."²⁴

As a first step toward achieving peace and order on the frontier the British East Africa authorities in Nairobi decided on 17 October 1917 to undertake a large-scale punitive expedition against the Turkana and their Abyssinian allies. The general object of the patrol was to prepare the way for the administration of the Turkana by attaining the following specific objectives:

- 1 The punishment and disarmament, in respect of fire-arms, of the Donyiro, Marille, and Turkana tribes, and of any other native tribes

resident in the military area who have shown hostility to the Government.

- 2 The expulsion of the Abyssinians from the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates west of Lake Rudolf.
- 3 The reduction of the military area to a state suitable for civil administration.
- 4 The recapture of looted stock.²⁵

As early as September the authorities in Nairobi had intended to send large reinforcements to Turkanaland, but Captain Rayne quickly pointed out that such reinforcements were not necessarily the solution. Rayne advised

“that the whole of the trouble the B.E.A. Government wished to deal with emanated from the Sudan Territory. That the impression that the Turkana tribe was the only element to be dealt with was an erroneous one. That the situation to be faced was a strong combination of all frontier tribes, armed with modern rifles and solidly backed by Abyssinian officials at Maji. That a force of 300 rifles [the number of reinforcements Nairobi planned to send to the Turkana country] was insufficient for the work to be done. That influence should be brought to bear on the central Abyssinian Government to apply pressure to restrain their officials in southern Abyssinia, and that the Sudan Government should be asked to deal with the situation.”²⁶

Acting upon this sound advice the East African authorities immediately approached the Sudan Government seeking its co-operation in a combined punitive patrol against the Turkana and support for the representations which the British Legation at Addis Ababa was to make to the Abyssinian government. The Sudan authorities readily agreed to assist the Protectorate governments both in Turkanaland and at Addis Ababa but refused to undertake the administration of eastern Mongalla Province up to the Abyssinian and East African frontiers.²⁷ Although administration of this territory was a fundamental prerequisite to peace and order in the Turkana country, the policy of the Sudan Government at this time was to advance only gradually into this unadministered area as the “local situation dictates and resources permit”.²⁸ Unfortunately, in 1917 the dispatch of Sudanese troops to Sinai and the demands for extra garrisons and administrative personnel in the newly-conquered province of Darfur had exhausted the reserve of money, troops, and personnel necessary to undertake the administration of eastern Mongalla. The best the Sudan could do was to support the punitive patrol against the Turkana, realizing that it was only a temporary palliative until the proper administration of Turkanaland could be undertaken.

Consequently, by 21 December 1917 a strong Sudanese force had been assembled at Ikotos under the command of Major R. F. White, consisting of 1/2 Company of Mounted Infantry under Major A. H. Betterton, the 2nd and 5th Companies of the Equatorial Battalion under Captains Barker and Wolff respectively, a Detachment of Mongalla Police, and one Maxim Section. Major Jones-Vaughan was the political officer.²⁹ Unable to march directly eastward into Turkanaland because of the lack of a suitable track or road over

Mount Zulia to the east or across the escarpment directly south of it, the Sudanese forces marched south-eastward to Loyoro in the Uganda Protectorate where the route over the escarpment and down into the Turkana country below was well known.³⁰ Although the Sudanese troops had all arrived at Loyoro by 1 January 1918 many obstacles arose to impede the progress of the column. An outbreak of cerebro-spinal meningitis in No. 2 Company necessitated the isolation and restricted use of these troops. When the column later

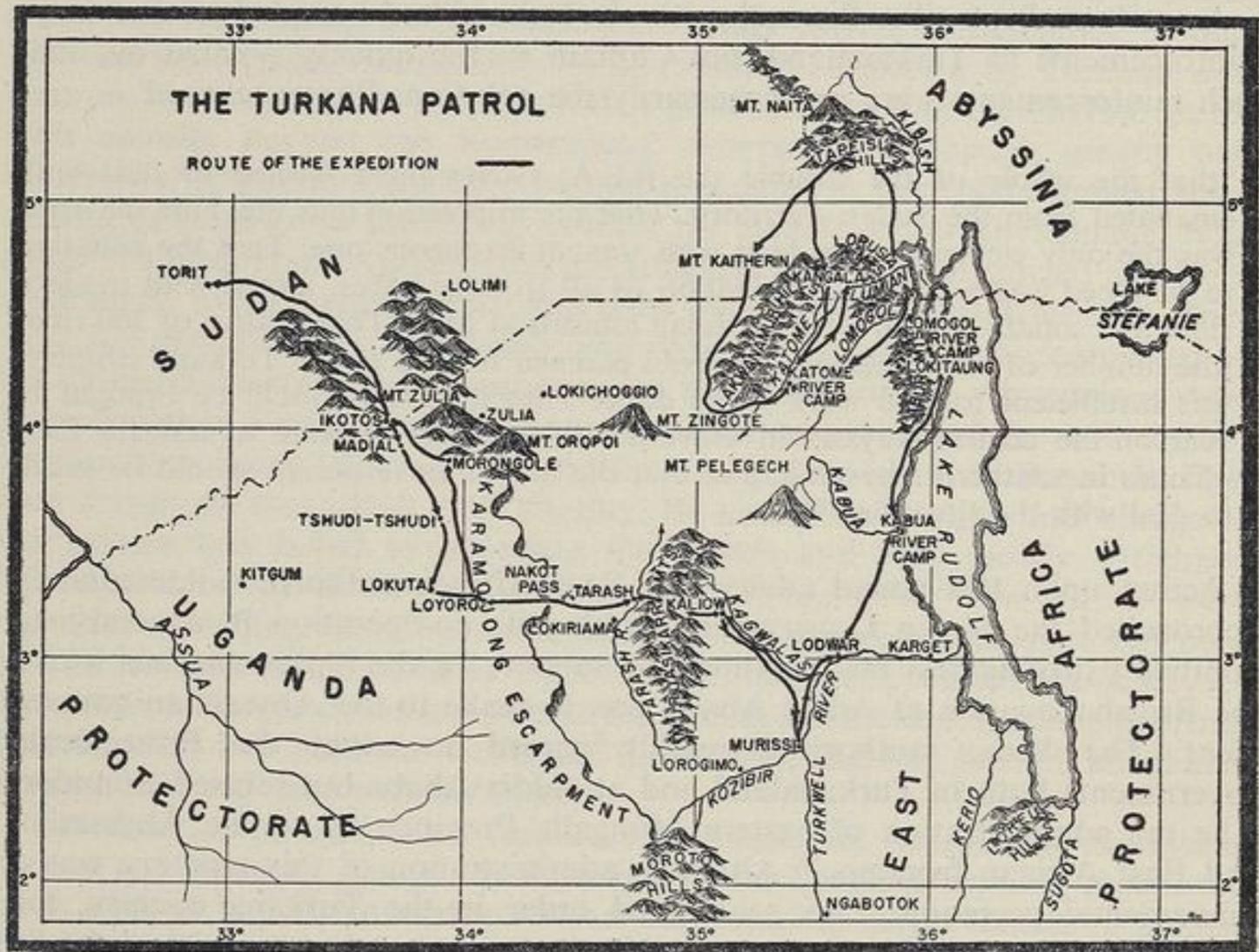


FIG. 2

moved off into the Turkana country this company remained behind to patrol the lines of communication, their place being filled by No. 6 Company, Equatorial Battalion, under Captain Yardley. The principal cause of delay at Loyoro however was the inability of the East African authorities to provide adequate transport as well as the necessary forward supply depots in Turkanaland. The weeks of waiting were devoted to patrolling the surrounding countryside, harrying Turkana raiding parties who were attacking the Karamojong, and sending punitive patrols against the Didinga who killed several military messengers on the Ikotos-Loyoro road.³¹

It was not until 9 February that sufficient transport facilities were available to move the Sudanese troops forward to rendezvous with the British East Africa forces at Murissi situated at the confluence of the Turkwell and Kozibir rivers. Even then only small parties of troops could move at one time for the

track across the Muruasikarr mountains was rough and water along the route scarce. Consequently it was not until 22 February that the last of the Sudanese forces reached Murissi where the East African contingent under the command of Major Rayne were waiting. The British East Africa forces consisted of two companies of the K.A.R., two Maxim Sections, three Lewis Guns, two mortars, and a Detachment of Uganda Police with a Maxim Gun led by Mr. C. A. Turpin. Mr. D. R. Crampton was the East African Political Officer. Major White, upon arriving at Murissi on 12 February, assumed the overall command of the combined expedition which numbered nearly 600 troops.³²

In December 1917 Major Rayne and a company of K.A.R. had conducted an extended reconnaissance though the Turkana country north to the Lomogol river where the patrol skirmished with a large force of Abyssinian and Turkana raiders and recaptured a great number of livestock. Although the raiders were in too great a strength for Major Rayne to take the offensive, his patrol retired along the western shore of Lake Rudolf, collecting topographical and tribal information which was later to prove invaluable.³³ With this information Major Rayne formulated for the combined Turkana Patrol a general plan of attack which was readily agreed to by Major White. The patrol was to march to Kabua on the western shore of Lake Rudolf where a supply depot was being established. From Kabua the government forces were to march north along the western shore of Lake Rudolf, crossing into Sudan territory and reaching the Lomogol river. Here the Turkana, undoubtedly reinforced by Abyssinians, were expected to make a stand in entrenched positions. Behind this line the bulk of the Turkana cattle, which formed so important an objective of the whole expedition, were to be found. The role of the Abyssinians was at best uncertain. Numerous armed bands of them were at that very time operating in Uganda, East Africa, and the Sudan, but their support of the Turkana in a pitched battle against government troops could not be predicted.

As the Turkana Patrol slowly moved from Loyoro to Murissi and on to Kabua numerous patrols of Equatorial troops and King's African Rifles scoured the countryside, harrying the Turkana and capturing their cattle. Many fights and skirmishes with the Turkana ensued usually followed by an arduous pursuit through the thick scrub and thorn-bush which covers the stony plains and rocky kopjes or along the dried-up sandy river-bottoms with their patches of grass interspersed between groves of trees. Between 1 January 1918 and 12 April when the last troops had finally arrived at Kabua the valleys of the Tarash, the Turkwell, and the Kagwalas rivers were cleared of Turkana, while other patrols attacked the tribesmen on Mount Zingote and in the Morongole and Moroto hills. Nearly 200 Turkana were killed in these operations and over 2,000 cattle and many thousands of sheep and goats were captured. The losses of the government troops were negligible.³⁴

On 20 April the column at last moved out from Kabua and marched northward along the western shore of Lake Rudolf by easy stages averaging ten miles a day. The delay at Kabua had been caused by the need to bring up replacements from East Africa and the Sudan for those troops who were forced to remain behind. In February, for instance, the 1/6 K.A.R., which was

composed of former German askaris captured in East Africa mutinied, and although the incident was not serious, it was thought best to replace the unit with the more reliable British-trained troops of the 3/6 K.A.R. Furthermore, No. 2 Company of the Sudan Equatorial Battalion which had been immobilized at Loyoro by cerebro-spinal meningitis, had to be replaced by No. 6 Company under Captain Yardley which had to march all the way from Ikotos to Kabua.³⁵ The combined East African and Sudan striking force which left Kabua numbered nearly 500 troops. A strong garrison had been left behind to hold Kabua camp, while K.A.R. patrols systematically scoured the country between the Karamojong escarpment and Lake Rudolf. Additional posts of the K.A.R. were also established at Lodwar, Lorogimo, and Kaliow, and No. 2 Company of the Equatorial Battalion remained at Loyoro to keep the lines of communication with the Sudan open. Not only were the lines of communication and supply thus secured but the surrender of the southern Turkana precluded the possibility of the northern Turkana fleeing south across the Turkwell river when actually threatened by the punitive expedition.

By 29 April the column had reached the Lomogol river and established a camp near its mouth. The line of march had been free of Turkana and even the Lomogol river, where the Turkana were expected to make a stand, was deserted. Somewhat baffled as to the whereabouts of the Turkana Major White divided his force into two columns. One, under his personal command and consisting of the Sudanese troops, the Lewis Gun Section, and the Uganda Protectorate Police, was to sweep north around the Lorusia mountains and drive the Turkana southward into the second column under Major Rayne and the K.A.R. which, in the meantime, were to have established themselves due west of Lake Rudolf along the Katome river.³⁶

Having left behind a temporary garrison of K.A.R. at the Lomogol River camp, both the Northern and the Southern columns marched from the camp on 3 May. The Southern Column under the command of Major Rayne marched to the Katome River unopposed, but upon reaching it on 6 May a strong force of Turkana, numbering some fifty rifles and several hundred spearmen supported by Abyssinians, resisted the advance but were put to flight after a sharp encounter.³⁷ The Northern Column had a more difficult assignment. Marching in a north-westerly direction from the Lomogol river to the Tapeisi hills on the Sudan-Abyssinian border, patrols from the column roamed the countryside engaging in many skirmishes with small bands of Turkana. Although many Abyssinians were distinguished among the Turkana, no large groups of either tribesmen or Abyssinians were to be found. Arriving just south of the Tapeisi hills on 7 May, the Northern Column was divided into two parties for the drive southward to the Katome river. On the one hand Captain Yardley and 50 rifles of his 6th Company were to march south along the western slopes of the Lorusia mountains and clear the valley between them and the Lakwanamur hills of Turkana. On the other Major White with the bulk of the troops planned to move in a south-westerly direction down the plain lying west of the Lakwanamur hills. Major White's patrol experienced much the same kind of fighting as they had encountered during the preceding weeks. Small parties of Turkana with their herds were dis-

covered; a skirmish would then ensue followed by the inevitable pursuit and the capture of Turkana cattle. Captain Yardley and his men however found things very different for on approaching the rocky pass between the Lorusia mountains and Mount Kaitherin, the northern-most peak of the Lakwanamur hills, the Sudanese troops met some 200 Turkana and Abyssinian riflemen dug into prepared positions across the pass. Under heavy rifle fire the Equatorial troops stormed the pass and after several hours of fierce fighting forced the Turkana to retire. "Had enemy leadership succeeded in establishing a more obstinate resistance, this position could only have been captured at the cost of heavy casualties."³⁸

The following morning Major Yardley's men continued their advance through the pass and into the valley beyond only to come up against a second line of resistance held by some 600 Turkana, many of whom possessed rifles. This position, like the first, was admirably suited for defence, and the character of the resistance indicated able leadership and discipline. All day the battle raged as the Equatorial troops slowly forced the Turkana into the hills while both sides kept up an intense and sustained fusillade. By 4 o'clock in the afternoon the Turkana fire slackened, undoubtedly because of lack of ammunition, and shortly thereafter the tribesmen took to flight.³⁹ After this engagement the Equatorial troops marched unimpeded southward down the valley and joined Major Rayne and his men at the Katome River camp on 12 May. Here they were joined on the 20th by Major White and his men who had marched around the southern extremity of the Lakwanamur hills and then up the Katome river. The sweep through the northern Turkana country had resulted in 146 Turkana and Abyssinians known to have been killed, and in the capture of 26 prisoners and 3,000 head of cattle.⁴⁰

Reconnaissance patrols sent out from the Katome River camp soon confirmed Captain Yardley's suspicions that the bulk of the Turkana were still guarding their cattle near the Lorusia mountains and indeed it had been a part of this tribal concentration which he and his troops had encountered in their engagements on 8 and 9 May. It was determined therefore to make one final drive northward to surround the mountains and force the Turkana to submit. Certainly Major Rayne felt that if the operations in the Lorusia were successfully carried out the Turkana Patrol would have 'accomplished all that was possible'.⁴¹

On 27 May therefore the Patrol moved out from the camp on the Katome in three columns. Again Captain Yardley and 64 men of No. 6 Company, Equatorial Battalion, led the way and, having the greatest distance to cover, marched well in advance of the main body. At 4.30 in the afternoon Captain Yardley and his men arrived at Kangala waterhole on the Lumian river only to learn that a large party of Turkana with sheep and goats had just left the waterhole and were quickly moving off through a pass about a mile to the south-east. They were immediately followed by a large body of riflemen who came out of the trees along the river bank within a hundred yards of the Equatorials. While Captain Yardley was deploying his men so as to cut off the retreat of this second party, a third group of riflemen over 100 strong appeared from the trees to follow the second. Within a few moments Equatorial troops

under Mulazim (Lieutenant) 'Abd al-Karim Effendi 'Abd as-Sid had successfully cut off the third party and driven it back into the trees along the river bank. In the meantime those Equatorials detailed to intercept the second party out-distanced the enemy, blocked the way through the pass, and forced them back to their original position in the trees along the Lumian river. Here the Sudanese formed a semi-circular line around the enemy and prepared to attack. It was clear to Captain Yardley that these were not Turkana tribesmen opposing him but rather some 300 regular Abyssinian troops trained in the use of the rifle and greatly outnumbering his own force. Determined to force a decision before darkness provided the Abyssinians with the respite to regroup and marshal their superior numbers, he ordered his troops forward to assault the Abyssinian lines in the fast-closing daylight. The fight which hitherto had been fierce now became desperate. Unlike the Turkana, the Abyssinians had entrenched themselves in the soft earth of the river bank and defended their line "with the utmost doggedness, displaying a perfect contempt for danger and death".⁴² In spite of numerous casualties the Equatorials pressed forward inflicting heavy losses on the Abyssinians, capturing their position, and forcing them to withdraw into the hills in the gathering darkness. Skirmishing between the Abyssinians and Sudanese patrols continued throughout the night.⁴³

Captain Yardley, after sending out urgent messages to the other columns for immediate reinforcements, barricaded himself and his forty remaining men in a strong zariba to await the anticipated attack of the Abyssinians at daylight. The Abyssinians themselves were camped only two and a half miles away where they regrouped and were soon reinforced by the arrival of 120 Abyssinian mounted troops. Shortly after daybreak the Abyssinians advanced in two columns toward the river bed but instead of attacking the zariba crossed in front of it and, protected by a rearguard of the mounted troops, disappeared in the direction of the Abyssinian frontier. The hasty withdrawal of the Abyssinians, who with their superior numbers could easily have overwhelmed Captain Yardley and his few Sudanese, was undoubtedly precipitated by the fact, as yet unknown to Yardley, that Major Rayne and his troops were camped only a few miles away. Indeed Rayne had heard the shots of the skirmishers during the night and, upon receiving Yardley's appeals for support, rushed to Kangala in the morning only to find the Abyssinians had fled, leaving behind 33 dead. The Sudanese of No. 6 Company had lost 8 killed, including 3 officers, and 6 wounded.⁴⁴

The presence of this strong and official Abyssinian force in Sudan territory puzzled and disturbed the officers of the Turkana Patrol.⁴⁵ As early as March 1918 the Abyssinian Government at Addis Ababa had claimed to have sent instructions to Dasta, the Governor of Maji, not to cross the frontier, but the seizure of the government at Addis Ababa by the military party in April and the subsequent actions of Dasta appear to belie this claim.⁴⁶ Not only had the military party dismissed the corrupt Council of Ministers, abolished their offices, and invested supreme power in the hands of the Empress and Regent, Ras Tafari (with the Minister of War as chief adviser), but the new government quickly summoned the officials in the outlying provinces to Addis Ababa to swear their loyalty to the new regime.⁴⁷ Dasta, obviously reluctant to make

what may well have been his last journey to Addis Ababa, ignored the first two summonses demanding his presence at the capital. Meanwhile rumours had reached Maji from the south that the Turkana Patrol had raided the tribes along the Kibish river in Abyssinian territory and was at that very time marching on Maji. Dasta, in alarm and panic, sounded the call to arms and in a few days was marching southward with over 800 men all armed with rifles. Three days south of Maji Dasta was overtaken by a third and imperative order to return forthwith to Addis Ababa. Upon receiving this summons Dasta was in a quandary. On the one hand his forces had not encountered the Turkana Patrol, and the rumours of raiding on the Kibish river had proved false. On the other however the Abyssinians, at least those in Maji, considered that their southern boundary lay far beyond the present frontier, and to support this claim Dasta must push on and drive out the Patrol. In the event Dasta with some 500 followers returned hastily to Maji and Addis Ababa, while over 300 men under a former Governor of Maji, Masheshé, continued their march southward into Sudan territory where, on 27 May, they engaged Captain Yardley's troops at Kangala.⁴⁸

The battle at Kangala was indeed a disaster for victor and vanquished alike. The Abyssinians, after their hasty retreat to Maji, quickly fortified the town and, expecting the Turkana Patrol to arrive at any moment also made preparations to flee to the north. Even more confused was the British command. The intervention of the Abyssinians had seriously jeopardized the position of the Patrol. Not only was further contact with the Abyssinians to be avoided on grounds of international politics, but fearing their immediate return from Maji with large reinforcements, Major White dared not send back part of his force with the captured cattle as he had planned.⁴⁹ And yet his supplies were insufficient to maintain the patrol at full strength for many days in the Lorusia mountains. Consequently, the final sweep to encircle the Turkana in the mountains was abandoned and the expedition retired to its base camp on the Lomogol river.

Unfortunately, not only had the final stages of the Patrol been given up, but the larger and most important question of the future administration of the Turkana country remained unresolved. To be sure, the intervention of the Abyssinians had compromised the work of the Patrol, but the threat of future Abyssinian aggression into the Sudan and East Africa eliminated all but two alternatives for the future of Turkanaland. The British authorities could either establish at the Lomogol River post a garrison strong enough to withstand possible Abyssinian forays and to administer the Turkana, or must withdraw completely to a more easily defensible line extending from the Turkwell River across the plain to the Karamojong escarpment.⁵⁰ The first alternative was impossible for the East African authorities could neither spare the additional troops necessary to garrison Lomogol, nor provide the supply and transport facilities to maintain so large a force at so isolated a station. Furthermore the Sudan authorities, concerned about the long, common frontier between Abyssinia and the Sudan, were loath to precipitate trouble in the Lake Rudolf area, which a force of East African troops in northern Turkana was almost bound to do, only to have the repercussions take the form of border incidents

and frontier raids further north. At conferences held on 29 May and 1 June the British officers of the Patrol reluctantly but unanimously agreed that there was no other recourse but to retire to the Turkwell River line.⁵¹

On 5 June the combined forces of the Turkana Patrol, having torn down the partially completed stockade at Lomogol, marched south toward the Kabua river and thence on to Lodwar which was reached on 19 June. Here the expedition broke up, the Sudan forces marching first to Mount Oropoi and then back to Torit in the Sudan, while the East African troops set about strengthening the posts of Kaliow, Karget, and Lodwar which were to constitute the Turkwell River line. The Turkana Patrol was over.

Although the Turkana Patrol of 1918 was ostensibly a success, the lasting and positive results of this punitive expedition are more difficult to discern. To be sure British prestige had been restored and the Turkana had been overwhelmed in every engagement, losing some 350 killed, many others wounded, and over 3,000 head of cattle captured. But prestige is a fickle quality, and fallen warriors and lost cattle can be avenged by the traditional means of raids and razzias. Certainly the intervention of the Abyssinians, although proving disastrous to their own prestige on the frontier, precluded the successful completion of the patrol and provided an excuse for future aggression southward into the Sudan and East Africa. D. R. Crampton, the Political Officer of the East African contingent, was of the opinion that "had it not been for the intervention of the Abyssinian forces most of the objects of the patrol could have been carried out satisfactorily".⁵² Certainly, it was the fear of Abyssinian retaliation for their defeat at Kangala that prevented the erection of a military and administrative post on the Lomogol river.

The Abyssinians however cannot be made the sole scapegoats for the ultimate failure of the Turkana Patrol. The fundamental purpose of the expedition was to punish the Turkana, recapture looted stock, and expel the Abyssinians as a prelude to "the reduction of the military area to a state, suitable for civil administration".⁵³ As long as the authorities in Nairobi, Kampala, and Khartoum were reluctant to expend the men and money necessary to maintain a strong force in Turkanaland, the results of the Turkana Patrol of 1918, like its predecessors, must be regarded as at best transitory. All of the officers of the Patrol realized that "without keeping a large garrison near the Abyssinian frontier, the activities of Abyssinian trading, poaching, and cattle-looting parties cannot be restrained".⁵⁴ Indeed the setback which the Abyssinians received at Kangala could be expected to result in action on their part to restore their prestige among the frontier tribes. Likewise the Turkana, having lost large numbers of cattle, would naturally try to compensate themselves by raids on other cattle-owning tribes. Although the Turkana Patrol restored British prestige and recaptured much looted stock, these results were ineffective, for without the military occupation and administration of Turkanaland, which logically should have followed the punitive measures, the northern Turkana remained as belligerent and recalcitrant as before. Subsequent raids and pillaging expeditions by Turkana and Abyssinian raiders only confirmed the fears expressed by the officers of the Patrol, and indeed law and order, which was not to be established in the Turkana country

for another decade, never became a reality until a permanent post was set up at Lokitaung in June 1928 by the Kenya authorities, with Sudanese troops manning Lolimi and the Uganda forces occupying the posts of Zulia and Lokichoggio.

NOTES

¹ The Turkana Patrol was called by the East African authorities the Labur Patrol. In the Sudan however it was always known as the Turkana Patrol or simply Patrol No. 44.

² "Further Notes on the Turkana Patrol, 30 August, 1918" by Major R. F. White, Commanding Officer, Turkana Patrol, Sudan Intelligence Report (hereafter abbreviated as SIR), No. 290, Appendix.

³ In the early days of British East Africa the term *Turkana* was loosely applied to all the tribes west of Lake Rudolf who spoke a kindred language such as the Jie, the Karamojong, the Donyiro, the Dodoth, etc. Later, when tribal distinctions became more clearly known and recognized, the word *Turkana* was more accurately restricted to the tribe of that name only. It is in this sense that the name is used in this article.

⁴ Major H. Rayne, *The Ivory Raiders*, London, 1923, p. 54. Major Rayne's *The Ivory Raiders* and T. R. Cambridge's *In the Land of the Turkana*, 1921, are delightful books containing recollections of service in Turkanaland and with the Turkana Patrol. Unfortunately, like most memoirs, they are more concerned with charming stories and vivid memories of life on the frontier than with the duller but more important task of divulging factual information.

⁵ Lieutenant-Colonel H. Moyse-Bartlett, *The King's African Rifles*, Aldershot, 1956, pp. 209-10.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 210.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 251-2.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 254.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 255.

¹⁰ SIR, No. 245.

¹¹ SIR, No. 246.

¹² "Report of the Operations against the Turkana, 1915," by Lt.-Colonel W. F. S. Edwards, SIR, No. 254, Appendix; Captain Fairbrain, 9th Sudanese, to R. C. R. Owen, Governor, Mongalla Province, 6 April 1915; and Sir F. Jackson, Governor, Uganda Protectorate to Sir Reginald Wingate, Governor-General of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 28 June 1915, No. 4366, Mongalla, Class 1, Box 2, File 10; and Moyse-Bartlett, p. 439.

¹³ "Unrest in the Turkana Country," Memorandum by the Intelligence Department Khartoum, 10 September 1917, SIR, No. 277, Appendix.

¹⁴ SIR, No. 227.

¹⁵ Ato Aparā, which in Turkana means 'swell' or 'dandy', was a minor official of the Governor of Maji and was in charge of an official Abyssinian frontier post south-east of Mount Naita. The distinction between his official position and his unofficial action however was, to say the least, ill-defined if not totally obscure. He had a favourite hunting camp on the Lomogol river from which he made frequent forays to the south and west for ivory, slaves, and loot in general. He successfully raided the Dodoth in October 1914 and again in May 1917. It was Aparā who led the Abyssinian attack against Captain Rayne and his men at Nakot pass, and for his failure to overwhelm this force he was disgraced and exhibited in the stocks upon his return to Maji. His property and loot were confiscated. He was later released from imprisonment and confined to Maji but through his assistant resumed his trading activities on the frontier.

Dasta was known in the Turkana country as 'Loyongale' meaning one who 'killed his first man painted red'. He was arrested at Tshudi-Tshudi by Captain Tanner in 1910 and expelled, along with his men, from the Dodoth and northern Karamojong country. In March 1917 he raided again into Dodoth territory and in April was seen in the Karamojong area. It was this same Dasta who obtained a permit from the British legation in Addis Ababa after his expulsion in 1910 for the purpose of carrying on legitimate trade in the Uganda Protectorate. This was obviously merely a front for his numerous illegal activities. He later became Governor of Maji, and they were his troops who clashed with the Turkana Patrol of 1918.

Locherikus, which means in Turkana 'bow-legged', had frequent skirmishes with the authorities in East Africa and Uganda, and in January 1916 he attempted to ambush the medical officer attached to the Uganda Northern Garrison.

¹⁶ Turkana Intelligence Report, 1 June 1917, Mongalla, 1/2/10; "Note on Events on the Sudan-Uganda Frontier," Appendix 4, Mongalla, 1/6/43; SIR, No. 277.

¹⁷ C. A. Turpin, Uganda Police, to Major R. F. White, 25 September 1918; and Major H. Jones-Vaughan, Sudan Political Officer, Turkana Patrol, to Owen, 4 June 1918; and D. R. Crampton, British East Africa Political Officer, Turkana Patrol, to Jones-Vaughan, 16 June 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

¹⁸ The Gras rifle was of French manufacture and the predominant rifle in the Abyssinian army.

¹⁹ Report by Major H. Rayne, No. 112, 2 June 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10; Rayne, *Ivory Raiders*, p. 84.

²⁰ "Unrest in the Turkana Country," SIR, No. 277, App.

²¹ "Unrest in the Turkana Country," SIR, No. 277, App; Moyse-Bartlett, pp. 440-1; Rayne, *The Ivory Raiders*, pp. 72-97. The number of Abyssinians present during the battle vary according to the account from 250 to 400. I have accepted the lowest figure as the most reliable.

²² SIR, No. 281.

²³ Memorandum on Turkana Operations by Major R. F. White, 26 June 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

²⁴ "Unrest in the Turkana Country," SIR, No. 277, App.

²⁵ Assistant Commissioner King's African Rifles to Major H. Rayne, 4 December 1917, No. T/31/6, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

²⁶ Report by Major H. Rayne, No. 112, 2 June 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

²⁷ Wingate to Governor, Nairobi, quoted in Wheatley to Private Secretary, Khartoum, Telegram 056, 8 November 1917, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ "Patrol 44 (Turkana Patrol): Narrative of Operations," 6 July 1918 by Major R. F. White, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

³⁰ Major H. W. Darley had strongly advised against operating from Mount Zulia against the Turkana because of the difficulty of the terrain. Darley to Owen, 13 August 1917, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

³¹ "Narrative of Operations," Mongalla, 1/2/10.

³² "Narrative of Operations," and Jones-Vaughan to Owen, 2 May 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10 and Moyse-Bartlett, p. 442. Major White, being the senior officer (date of majority: 1 September, 1915), assumed the command of the expedition although Major Rayne (appointed to the temporary rank of Major on 30 September 1917) of all the officers possessed the most widespread experience in the Turkana country.

³³ Rayne, *The Ivory Raiders* pp. 86-97; Moyse-Bartlett, p. 442.

³⁴ "Narrative of Operations," Mongalla, 1/2/10.

³⁵ Captain Barker, Commanding Officer, No. 2 Company, Equatorial Battalion to Captain Yardley, Commanding Officer, No. 6 Company, Equatorial Battalion, 6 March 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10; Moyse-Bartlett, p. 442.

³⁶ Jones-Vaughan to Owen, 2 May 1918, and "Narrative of Operations," Mongalla, 1/2/10.

³⁷ Jones-Vaughan to Owen, 26 May 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10; Rayne, *The Ivory Raiders*, pp. 160-173; Moyse-Bartlett, p. 442.

³⁸ White to Owen, 26 May 1918, Jones-Vaughan to Owen, 26 May 1918, "Narrative of Operations," Mongalla, 1/2/10.

³⁹ White to Owen, 25 May 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁴⁰ "Narrative of Operations," Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² *ibid.* No. 6 Company, Equatorial Battalion fought this day with the utmost bravery and determination. They had been recruited exclusively from the Acholi and Latuka tribes and their action at Kangala attests to the martial qualities of those tribes.

⁴³ White to Owen, 3 June 1918, Jones-Vaughan to Owen, 4 June 1918, Report by Major H. Rayne, No. 112, 2 June 1918, "Narrative of Operations," Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ There was a basic disagreement between Captain Yardley and the Sudan Political Officer, Jones-Vaughan, as to the nature of the Abyssinian force. Yardley interpreted them as an unofficial party perhaps aided and abetted by minor frontier officials but without the official sanction of the Abyssinian Governor at Maji. Jones-Vaughan, as well as both Major White and Major Rayne, held the opposite view, that this was in fact an official Abyssinian party. Later information was to prove this latter view to be the correct one.

⁴⁶ Wingate to Owen, Tel. 153, 23 March 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁴⁷ SIR, Nos. 285, 286.

⁴⁸ Turpin to White, 25 September 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁴⁹ "Narrative of Operations," Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁵⁰ It was first suggested that a frontier line be formed from Kabua camp to the escarpment but Major Rayne later decided to establish the line even further south along the Turkwell River.

⁵¹ Report by Jones-Vaughan, 30 May 1918; Comments by Major White on Report by Jones-Vaughan 31 May 1918; Jones-Vaughan to Owen 4 June 1918; Jones-Vaughan to Major White 2 June 1918; White to Crampton 3 June 1918; Report by Major Rayne, No. 112, 2 June 1918; Crampton to Jones-Vaughan 2 and 16 June 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁵² Crampton to Jones-Vaughan, 2 June 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁵³ Ass. Comm., K.A.R. to Major Rayne, 4 December 1917, No. T/31/6, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

⁵⁴ "Results Achieved by Patrol No. 44," by Major R. F. White, 6 July 1918, Mongalla, 1/2/10.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LUGBARA PERSONAL NAMES

By JOHN MIDDLETON

ALL personal names among the Lugbara, a Sudanic-speaking people of West Nile District, have meanings, which can be explained by members of the bearer's family. During my stay in Lugbara¹ I was able to collect a number of these names, of both men and women, from a single sub-clan in northern Lugbara. In this paper I attempt to show the social significance of these names; to do this requires a brief mention of Lugbara social organization and the ceremony of naming a new-born child.

The basic residential and domestic grouping is a cluster of elementary families, which I call a family-cluster. These are not large groups, the average membership being between twenty and thirty people, but the sense of unity of the members of a single family-cluster is very considerable. Lugbara trace descent patrilineally and marry virilocally, so that the typical family-cluster consists of men who are related to one another by common descent through men only from a single grandfather or great-grandfather, their unmarried daughters and their wives; in addition there may be a few women of the group who are widowed and have returned to live at their natal homes, and a few attached kinsmen, usually children of lineage daughters. The men and daughters of the cluster belong to a single patrilineal lineage, which provides the core of the cluster; the lineage has a name by which the family-cluster is also known. Lineage names are quite distinct from personal names.

The giving of a personal name (*ru da*=give the name) is the prerogative of the new-born child's mother. Lugbara say it should be as soon as the umbilical cord has disappeared from the child's body, but in fact it is given four days after the birth in the case of a boy, and three in that of a girl.² Until this time the mother sits on the verandah of her hut or in the shade of her granary, and does not leave the compound. There she is visited by other wives of men of the family-cluster and by her sisters, who come from their husbands' homes elsewhere. The name of the child is discussed by her and the wives of the family-cluster; the mother of her husband takes an important part in these discussions, but other women are not concerned. The mother herself makes the choice and sometimes her mother-in-law may give a second name. The identity of the women concerned is significant; I shall return to this point later.

Certain names are given conventionally to children who are twins, to the child of a woman who had formerly been thought to be barren, and to a child

¹ I worked in Lugbara from the end of 1949 until early 1952. I wish to acknowledge financial assistance from the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and the Colonial Social Science Research Council, and, at a later date, from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

² Four is the number associated in Lugbara thought with men, and three with women.

who is the first of several children born to the mother to survive for more than a few hours. These names vary from one part of the country to another. Common ones are Ejua for a male twin and Ejurua for a female twin; Ondia for a boy and Ondirua for a girl if the mother was previously thought to be barren; and 'Bileni (for the grave) for a child who is the first to have survived. But these names are not obligatory, and the names in nearly every case are chosen by the mother and her mother-in-law as they think fit. They compose a word which refers to the relationship between the child's parents, or to their characteristics, or to those of the child, or to some unusual feature of its birth.

I collected 850 names from this single sub-clan. There is not the space to list them all, but I give a selection below, which shows the types of names chosen. Usually, although not always, Lugbara can tell whether a name belongs to a man or woman, but a large proportion of the names may refer to either.

Ombiga = 'locust collect', because he was born when the mother was out collecting locusts.

Drajoa = 'in the death hut', because many other children had died recently in that family-cluster.

Dramadri = 'for my death', because people had complained that the child's father had caused other people's death (that is, he was a witch).

Zayoru = 'meat none', plus *ru* the adjectival ending, because the parents were too poor to obtain meat.

Eneku = 'you do not see', because the child's parents were too short to be seen in a crowd.

Kana = 'without', because the bridewealth for the parents' marriage had not been paid.

Feku = 'give not', because the mother never gave her husband good or sufficient food.

Ovoa = 'in laziness', because the parents were idle people.

Obia = 'in the beer-pot', because the father was a drunkard.

Aria = 'at the drum', because it was said that the child would beat the drum soon at its parents' death dances.

Drodrea = 'at the place of leeches', because the father had dreamt that he would be drowned in a swamp.

Sarua = 'in wandering' because the parents were poor and had to wander from kinsman to kinsman begging food.

Jurua = 'in the place of non-clansmen', because the child was born away from its/father's homestead.³

O'dua = 'as an omen', because it was said that the child's birth would lead to someone's death.

A'uderu = 'chicken finish' plus adjectival ending, because the mother had recently eaten several of her husband's fowls.

Arijole = 'remainder of blood', because it was said that the mother would never conceive another child (the child is said to be formed of the mother's blood).

³ A child should be born at its father's homestead. This is so important that Lugbara women will often return from southern Uganda to West Nile District to bear their children at their husbands' real homes.

E'yoru = 'of words', because the parents had quarrelled with neighbours; 'words' often has the connotation of witchcraft.

Gbokoru = 'of the empty place', because the mother liked to wander in the bushland (that is, to sleep with men other than her husband).⁴

Aluma = 'curse', because the father had been cursed.

Kperekpere = 'old sleeping mat', because the mother was so poor that she had had to give birth to her child on an old mat.

Yuku = 'kite', because the father wandered about the countryside like a kite or eagle, that is, looking for women.

Luzuyo = 'no telling', because the mother had been visited by her parents, but no one had told her that they were coming and so she had been absent and could not welcome them and give them food (a serious breach of kinship manners).

Lema = 'loves me', because the child's father loved his wife.

Agbaku = 'I do not beat', because the father said he had never beaten his wife.

Onyurubia = 'at the throwing of good things' because the parents were so poor that they ate other people's leavings.

Eriaga = 'caterpillar', because the parents were so poor that they had only caterpillars to eat.

Inia = 'at night', because the father went to sleep with his wife at night but refused to help her work during the day.

Lunia = 'at the killing', because the mother had caused another woman's death, that is, she was a sorceress.

Agali = 'men prevent', because the mother had been married to other men before her present husband, and they had all been sterile.

Ode = 'many people fall (dead)', because the father was reputed to be a witch.

Alonjeru = 'cattle-stake take away', plus adjectival ending, because the father had given all his cattle as bridewealth to his father-in-law (that is, the father had continually grumbled at the greed of his wife's kin).

Talia = 'in a rage', because the mother was always told angrily to work harder by her husband's kin.

Drateru = 'death wait' plus adjectival ending, because the mother said she was so unhappy that she would merely wait for death.

Anditi = 'confuse, give birth', because the child was said to have been conceived in adultery.

Ekabio = 'brown hair', because the child had reddish hair when born.

It will be seen that a large proportion of these names are uncomplimentary, very often to the parents themselves; others are pessimistic, referring to death and hunger.⁵ Yet in their everyday behaviour the Lugbara give the impression of being cheerful, optimistic and friendly people. The phenomenon can be

⁴ The same name found in another group implied that the woman was poor and had to wander about looking for roots to eat.

⁵ I have not tried to select names at random, but have included more of these types of names than of those which we might consider more normal.

understood only by inquiring what is the significance of these names to the families concerned.

Of the 850 names, 586 are those of men and 264 of women. They do not include the names of wives of the men of the particular group, because the details of names were not always known—many of them had been born miles away from the place where they had come to live with their husbands at marriage; and since women go to live elsewhere at marriage my informants had forgotten the names of many of the women who had been born into this sub-clan. The names may be arranged in accordance with what may be called their subject-matter, as shown in Table I (page 38). The subject-matters fall into four main categories:

| | <i>men</i> | <i>women</i> |
|--|------------|--------------|
| (i) 'Moral' attributes or behaviour of parents | 330 | 180 |
| (ii) Associated with death | 112 | 32 |
| (iii) 'Non-moral' attributes or behaviour of parents | 77 | 31 |
| (iv) Attributes of the child | 67 | 21 |
| | 586 | 264 |

These figures point to certain tendencies which indicate some of the stresses and tensions inherent in the Lugbara family. I wish now to discuss the proportions of names in particular categories as divided between men and women. Unfortunately the numbers of names for men and women are not equal; although the sex ratio at birth is approximately equal, my lists have rather over twice as many men's names as women's. I have mentioned the reasons for this disproportion; but some idea of the proper sexual proportions in each category may be obtained if the numbers of women's names are doubled, which will bring the totals to more or less equal numbers.

The most numerous are the names in category (i) those associated with what I call the 'moral' attributes or behaviour of the child's parents. In this category there are really sub-categories of name, those to do with the relationship between husband and wife and their respective lineages and families on the one hand, and those to do with the relationship between them and neighbours and more remote kin on the other. The former sub-category contains names which have an obvious reference to the failings of one or the other of the parents, but includes others which may not be so obvious at first sight. For example, a woman is said only to ensorcel or poison co-wives, and the curse of barrenness can be only by a kinsman; so that names which refer to sorcery and barrenness fall into the 'family' sub-category. The latter includes the names associated with the father's reputation as a witch, the parents' quarrelling with neighbours, and their being the butt of popular ridicule. These amount to only 36 men's names and 10 women's names. In order to show the significance of this category of names, I must say something more about the Lugbara system of marriage and their general social organization into clans and lineages.

The core of a family-cluster is a patrilineal lineage, usually of three or four generations in depth. These lineages are grouped into sub-clans and clans. The lineage is a corporate group, owning its livestock and land jointly; and its

women are regarded as being among its most valuable property. By the rule of exogamy a man cannot marry a woman of his lineage, and so at marriage he acquires a wife from another lineage, one that is completely unrelated or at least only distantly related. The daughters of the lineage likewise marry out into other lineages, to which their children will belong. Marriage, which is by the transfer of bridewealth (today livestock, traditionally iron objects), is a

TABLE I

Categories of Names

| Category (i). 'Moral' attributes and behaviour of parents. | men | women |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Quarrelling between husband and wife | 54 | 30 |
| General husband-wife relationship | 33 | 18 |
| Father lazy or immoral | 39 | 6 |
| Mother lazy or immoral | 37 | 33 |
| Parents lazy or immoral | 31 | 8 |
| Parents kinless, hungry or poor* | 39 | 27 |
| Father kinless, hungry or poor | 9 | 10 |
| Mother kinless, hungry or poor | 5 | 11 |
| Father reputed to be a witch | 2 | 1 |
| Mother reputed to be a sorceress | 2 | 6 |
| Mother reputed to be an adulteress | 6 | 1 |
| Father a good man | 15 | 2 |
| Mother a good woman | 5 | 7 |
| Parents good people | 4 | 4 |
| Quarrelling with neighbours | 27 | 9 |
| Parents unmarried (without bridewealth) | 5 | 2 |
| Parents the butt of popular ridicule | 7 | 0 |
| Quarrelling with affines | 6 | 3 |
| Mother reputed to be barren* | 4 | 2 |
| | <hr/> 330 | <hr/> 180 |
| Category (ii). Associated with death. | | |
| Previous children died | 48 | 8 |
| Child born to die | 25 | 5 |
| Child born at time of death | 10 | 4 |
| Father soon to die | 17 | 3 |
| Mother soon to die | 7 | 11 |
| Parents soon to die | 5 | 1 |
| | <hr/> 112 | <hr/> 32 |
| Category (iii). 'Non-moral' attributes and behaviour of parents. | | |
| Father | 21 | 7 |
| Mother | 21 | 18 |
| Parents | 35 | 6 |
| | <hr/> 77 | <hr/> 31 |
| Category (iv). Attributes of child. | | |
| Description of child-at birth | 46 | 15 |
| Occasion of birth | 15 | 5 |
| Place of birth | 6 | 1 |
| | <hr/> 67 | <hr/> 21 |

* I have included these as 'moral' attributes because a poor, hungry or kinless person is thought by Lugbara to be shiftless and at least partially responsible for his position, and because a barren woman is so because she has been cursed, either for her own behaviour or for that of her husband.

matter that concerns the whole lineage: its perpetuation depends upon its men acquiring wives from other lineages. Marriage does therefore not concern only the bride and bridegroom, nor even their immediate families. The bridewealth cattle and goats are provided by the lineage, with one or two beasts from the groom's mother's brother, and are transferred to the bride's lineage (again, her mother's brother is given a beast). Negotiations for the amount and quality of the bridewealth cattle are prolonged and tortuous, and take place between the elders of the two lineages concerned. These old men are by definition unrelated, and are expected to call one another 'my friend' (*ma agii*) and to lavish food and beer upon one another during their frequent visits to argue about the bridewealth. But as Lugbara say, "good words hide a hard heart".

After the marriage, when the bride goes to her husband's home, there is continued antagonism between the two affinally linked lineages. Brothers-in-law usually regard one another with some suspicion—although I know of many cases in which they become great friends—and there are various types of avoidance practised between affines of different generations. The bride is expected to be shy and ashamed (*drinzasi*) in the presence of her father-in-law and mother-in-law; with her brothers-in-law she is in a peculiarly ambivalent position, since when her husband dies she will be inherited by one of them. The husband is likewise shy and constrained in the presence of his parents-in-law. He has taken their daughter who will bear children for him, and Lugbara are fond of pointing out that "if God had willed it, that wife would have been a man and then begotten children for us of her natal lineage; but she was born a woman and so goes elsewhere among our enemies⁶ to bear children for them. We just get cattle; and are cattle children?"

There is much visiting between the wife and her own kin at her natal home, and her own kin are always ready to stand up for her if they think she is being ill-treated by her husband's kin, and to welcome her back to them if there is open quarrelling. Her position in her husband's home becomes easier with time, as she becomes accepted as a good worker and helpful member of the family. When she bears a child then her status changes considerably: from being merely a new wife she becomes the mother of a child of the lineage and so more closely integrated into the family.

A wife is therefore in an ambivalent position in her husband's home. She becomes both wife and mother of lineage members, but none the less remains a member of her natal lineage (for example, she stays under the ritual care of her own lineage ancestors). She is the focus of continual dispute between the two lineages. Quarrels between them are always liable to break out over the way in which her husband behaves to her, or over the bridewealth given for her. And if the lineages quarrel for other reasons the dispute is likely to be expressed as being over her. Her position as the person who chooses the name of the child now becomes clearer; and she is assisted by her husband's mother, who has herself been in a similarly ambiguous position with regard to her husband when he was born. A child is a close kinsman to both the lineages of his father and his mother—the tie of mother's brother to sister's son is regarded

⁶ Most feuding and warfare in the past was between affinally linked lineages, over runaway wives or non-payment of promised bridewealth.

by Lugbara as in many ways as close as that between father and son. The mother loves and cares for her child who does not belong to her natal lineage, and whom she may have to leave if she is ill-treated and runs away from her husband; she is always liable to be accused of sorcery and poisoning if she quarrels with the other women in her husband's family-cluster (especially with her own co-wives); she is always likely to be made the object of accusations of trouble-making. I do not wish to exaggerate the difficulties and uncertainties of her position, but they are nevertheless there throughout her married life.

Some of the tension in a wife's position is expressed in the names she gives her children. She chooses the name and her husband cannot change it later. She is privileged to express some of her antagonism (and that of her own natal kin, although they are not directly concerned in the naming itself) towards her husband's lineage in this manner. There are other situations in which she may do the same, which throw some light on the matter. The most obvious is at dances, especially certain women's dances called *nyambi*. The songs sung at these dances generally consist of allusive remarks about the failings of the husbands of the women; they are often highly obscene, and men claim not to understand them and are indeed usually driven away by the women if they object to them. The men say that their women-folk become quite uncontrollable on these occasions, and add that they are afraid to beat their wives for these songs lest worse ones be sung later. The names given to children are rarely obscene; but they certainly tend to reflect the hostility between the husband and wife, as the figures given in Table I show.

Names which reflect adversely upon the mother are frequent, and are more usually given to girls than to boys. I was told that these are generally chosen by the husband's mother, although they need not be. As I have said, the mother-in-law of the wife has herself been in a similar position to that of the wife, when she bore the child who is now the wife's husband. Also she sees the wife as a woman who has married her son and who bears her grandchildren. There is a strong emotional tie between grandparents and grandchildren, tempered by the fact that the worst curse that can be made is by a grandmother against her own grandson. There is an even stronger tie between the grandmother and her granddaughter, as the former is largely responsible for the latter's education and general care. There is often considerable tension between the mother-in-law and her son's wife, and this is partially expressed by the naming of the wife's daughters. I was once told that "every time the grandmother calls her granddaughter to her, then she is reminded of her son's wife; truly, although she may hide her words, she may hate that woman in her heart".

It might appear that this account implies that Lugbara are a quarrelsome people who lose no opportunity of paying off personal scores by naming their children in these ways. It is not quite so simple as that. I have heard Lugbara women singing songs as they go down to the streams to draw water in the evening, or go off to look for firewood. These songs often consist of remarks about their own failings attributed to them by their husbands' kin; by singing them they, as it were, draw attention to the unkindness and stupidity of these kin, who may persistently stress her inferiority in their homes by unkind words and

strict application of the rules of affinal avoidance. In the same way a woman who has been accused of adultery will often walk about singing that she is an adulteress and a whore, and at dances women may sing songs with similar refrains. By mocking herself a woman is in fact drawing attention to the weaknesses of her husband's kin, to their spitefulness towards her, and also to her independence and resentment at having to be under their authority. She can do much the same by giving her children names which reflect adversely upon herself.

A number of names refer to disputes with neighbours. There is here a similar underlying psychological mechanism as in the choosing of names I have just discussed. By drawing attention to the fact that neighbours abuse and malign them, the neighbours are shown to be at fault. There are frequent accusations made of witchcraft between unrelated neighbours, and there is often considerable latent hostility arising from competition for land and other resources, for land is very short in most of Lugbara. In addition, many neighbours are also clansmen of the husband, but belong to other family-clusters. By showing them to be bitter and quarrelsome a wife is at the same time hitting at her husband's wider clan kin; by, as it were, standing by his side she is able to point out their treachery in making trouble for him, a kinsman of theirs.

The second category of names includes those associated with death. The infantile death rate is certainly very high in Lugbara. Official figures are not available, but I have estimated that at least a quarter of the children born die in their first year or two. The giving of names associated with death reflects a pessimism rather than any morbid fear of death, but in addition provides an assurance and protection against death. Death comes only from God. There is the feeling that by drawing attention to the number of deaths that have occurred in a particular family God may be persuaded to spare that family in future and to turn his attentions to other families.⁷ By bringing the fear into the open, it is dissipated or at least lessened. I was once told that it is like telling a witch that he is one; he then desists and bewitches other people. I do not wish to exaggerate this sentiment, but this is certainly the underlying motive for choosing so many names to do with death. It is significant that far more of these names are of men than of women. This reflects the greater importance of a boy child than of a girl child in this strongly patrilineal society. Men are 'people of the home' (*'ba akua*), whereas women are often said to be 'people of the bush' (*'ba asea*) only, or even to be 'things' (*afa*) and not 'people'.

The remaining categories refer to the non-moral attributes and behaviour of parents and child and lack the content of affinal hostility and uncertainty of the others. The fact that about a third of the names are in these non-moral, neutral categories is, of course, important. Spouses and affines do not always quarrel, people are not always hungry, nor are they always in imminent fear of the death of their children. I have been concerned to show some of the tensions within Lugbara family and social life; but these do not weigh oppressively upon Lugbara all of the time.

⁷ A custom with analogous motives is that of not shaving the head of a child who is the first of a series of children not to have died in infancy. Such children are therefore very noticeable and there are special names and customs used in connection with them.

I have tried to give some explanation for the choice of personal names among the Lugbara. Such an analysis would be very different in the case of personal names given in other societies in which the structure of the family and the distribution of tensions within it are different. Accounts of personal names in Buganda and Bunyoro have already been published in the *Uganda Journal*.⁸ It would be of interest to have accounts from other areas also.

⁸ M. B. Nsimbi, Baganda traditional personal names, *Uganda J.* 14 (1950); J. H. M. Beattie, Nyoro personal names, *Uganda J.* 21 (1957).

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY BOATS IN EAST AFRICA

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

THE annals of the Church Missionary Society in Eastern Equatorial Africa during the last quarter of the nineteenth century contain a bewildering succession of names of small craft which gave often vital service to the pioneering activities of their various missions.¹

Dove

In 1874 the Society sent the Rev. W. Salter Price to East Africa to organize a Freed Slave Settlement, and in the following year he founded Frere Town, near Mombasa. A small steam-launch, the *Dove*, was presented for his use. It was shipped on the deck of a Government collier bound for Zanzibar; but this had to put, storm-damaged, into Rio de Janeiro and did not proceed to its destination. The *Dove* was accordingly sold in Rio.

Alice

Early in 1876, one of Price's lay assistants, a shipwright, J. G. Pearson, constructed a sailing boat, the *Alice*, "with a nice roomy cabin and cushioned seat". This continued to give useful ferrying service in Mombasa Harbour for some years. "The large rowing boat, the *Alice*" was still in use when Bishop Royston of Mauritius rededicated the *Henry Wright* in September 1883 (*Church Missionary Intelligencer* 1884, p. 27). She should be distinguished from the collapsible boat *Lady Alice* in which Stanley circumnavigated Lake Victoria in 1875 and which was abandoned on the lower Congo two years later.

Highland Lassie

In place of the *Dove*, the *Highland Lassie*, an 80-ton sailing yacht, was provided. She had auxiliary steam power, a hollow mast serving as a funnel. It was arranged that Lieutenant G. Shergold Smith, R.N., who was going out as leader of the pioneer Victoria Nyanza Mission party should navigate her. She left Teignmouth on 11 March 1876. At Aden Shergold Smith transferred to s.s. *Cashmere* on which were Mackay and O'Neill also bound for Lake Victoria. On board also, in three sections, was a twin-screw steam-launch, the *Daisy*, cedar-built—43 feet long, six feet wide, and four feet deep—by Messenger of Teddington, where Mackay inspected her under construction. They arrived at Zanzibar on 29 May 1876.

¹ These notes are a provisional contribution towards a comprehensive catalogue of craft whose names appear in recent East African history, which Mr. A. T. Matson is compiling and hopes in due course to publish. Amendments or additions will be welcomed by Mr. Matson or the writer.

The *Highland Lassie* under her European crew, Captain Canham with Harry Hartnoll² as mate, eventually reached Zanzibar on 20 June "in excellent condition". For some years she acted as C.M.S. despatch boat between Mombasa and Zanzibar. But she gave increasing trouble—she was underpowered for monsoon weather. By September 1881 she was reported to be unseaworthy and was converted into a coal hulk off Frere Town (C.M.S. Archives).

Henry Wright

Henry Wright, the great Secretary of the C.M.S., was drowned bathing in Lake Coniston in August 1880. A memorial fund of £5,000 was allocated to the provision of a new steamer for the East Africa Mission. Fittingly, for he and his friends had in fact provided funds for the *Dove* and *Highland Lassie*, this was named the *Henry Wright*. She was engined by John Thompson and Sons and built by Greens of Blackwall^{2a} where she was launched on 10 March 1883. She had excellent sailing qualities according to Bishop Hannington, an experienced yachtsman, who made use of her on his arrival as bishop in January 1885.

Year after year the *Henry Wright* steamed between Mombasa and Zanzibar, a good passage taking 18 hours. Towards the end of 1888, during the disturbed months following the establishment of the Chartered Company at Mombasa and the Arab revolt in the German sphere she was in frequent demand, though the Navy's offer to charter her was declined.³ But when the mail steamers began to call regularly at Mombasa she was no longer so indispensable to the Mission, and early in 1890 she was sold to the Chartered Company. Her original captain, W. Wilson, transferred to the Company's service and with her took part in the Witu operations of October 1890. But s.s. *Juba* and the stern wheeler *Kenia* soon took her place in the Company's coastal fleet.

Daisy^{3a}

To return to the craft which was ultimately assigned to Lake Victoria. When the sections of the *Daisy*, with her boiler, cases of machinery (one containing her three-cylinder engine) and tools were unloaded at Zanzibar in May 1876 much damage and loss were revealed. Mackay at once showed

² Hartnoll accompanied Mackay up-country with the main body of the Victoria Nyanza caravan, leaving the Coast on 30 August 1876. It would be convenient to infer that this was the occasion for James Martin's joining the *Highland Lassie*, of which he is later recorded as mate. This would be in line with Joseph Thomson's remark, when engaging Martin early in 1883, that Martin had been for over six years with C.M.S. Hartnoll did not return to the *Highland Lassie*; after a few months at Mpwapwa he was invalided to England.

^{2a} A model "Building by Messrs. R. and H. Green, Shipbuilders, Blackwall, 1882" is on exhibition at C.M.S. headquarters in London.

³ On 24 October 1888 she was called on to tow the mail steamer *Oriental* off the rocks at Mombasa, "a tough job, but she was got off at last". (C.M.I. 1888, p. 787.)

^{3a} So named after Henry Wright's daughter, Margaret, whose pet-name was 'Daisy'. Miss M. E. Wright died at Hampstead on 15 January 1961, aged 89. She could recall that when only five years old Mackay "spoke to us children in the Sunday School the Sunday before he set sail for Africa".

his ingenuity. With the help of the engine-room staff of H.M.S. *London* a new main-shaft and stern-tube were made, and the *Daisy* was quickly afloat under steam.

Her first commission was to ascertain whether the rivers Wami or Kingani offered a water route into the interior, in which case the *Daisy* was to remain at the Coast. In mid-June Shergold Smith with Mackay explored the Wami in her and she nearly came to grief off Saadani. Finding the Wami impracticable Mackay with Vice-Consul Holmwood of Zanzibar took the *Daisy* up the Kingani from 7 to 24 July, with equally unpromising results. She was thereupon dismantled and her length reduced by six feet. She was made up into porters' loads—50 were required—and the long trek towards Lake Victoria began in August. The vanguard of the Uganda party, C. S. Wilson and O'Neill, reached Lake Victoria at Kageyi at the end of January 1877. Shergold Smith arrived on 1 April.

When the sections of the *Daisy* were surveyed, she was found to be a wreck while her boilers and much of the machinery⁴ were months behind on the road. But they set to work and virtually re-built her as a sailing boat, and indeed an engine was never installed in her. Six inches more gunwale, a false keel, and more canvas were added—she now had three masts—while a further six feet were cut from her middle section. She was re-launched early in June.

Chimosi and O'Neill

But it was realized that the *Daisy* would never be strong enough to carry much cargo and Shergold Smith arranged to purchase for £100 a dhow then under construction on Ukerewe island by the Arab Songoro, whom Stanley had met at Kageyi in 1875. Smith and C. T. Wilson set off in the *Daisy* on 25 June 1877 on their first visit to Uganda. She probably flew the red ensign for this occasion.⁵ Seeking to land on Ukara island they were attacked by the islanders; Smith's sound (left) eye was struck by a slinger's stone (his right eye had been damaged in the Ashanti campaign) and he was so disabled that Wilson had to take the helm. They made landfall at Entebbe on 27 June and reached Rubaga, Mutesa's capital, on the 30th.

Smith was back at Kageyi with the *Daisy* on 7 August. O'Neill on Ukerewe island had meanwhile gone ahead with the construction of the dhow and had also built a dingy, 11 feet by 4, which Smith dubbed the *O'Neill*. In October Smith in the *Daisy* explored Speke Gulf and the Simeyo and Ruwana rivers. On 19th when some miles up the latter river the *Daisy* was

⁴ In addition to the *Daisy's* machinery "a portable marine engine for the Victoria Nyanza" was provided, (*C.M.I.* 1876, p. 313). Wilson and Mackay seem to have transported both sets of machinery to Uganda in the *Daisy* in November 1878; for Mackay, writing from 'Chibuga' on 17 November 1878 remarks that "it will expedite matters to fit up the little *Daisy* with her old engines and to use the other engine and boiler to cut wood for house-building". (*C.M.I.* 1879, pp. 602, 607.)

⁵ Shergold Smith's diary for 22 October 1877 while exploring Jordan's Nullah records "I generally fly the red ensign in the *Daisy*, but this time hoisted a Jack. The people here know it best, it being the flag O'Neill had flying when I arrived at Kageyi". This was probably the first appearance of the Union Jack afloat on Lake Victoria. (*C.M.I.* 1878, p. 531.) Stanley flew the Stars and Stripes.

stove in by a hippopotamus but was saved by her compartments and was patched up with sheet lead and copper nails. A lively sketch of this incident by O'Neill which shows the *Daisy* flying the Union Jack is reproduced in *C.M.I.* May 1878 (Fig. 1).

At last the dhow was got into the water on 15 November. She was named *Chimosi*, "bad Swahili for The First," (probably the Swahili *kimoja*) and also as incorporating the initials of the Society, Ch.M.S. But she was a clumsy vessel, 30 feet by 11, and reckoned at "38½ tons". On 24 November she dragged her anchor off Kageyi and was driven onto the rocks. She was found not to be worth reconstruction and was broken up.⁶ Some three weeks later (probably 13 December) Shergold Smith and O'Neill who had planned to return to Uganda in the *Daisy* were killed in an attack by the inhabitants of Ukerewe.⁷

Daisy (continued)

The *Daisy* in charge of Hassani, the expedition's interpreter, took the news of this disaster to Wilson in Uganda. In her Wilson left Entebbe on 4 January 1878, reaching Kageyi on 12th. He thereupon marched to Tabora and back to obtain supplies (12 January–15 March). On 22 March Wilson sailed again in the *Daisy*, which had now been overhauled, and, making a very quick passage, reached Entebbe in three days. On 28th she was sent back to Kageyi for another cargo returning at the end of April with mails. Wilson was by this time disgusted by the misconduct of his coastmen employees. He gave them their discharge and sent them back to Kageyi with the *Daisy* in May.

Early in June Wilson calculated that a caravan which Mackay was known to be bringing forward ought soon to arrive at Kageyi. He obtained canoes from Mutesa, but the journey took two months and he did not reach Kageyi until 9 August, to find Mackay awaiting him since 13 June. Mackay had found the *Daisy* in a deplorable condition, while the loads of machinery, boiler-plates and tools which had gradually arrived were piled in disorderly heaps. All this had soon been reorganized; much of the machinery was successfully assembled, and the *Daisy* renovated, so that Wilson and Mackay could set off in her for Uganda on 23 August. Five days later they were wrecked at Mukongo on the mainland a few miles north of the present Bukoba. Here they spent two months effecting repairs with astonishing ingenuity, the whole of the middle section being sacrificed. She emerged after her third shortening "a well-proportioned boat" 27 feet in length. They re-embarked on 24 October to reach Entebbe on 1 November 1878.

The end of the *Daisy* is obscure. She must have remained in Uganda. The first French Fathers who arrived at Entebbe on 17 February 1879 carried with them a letter from their leader, Father Livinhac, asking for the use of the *Daisy* to bring him and the rest of his party from the south of the Lake

⁶ There are delightful coloured illustrations of the *Daisy* and the dhow under construction (Fig. 3) and of the wreck of the latter in a booklet *Sketches of African Scenery* by T. O'Neill, published by C.M.S. in 1878.

⁷ See Gray, Arabs on Lake Victoria. Some Revisions. *U.J.* 22 (1958), 76-81.

(*C.M.I.* 1879, p. 709). A letter from Father Lourdel dated 11 April 1879 to his colleagues waiting at Kageyi says that canoes having been obtained from the King he had planned to come himself "sur la barque à voiles que les Anglais ont mise gracieusement à notre disposition", but that on reflection he thought it better to send Brother Amans in his place (*Nicq. Vie de Père Lourdel*, p. 144).

There seems to have been some misunderstanding at this point. For in his diary (*C.M.I.* 1879, p. 721) Dr. Felkin, 20-21 April, "heard that the Frenchmen had gone off with our boat . . . It was the Frère that had gone. The king said he was angry and would send to stop it. We hear it was the king's men who took it, and threatened to spear our man when he tried to prevent them taking it". No details seem to be on record of the circumstances of the *Daisy's* end. Perhaps some over-zealous 'king's man' told off to commandeer transport for the Fathers took her away. The White Fathers' journal printed in *À l'assaut des pays nègres* (1884) p. 269, records that on 31 May 1879 Brother Amans returned to Kageyi with a fleet of canoes and adds "The Protestants have chosen to be on good terms with us. They have lent Father Lourdel a large vessel so as to facilitate our crossing. Unfortunately the vessel being badly steered, has been seriously damaged on the way. Perhaps it has foundered. It would have been better if Father Lourdel had not accepted it." C. T. Wilson is more explicit. Before leaving Uganda for the Nile in June he noted "Jesuits reported arrived at Entebbe [sc. 17 June 1879] and the boat left a wreck on the coast of Uzongora." (*C.M.I.* 1879 p. 725.)

Hardly a reference to this happening is made in C.M.S. literature; perhaps she was no great loss. Mackay had brought the engine to Uganda and in December 1878 had demonstrated it to Mutesa. Certain it is that for nearly five years the C.M.S. missionaries relied on the vagaries of canoe transport, largely a monopoly of the Kabaka. Stokes and Coppleson, leaving the French Fathers under Livinhac still waiting at Kageyi, crossed the Lake to Uganda in March 1879. They returned to Kageyi in June together with Pearson when it is related that "they were about to sail across the Lake in the *Daisy*, but that useful little boat was accidentally wrecked". (*C.M.I.* 1880, p. 123.) Pearson returned from the south in November 1879. Litchfield with Mackay went south in April 1880, and Mackay travelling in company with Père Lévesque arrived back in Uganda in December 1880. O'Flaherty with Stokes and Mutesa's envoys returning from England followed in March 1881. Stokes returned southwards at once accompanied by Pearson who was finally leaving Uganda. All these voyages were made in canoes.

Eleanor or Mirembe

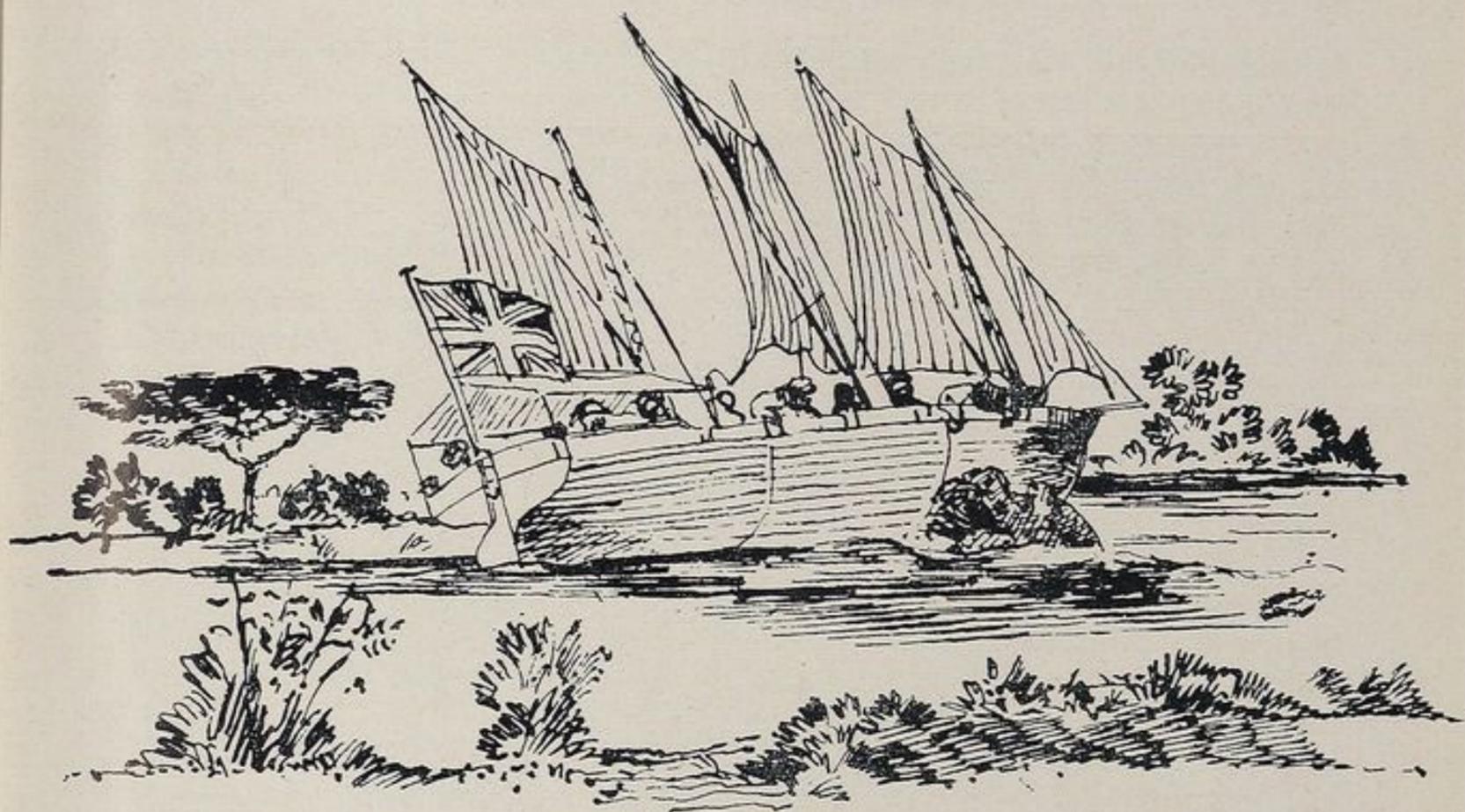
The tenuousness of this thread with the outside world was increasingly apparent. In March 1882 Hannington, the future Bishop, was accepted by C.M.S. to lead a new party to Uganda by the southern route, and he launched a public appeal to provide a boat to replace the wrecked *Daisy*. The new boat in sections was transported by Hannington's caravan from Saadani; it reached Msalala some miles short of the Lake in December 1882, and there was 'dumped'.

Sickness and other obstacles held up the construction of the *Eleanor*, which was so named after the eldest daughter of the Rev. F. E. Wigram, Henry Wright's successor as Secretary of the C.M.S., R. P. Ashe, one of Hannington's party went on in canoes to Uganda in April 1883. This enabled Mackay to leave in July, when he made the canoe journey which is described in *U.J.* 18 (1954), 13-20. At Msalala he found the parts of the new boat warped and splitting under the sun. He selected a suitable building yard at Urima further north on Smith Sound and with the help of Charles Wise, a lay handy-man, he promptly set to work. Mackay was clearly in a trilled mood when he described her condition and his difficulties in a letter written in December to Lt.-Colonel John Robb, I.M.S., Surgeon of the Zanzibar Consulate (printed in *Mackay of Uganda—The Missionary Engineer* by Mary Yule). He relates that she "is a common open boat not unlike a herring boat cutter-built. I fitted a small poop into her. She is of mahogany planking with frames and floors (i.e. ribs) of oak. She carries two big sails and two jibs and is seated for twelve oars. Painted white with brand new sails and a red cross ensign (of my own make), even you fastidious Anglo-Indians would not perhaps object to an hour's sail in her." She was launched on 3 December 1883 and was christened in addition the *Mirembe* (Peace). In her Mackay sailed for Uganda on the 11th with a full cargo, "about 60 tons in all," and on 19 December anchored in Murchison Bay, in time to spend Christmas with O'Flaherty and Ashe at Natete.

Over the next six years the *Eleanor* gave invaluable service and her story has almost an epic quality. On a rough count she must have crossed the Lake at least twenty-five times. For awhile Mackay—as ever indomitable and undismayed—had no option but to command her himself. By his efforts she escaped the rocks off Kageyi in one of her early voyages. Mackay was overhauling her at the 'port' given him by Mutesa at Busabala⁸ in October 1884 when news of Mutesa's death reached him. In the following February she was swamped at her moorings there but was refloated by a remarkable feat of salvage. On 30 June 1885 for the first time she sailed for Kageyi under her native crew without Mackay. She seems to have done a quick return journey. One of the most reliable of her crew was Roberto (Albert) Munyagabyanjo, one of the Baganda martyrs of June 1886, whose name appears on the memorial tablet in Namirembe Cathedral (*C.M.I.* 1886, p. 885).

In October 1885 Stokes "by instructions received from Bishop Hannington took the *Eleanor* from Msalala and crossed the Lake diagonally to Sendege on the eastern side, in order to meet the Bishop and convey him to Uganda," (*C.M.S. Annual Report*, 1886, p. 45). But he could hear nothing of the Bishop's caravan and returned after two days. These 'instructions' were probably an intimation of the Bishop's plans sent on by Mackay to Stokes who would have received them when the *Eleanor* returned to the south of the Lake

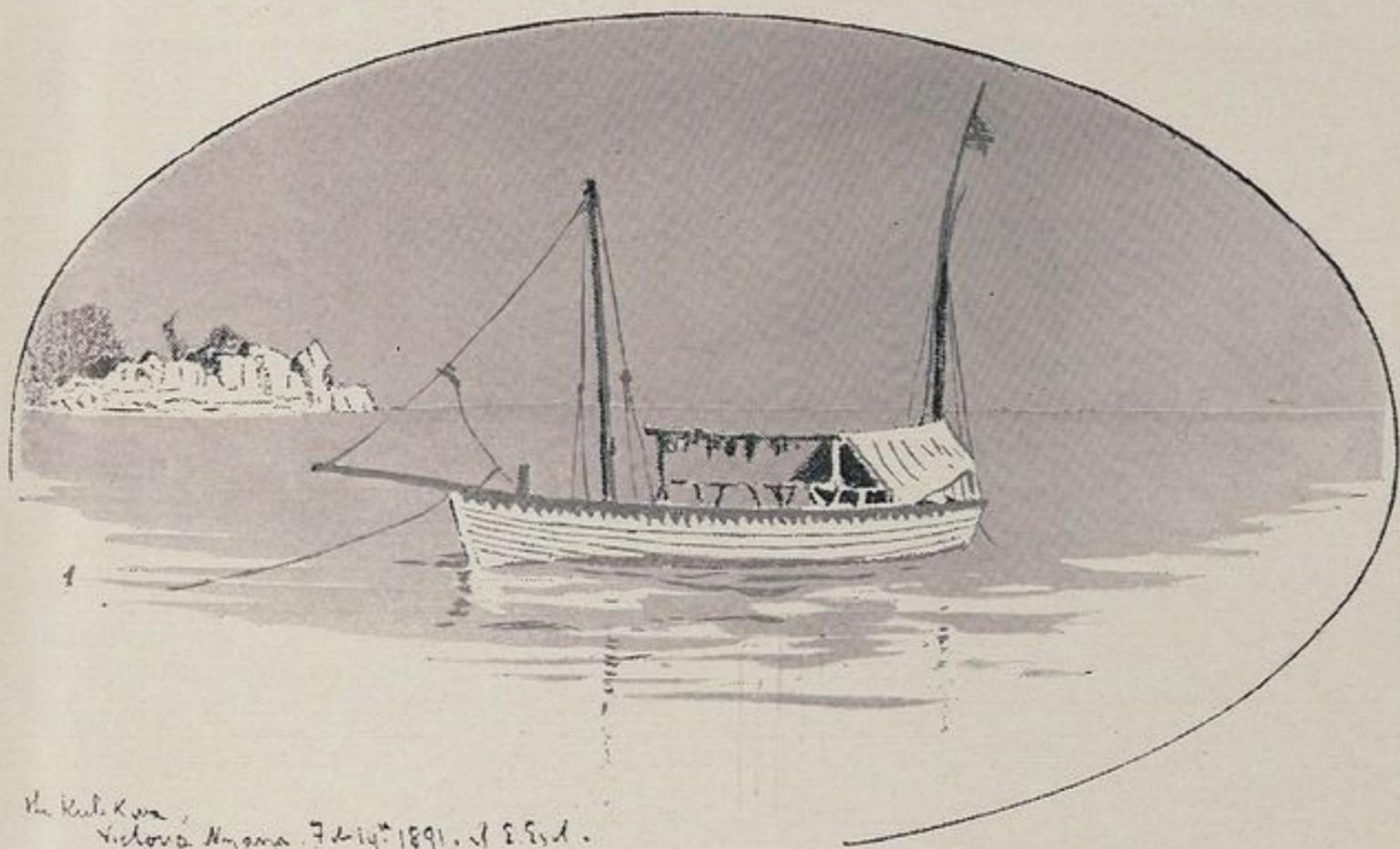
⁸ This was Stanley's 'Usavara', and is near the present Kazi landing. It was reckoned to be 12 miles distant from the C.M.S. Station at Natete. Mackay also refers to it as Port Mutungo (*C.M.I.* 1885, p. 726). It seems not to have been reoccupied as a port after the 1888-9 revolution, when Munyonyo came into use.



[Reproduced by courtesy of C.M.S.]

FIG. 1

The *Daisy*. "Hippo's charge river Ruwana" (From sketch by T. O'Neill in *C.M.I.*, May 1878.)

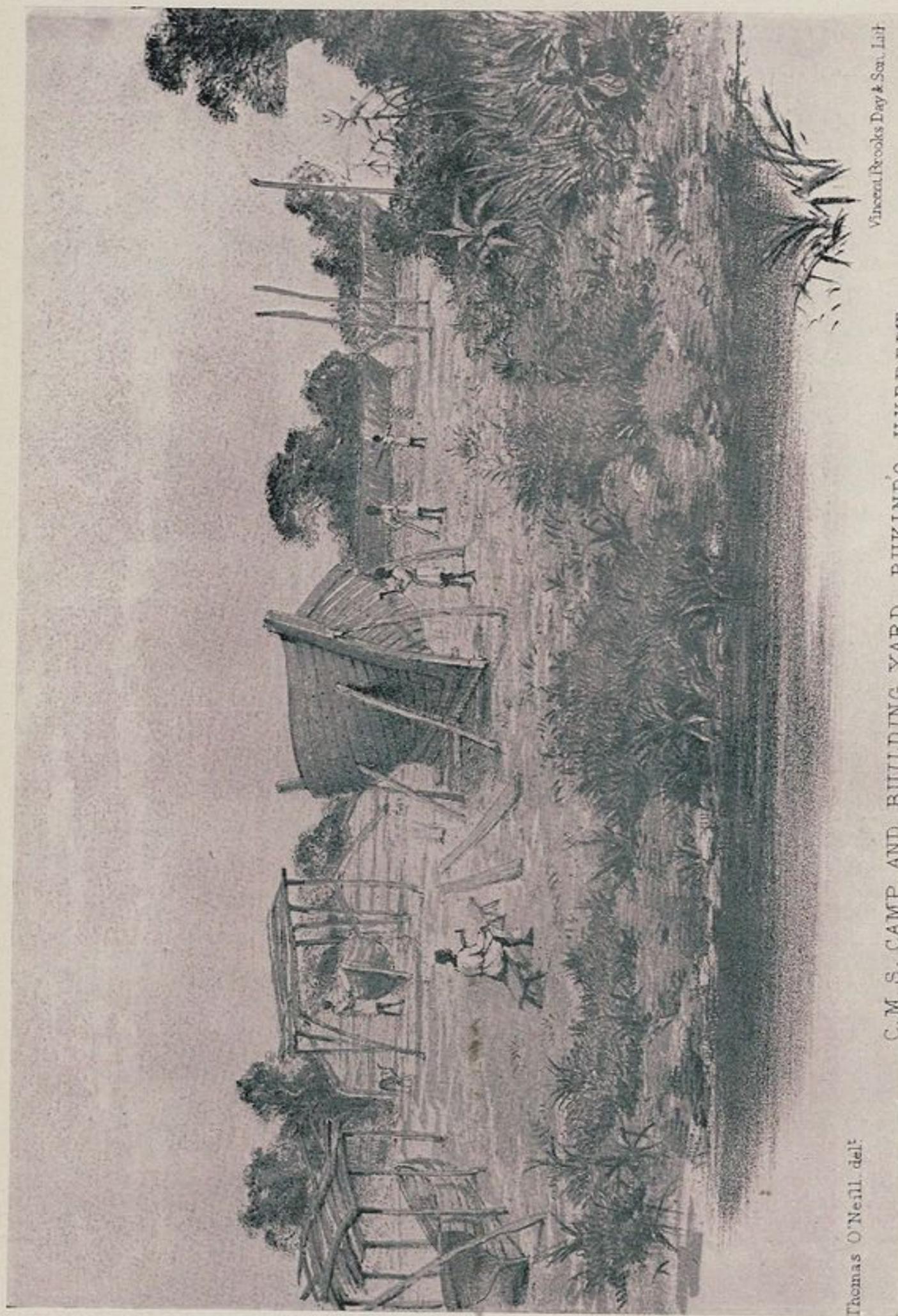


*The Kulekwa
Victoria Nyanga Feb 14 1891. J. S. S. S.*

[Reproduced by courtesy of C.M.S.]

FIG. 3

The *Kulekwa* at south end of Lake Victoria, February 1891. (From sketch by Bishop Tucker in *C. M. Gleaner*, January 1892.)



Thomas O'Neill del.

Vincent Brooks Day & Son, Lith

C. M. S. CAMP AND BUILDING YARD, BUKINDO, UKEREWE.

[Reproduced by courtesy of C.M.S.]

FIG. 2

Dhow *Chimosi* under construction on Ukerewe Island. (From *Sketches of African Scenery* by T. O'Neill, published by C.M.S. in 1878.)

about 12 October.⁹ Dr. G. A. Fischer, seeking to relieve Dr. Junker, reached Kageyi on 16 November 1885, and there heard from Stokes of his abortive search for the Bishop. The *Eleanor* was about to depart for Uganda carrying important mails from the Coast and the firm news of Stokes' failure to contact the Bishop. Heeding Stokes' advice, Fischer decided not to go himself, but to send two messengers with a letter to Mwanga; they arrived at Mengo (Mwanga's new capital) on 29 November.

O'Flaherty obtained permission to leave before the end of December; he probably travelled by the *Eleanor*, for she was back at Kageyi on 7 January 1886 with such unfavourable reports that Fischer abandoned any thought of crossing to Uganda and marched up the east side of the Lake hoping in Kavirondo to hear of Dr. Junker.

At last in May 1886 Dr. Junker, homeward bound after years of detention in the Sudan, reached Buganda from the north and in July crossed the Lake in the *Eleanor*. In her Ashe (August 1886) and Mackay (July 1887) withdrew in succession from Uganda. She was by this time in poor condition "leaking terribly", but by constant patching was kept in commission, so that in October 1888 Cyril Gordon, Walker and the French Fathers, expelled by Kiwewa's revolution, were able to escape in her, having been almost wrecked at the start by a charging hippopotamus.

In April 1889, for reasons of policy, Mackay, now at Usambiro at the south end of the Lake, refused the fugitive Mwanga's request for the use of the boat in his attempt to reconquer his kingdom. But the *Eleanor* was in fact no longer serviceable, and when, in August, Gordon and Walker set off from Usambiro to join the expedition for the restoration of Mwanga, they crossed the Lake in canoes. As noted below the *Eleanor* was broken up before the end of 1889.

James Hannington I

When Ashe returned to England in January 1887 to press the claims of the Uganda Mission he stressed the need for a new vessel on the Lake. By September a substantial special fund had been subscribed, and a new boat was ordered to "be constructed on Mr. Mackay's plans, for sailing, but if possible to have an engine put into it which is already in Uganda" (*C.M.I.*

⁹ Somewhat of a stigma has fallen upon Stokes for failure to persist in search for the Bishop. But as pointed out by Sir John Gray (*U.J.* 13 (1949), 12) the position of the rendezvous 'Sendege', was at the time quite uncertain.

Sendege as the name of a prominent chief in Kavirondo was perhaps known at the Coast before Joseph Thomson's journey of 1883-4, though it does not appear on Stanley's 1875 map. Thomson did not reach the place, but on his map shows it vaguely some distance south of the Equator. Hannington's first expressed intention was to proceed to Naivasha and then strike due west "over an unexplored district" (Gray, *ibid.*, p. 4, and Hannington's letter to C.M.S. of 7 May 1885 in Dawson's *Life*, p. 327). This would have brought him to Lake Victoria near the present Shirati. Sendege is so located on the map in Dawson's *Life of Bishop Hannington*, and this is doubtless the area to which Stokes steered. It is quite improbable that Stokes was aiming at the mouth of the Sio river or indeed any place north of the (then unknown) Kavirondo Gulf. He was accordingly never other than inaccessibly remote from the route through northern Kavirondo which Hannington eventually followed. Unfortunately an account by Stokes of his own proceedings is lacking. Perhaps he gave up his quest about 20 October: at that date Hannington was already approaching Luba's in Busoga.

1887, p. 570). This was the inception of what for some time was referred to as the *James Hannington*.

The Arab Rebellion of 1888 doubtless delayed the transport of materials from the Coast. Meanwhile Mackay at Usambiro was preparing for its construction particularly cutting logs for planking.¹⁰ Fortunately all the Mission's stock of machinery and tools which had been taken to Uganda had been sent back to the south of the Lake before Mackay left Uganda in July 1887; and in March 1889 he noted that "most of the loads of tools and boat fittings [sc. for the *James Hannington*] have arrived safely [sc. from the Coast]. Some loads are still behind." (*C.M.I.* 1890, p. 19.)

By the end of 1889 Mackay could report that the three-cylinder steam engine and two steam feed-pumps are now completely fitted, but the boiler was "a more serious undertaking". This was probably the boiler belonging to the *Daisy* for Mackay notes that its plates had been knocking about for 14 years—they had in fact been transported to Uganda and back. Their 'best' quality iron had become brittle. Mackay annealed each section on a tiny portable forge and himself riveted the fire-box and outer shell (*C.M.I.* 1890, p. 360, where Mackay specifically speaks of the *James Hannington*). This it is which forms the memorial to Mackay erected at Usambiro in the 1920s by the good offices of Mr. Zemmer of the Africa Inland Mission which is illustrated in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 7, June 1939.

Gabunga or Kulekwa

Mackay's long experience of Africa's frustrations doubtless warned him that the assembly of the *James Hannington* might be long delayed, and he set about providing a temporary boat for communications with Uganda. This "a transformed canoe", was already taking shape when Stanley and Emin passed through Usambiro in August 1889. Referred to by Mackay as the *Gabunga*, she was about 50 feet long and 7 feet wide, "considerably longer but somewhat narrower than the *Eleanor*," whose masts and sails were to be utilized (*C.M.I.* 1890, pp. 360, 775; *Stanley In Darkest Africa*, ii, 392). But she was still unfinished at Mackay's death on 8 February 1890.

When Walker from Uganda joined Deekes at Usambiro in May 1890 this "temporary boat" was at last got into the water (*C.M.I.* 1890, p. 775). In July she was sent across the Lake with supplies for Gordon, and in August Ernest Gedge sailed her back to Usambiro. Gedge hoped to be able to return with her to Uganda. But early in October, Walker, aware of the approach of Bishop Tucker and his party from the Coast, and realizing that she would then be impossibly overcrowded, and that, moreover, Mwanga must be persuaded to provide additional canoes, went ahead in her to Uganda. The voyage took 21 days (*C.M.I.* 1891, p. 897). Not till the end of November had she returned to Usambiro to collect the waiting Bishop and his party. They embarked—5 Europeans, men, boys and sailors "all squashed like sardines in a box". Calling at Bukoba, where Emin Pasha received them with much

¹⁰ A table now in the vestry of Dodoma Cathedral is said to be made from the timber prepared by Mackay (*T.N. and R.* No. 7 (June 1939), p. 47).

kindness, they reached Munyonyo on 27 December 1890 (Harford-Battersby, *Pilkington*, p. 117).

She was now known as the *Kulekwa*—the relevance of this name which seems to be Luganda for 'to be left behind' is not very apparent. In her the Bishop, after a month in Uganda, returned to the south of the Lake, reaching Usambiro on 14 February 1891. An article by Sarah G. Stock, 'Afloat on Lake Victoria', in *C. M. Gleaner*, 1892, pp. 4-6, deals briefly with the story of the various C.M.S. craft on the Lake and reproduces a sketch of the *Kulekwa* by Bishop Tucker (Fig. 2). But she did not long survive. For when, in October 1891, Dr. Gaskoin Wright and W. Collins of the C.M.S. crossed to Uganda they travelled in Stokes' boat¹¹ "the C.M.S. boat in which Bishop Tucker crossed having been wrecked" (*C.M.I.* 1892, p. 293).

On 5 January 1890, a few weeks before his death, Mackay, writing to Stanley from Usambiro, had noted that "Stokes' boat is, at the moment, the only one on the Lake. The *Eleanor* I have cut up, as being too rotten for further use, but I hope soon to launch the other boat [sc. *Gabungu* later *Kulekwa*] which may do good service until I get the steam launch [sc. *James Hannington*] afloat (Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, ii, 391).

But the death of the master ship-builder brought progress to a standstill. On 11 October 1890 Emin Pasha, writing to the German Imperial Commissioner notes that "an English steamer is lying unfinished at Usambiro. Might we not purchase it?" (Schweitzer, *Emin*, ii, 107). Over a year later, 19 December 1891, Lugard learnt that she "still hung fire owing probably to cost of carriage" (Perham and Bull, *Lugard's Diaries*, ii, 461). She seems never to have been completed. Perhaps the hull was left to disintegrate and the machinery—except the *Daisy's* boiler—removed, for the C.M.S. had abandoned Usambiro early in 1891 and transferred their station to Nassa.¹²

James Hannington II

In the midst of the protracted discussion regarding the use of the 'Stanley

¹¹ 'Stokes' boat' had its own exciting story. She was a dhow perhaps built at the Coast. Writing from Usambiro on 17 March 1889 Mackay remarks that "Stokes is at present at Urima putting together a boat (about the same size as the *Eleanor*) which he has brought up country". Mackay had lent his carpenters to help and had lately been over to inspect the work and direct them in "screwing" the sections together (*C.M.I.* 1890, p. 18). She was launched soon after. At the end of April Stokes, having agreed to help Mwanga to regain his kingdom sailed across the Lake with Mwanga to Buddu. As related by Sir John Gray, Stokes' boat played an important part in the campaign (*U.J.* 14(1950), 31-50).

After the war she continued to cross and recross the Lake on Stokes' trading activities. In February 1892 putting into the Sese islands on her way to Uganda she encountered Mwanga, retreating after the Battle of Mengo. Regarding her as an auxiliary of Lugard and the 'English' party, Mwanga looted the cargo, destroyed some C.M.S. mails and was about to burn her and kill the crew when the German sergeant Kühne from Bukoba intervened. Twelve months later commanded by Captain Eric Smith, she took a seaworthy part in the attack on the Bavuma. She was probably still in use to transport to Uganda the goods purchased from Stokes by Colonel Colvile in 1894. At this time Stokes was closing down his business interests on Lake Victoria before setting out on the journey which ended in his death in the Congo in January 1895.

¹² The somewhat confusing sequence of C.M.S. stations at the south of the Lake, Kageyi, Msalala, Usambiro, Nassa, is elucidated by S. Napier Bax, *The Early Church Missionary Society Missions in the Mwanza District (Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 7 (June 1939), pp. 39-58).*

—*Record* fund which is referred to below “the C.M.S. Committee, in view of the need of readier communication on the Lake, have ordered a small steel boat to be sent out at once, and this we hope, if all goes well, may be in actual use before Christmas [1891]. It costs £200 besides freight” (*C.M.I.* 1891, p. 541). This boat seems also to have been given the name of *James Hannington*; for Ashe on his way south in March 1893 met Hubbard of the C.M.S. at Bukoba “bringing the new mission boat, the *James Hannington*, to Uganda” (*Ashe Chronicles*, p. 416). She had no engine. Sir Gerald Portal, on 26 March 1893, came upon her at Munyonyo “C.M.S. steel boat, pretty good—two masts, lug sails, and jib, small cabin for stowage forward and six oars for calms”. Later at Entebbe he “sailed mission boat for two hours in good breeze but she is very slow, heavy and undersailed” (Portal, *Mission to Uganda*, pp. 215, 232).

In October 1893 she was hired for the Uganda Government by Captain Macdonald, who re-rigged her with the help of James Martin. She had “proved rather a white elephant to the mission, more especially so after the native skipper managed to fall overboard and get drowned”. Macdonald notes that “it had been completely fitted, even to possessing a beaker for fresh water, but it could hardly be persuaded to move at all except in a regular gale, so small was its sail area . . . we converted it into a serviceable yawl” (Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying*, pp. 302-3).

Little is heard of her thereafter. Perhaps she served the mission on occasions, for on 1 April 1894 Pilkington writes that “R. H. Leakey came back yesterday from South of Lake with 120 loads of books (a load is 70 lb.), i.e. three and a half tons, 800 New Testaments, I only wish it were 8,000” (Harford-Battersby *Pilkington*, pp. 231-2). But canoes seem to have been used exclusively for the active missionary work carried out by Cyril Gordon and Martin Hall among the Sese islands from 1895 until all collapsed with the advent of sleeping sickness early in the new century. Year after year from 1896 she was hired by the Government. She is said to have approached Luba’s Fort when occupied by the mutineers in October 1897 and to have been fired on (Martin Hall, *In Full and Glad Surrender*, p. 247), and was certainly used for transport purposes during the Mutiny. Later, in December 1899, she was employed in Hobley’s Uyoma expedition. In 1900 she was manned by a cox and seven seamen. As late as 1902 she is listed among the craft afloat on Lake Victoria (Woodward, *Précis of Information concerning the Uganda Protectorate*, War Office, p. 97). The Mission’s need for a vessel on Lake Victoria was now passing, for the railway from Mombasa to Kisumu had come into use, and Nassa, the one outpost of the C.M.S. Uganda Mission at the south of the Lake was declining in importance. At this point the *James Hannington II* passes out of sight, and with her the immediate connexion of the C.M.S. with ‘little ships’ on Lake Victoria comes to an end.

Grace or Glowworm

The Rev. Martin J. Hall was a member of the C.M.S. party (the first to include ladies) which reached Uganda in 1895. Much of his service was among the Sese islands. In May 1900 he received at Mengo a collapsible Berthon

boat, 20 feet long, a present from friends in England. This had been four years on the way out. He named her *Grace* but also speaks of her as *Glowworm*. In June he sailed her successfully to Nassa. But returning she capsized in a sudden storm near the Majita Channel on 15 August 1900 and Hall was drowned.

When Martin Hall left England in 1895 he had, with a young lady of 19 whose name was Grace, an understanding which they hoped would lead on to marriage during his first furlough. After her the boat was named. This is not mentioned in his life, *In Full and Glad Surrender* By his Sister, published in 1905, probably from consideration for Grace who was about to be married. *Glowworm* was the name of a boat which he had sailed in England.

Ruwenzori

Although not strictly a C.M.S. boat some account of the *Ruwenzori* will conveniently close the record. Stanley had been much impressed by Mackay and his work at Usambiro. In the enthusiasm evoked by his return to England from the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition early in 1890 he launched an appeal, later taken up by the *Record* newspaper, for £5,000 to provide a mission steamer for Lake Victoria. But the project was insufficiently thought out, and the C.M.S., warned perhaps by experience of the first *James Hannington*, felt that it could not prudently accept the Stanley—*Record* offer, which involved the enormous cost of portage from the Coast to the Lake, and committed the Society to operating the steamer for other than missionary purposes. Some years later the fund was handed over to the firm of Boustead, Ridley and Company to subsidize their placing the steam-launch *Ruwenzori* on the Lake, with understandings regarding her use for the Mission's needs. She reached Entebbe on her first voyage from Mwanza, where she had been constructed, on Christmas Eve 1896.

Sir Albert Cook gives some account of her doings (*U.J.* 4 (1936-7), 29; *Uganda Memories*, p. 133), and he alone seems to have some kind words for her—she carried him and the severely wounded F. J. (later Sir Frederick) Jackson from Luba's to Kampala in November 1897. Otherwise the record is a chorus of obloquy for her unreliability. Bishop Tucker describes a passage in her from Munyonyo to Nassa in October 1898. This took 13 days, the boiler breaking down every few hours. His return by canoe, took only 11 days (Tucker. *Eighteen Years*, ii, 159). She was wrecked—a total loss—on Dweru island early in 1900. "A miserable end to a miserable life of a miserable boat."

UGANDA'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BETWEEN THE WARS¹

By T. W. GEE

UGANDA is the heir of a tradition that first began when the British settlers in Virginia were granted a Council in 1606.(1) Throughout the long period which has since elapsed there has been throughout the Empire a continuous process of devolution of authority to local legislatures. Uganda was administered from 1902 to 1920 by her Governors without formally constituted advisers. In 1920, however, provision was made for the setting up of Executive and Legislative Councils by Order in Council, and thus began a process of devolution of legislative and executive power to a locally constituted legislature, which is the main facet of British colonial policy in ensuring the progressive evolution of a system of parliamentary democracy within the territories under her tutelage.

The basis for the constitutional instruments by which the legislature is established varies according to the manner in which the dependency was acquired, i.e., whether it is a settled colony, a conquered or ceded colony or a protected or mandated territory. Uganda, which is a protectorate, is not a part of the Queen's dominions and is governed by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, and it is this law which empowers the Crown to extend its authority over the people of Uganda. It does this by the issue of instruments in the form of Orders in Council which are equivalent to action by the Government of the day, since the Queen acts on the advice of Her Ministers.(2) The Order in Council is the basic document, and usually is framed in a common form.(3) It constitutes the office of Governor and Commander-in-Chief and provides for the Government of a territory, lays down boundaries, creates Legislative and Executive Councils, authorizes the legislature to legislate, constitutes the courts and reserves certain powers to the Crown. Thus the Order in Council provides the outline of the constitution; the Royal Instructions fill in the detail. They lay down the composition and define the powers of Legislative and Executive Councils and enumerate the classes of bills which the Governor is bound to reserve for Her Majesty's pleasure. As the Legislative Council develops these instruments are amended from time to time. An important change, such as the introduction of elections, will be effected by Order in Council but the practice is that this will provide that qualification for membership and the nature of the franchise are matters for local legislation, which can be more easily amended.

Uganda's legislature was born without any great difficulty or fuss. African interest was at that time concentrated on local administration and the small European community was slow to ask for any official part in the direction of the affairs of the Protectorate despite the lively example set by neighbours in Kenya.(4)

¹ Adapted from the Uganda Essay Competition, 1958.

The first suggestion that there should be unofficial intervention in the enactment of legislation was made as early as 1912 when the *Uganda Herald* published a letter from a writer exasperated by what he considered to be a series of rash, hasty and uncalled-for ordinances, and urging the formation of a strong political association to keep a careful watch on the Government.(5) It was not however until after the first World War that any progress was made in this direction.

The first move came in a letter headed "Taxation and Representation" addressed by the Uganda Chamber of Commerce to the Chief Secretary on 18 July 1919, asking if there were any proposals to form a Legislative or Advisory Council in Uganda and indicating that it was the Chamber's general view that the time had come when the community should have a voice in the government of the country and more especially as regards revenue and expenditure. There were at that time no such proposals; the Acting Chief Secretary thought that the time was not then ripe for the council system to be introduced. He preferred to continue to consult the public through *ad hoc* bodies and to rely on the advance publication of bills for criticism before enactment of legislation. On the other hand the Chief Justice, Mr. W. (later Sir William) Morris Carter, thought otherwise. He believed it would be wise to institute a legislative council before pressure was brought to bear to do so and to start it on its career in a peaceful atmosphere. His advice was taken by the Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, who considered that pressure from the public would increase, especially under post-war conditions. In the past it had always been consulted with happy results but he did not believe that it would remain satisfied with this for very long. Disregarding the smallness of the non-African population and the disadvantages of the elaboration of the legislative process, he informed the Chamber that he was prepared to submit the question to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Uganda Planter's Association raised the same issue some two months later in a resolution by their Vice-President, Major A. L. Renton, pointing out the desirability of constituting a Legislative Council forthwith. The immediate result was the address of a despatch to the Secretary of State on the Governor's instructions, asking for Executive and Legislative Councils to be set up. Lord Milner, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on receipt of this despatch, sent a telegram in which he gave his approval in principle and proposed discussion when the Governor arrived in the United Kingdom.

Sir Robert Coryndon envisaged a small Executive Council consisting of the Governor as President, with the Chief Secretary, Treasurer, Attorney General and Principal Medical Officer(6) as *ex officio* members; he proposed to form the Legislative Council by adding to these, the Director of Public Works, the Land Officer, and the Director of Agriculture and five unofficials, two representing planting and cotton interests, two representing the Chamber of Commerce and one Indian. An Order in Council was made on 17 May, followed by Royal Instructions on 5 June 1920; these reached Uganda on 3 August and enabled both Councils to be set up. An Executive Council of four *ex officio* members and the Governor was constituted as envisaged, without unofficial membership. It was decided for the time being, that until

Legislative Council gained experience, to confine official membership to those sitting in Executive Council. In order to preserve the official majority, only three unofficials were appointed.(7) These instruments, which were not published until 1921,(8) set out the formal machinery for the appointment of members and the functioning of the two Councils, and were very similar to those made in other British dependencies.

As is the practice, no limit was set on the membership of the Legislative Council, which could comprise, in addition to the *ex officio* members, official and unofficial(9) members appointed in pursuance of Royal Instructions in each case. To provide for absences an arrangement was included for provisionally appointing persons temporarily to be official(10) or unofficial(11) members. These appointments had to be reported immediately and were subject to disallowance.(12) Provision was made for an extraordinary member to be appointed whenever the Governor wished to obtain the advice of any person within the Protectorate on matters of special importance.(13) The quorum, including the Governor or member presiding, was three and a division was taken by a majority of votes, the Governor having both an original and casting vote. Standing Rules and Orders were framed to ensure punctuality of attendance, convenient notice of meetings, maintenance of order and method in the despatch of business and in the conduct of debates, to secure due deliberation in the passing of ordinances, and to give notice to private persons of ordinances intended to affect their interests.(14) These instructions also required that minutes of the proceedings should be kept and a copy sent to the Secretary of State. They reserved certain bills for the Royal assent. As the amount of guidance actually provided to run the new Legislature was very little, the approach was at times empirical. For instance on the 16 August 1920, Sir Robert Coryndon minuted that he thought a total membership of seven would be sufficient in the first year because business would be quicker until the work and atmosphere of the Council had been learned.

At the outset the Governor decided that two of the unofficials should be Europeans, and the third an Indian chosen from three names put forward by the Indian Association. He decided not to consult the Shia Ismailia Council (i.e., the Ismaili Khojas or followers of the Aga Khan) but to assume that they would be included in those put forward by the Indian Association, although he recognized the jealousy existing between the two bodies. Accordingly on 28 August 1920, the Indian Association was invited to submit the names of three persons able to understand and speak English well. At the same time Major A. L. Renton, a planter at Mityana was offered membership.(15) The Indian Association replied asking for further particulars about the composition and nature of the representation on the Council. They were told that the proportion of Indians was not definitely fixed and might vary from time to time, but that for the time being, one member was considered sufficient for the Indian community in Uganda. This did not meet with the approval of the Association which sent a telegram to the Secretary of State in September 1920 in protest. In it they requested "at least, if not more than, equal representation with the Europeans", failing which they would decline to submit

names. The Governor told the Secretary of State that he was unable to accept the principle of equality of representation because the number of literate Indians was small and very few were able to speak or understand English.(16) They had moreover practically no vested interest or knowledge of the Northern and Western Provinces. It was therefore decided to carry on without the Indians for the time being if no names were put forward, rather than to concede parity between the two races, and the Association was given until 30 September to submit three names. A solution lay in the Governor appointing an Indian without consultation, and he did in fact consider offering nomination to Mr. C. J. Amin, their leader, who, five years later, was to become the first Indian member.

Meanwhile Dr. H. H. Hunter,(17) the senior member of the bar, and Mr. H. E. Levis, the local manager of the British East Africa Corporation, were appointed as the two European unofficials, who were selected for their personal suitability, and not to represent any particular interests, and arrangements were made to hold the first meeting of Legislative Council in Entebbe on 23 March 1921. This resulted in strong reactions by the Indians. The Associations in Kampala, Jinja and Mbale and the East African Indian National Congress in Mombasa sent telegrams to the Secretary of State protesting that the meeting was being held without Indian members and asking for equal representation. Protest meetings were held, shops were closed and a strike was observed. The Aga Khan community was reported to have taken no part in these proceedings although later the Indian Association alleged that it had.

An interesting note of protest was made at this time in a letter to the Governor dated 21 March 1921, and signed by the Kabaka Daudi Chwa, his Katikiro, Apolo Kagwa, and the Mugema 'Tofiro K.' signing for the Omuwanika. In it they expressed their great anxiety about the extent of the new Council's power with regard to Buganda, fearing that Buganda interests would not receive the same consideration as hitherto, as the new Council would be concerned with the whole Protectorate. An assurance was sought that the Uganda Agreement, 1900, would not be affected in any way, and that the interests of natives of the Protectorate would be safeguarded. A suitable assurance was sent to the Kabaka to the effect that the establishment of this Council in Uganda would not in any way prejudice or interfere with the terms of the Uganda Agreement of 1900.

The Indian Association returned to the attack and on 16 May 1921 sent a long petition to the Secretary of State, arguing the case for equal representation with Europeans on the basis of population figures,(18) intelligence,(19) capital investment in the territory and as citizens of the Empire claiming to enjoy equal rights.

By this time the Secretary of State for India, who had also been sent protests by the Associations, had been brought into the dispute. He was concerned that no differentiation between races should be made and explained that the Government of India had asked that, in the event of the principle of elective representation being subsequently admitted, there should be a common electoral roll and a common franchise for all British subjects in

Uganda. The concern shown by the India Office was understandable because any extension of racial feeling in East Africa, already strong in Kenya, was bound to have repercussions in India where there were sufficient problems of this nature to be faced. However, no great pressure was brought to bear from this quarter, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies continued to support the stand taken by the Governor; protests addressed to the Secretary of State for India were answered saying that the Indian Community was advised to co-operate in the Council as then constituted without prejudice to further consideration of equal representation. It was explained that the position stemmed from the smaller number of Indians having sufficient educational qualifications and status and that differentiation had not been adopted as a principle. This assertion was not accepted and demands were made for a qualitative franchise to establish the extent of a qualified Indian electorate, seats to be awarded on the results. Had this principle been conceded no doubt African participation would have been sought after much sooner; by then the realization of the full consequences of building a Council representative of the various interests, both racial and commercial, was becoming clear. There were for example a number of different Indian Associations, and it was no longer easy for Government to negotiate with them all; nor could they all be represented as this would make the Council too large and unwieldy.

The question of segregation which had for some time troubled India and Kenya, now threatened Uganda, and it was suggested by the Secretary of State that these difficulties of representation were arising from an unexpected and uncalled-for extension of the segregation policy to Uganda. This extension had been announced by the Governor at a public meeting in Kampala on 9 August 1920, and was published in the local press. The Indian Associations showed the strongest disapproval and argued for a reconsideration of this policy and the appointment of a Royal Commission, but the squabble dragged on ineffectively.

Meanwhile in 1922 the Uganda Planters' Association, which was among the first to suggest the creation of the Council, forwarded resolutions expressing its disappointment that the producing interests were not represented, and suggested that the Director of Agriculture be added to the Council. An assurance of sympathetic consideration was given, both on this occasion and in 1925 when the Uganda Cotton Ginners' Association advocated the representation of the ginning industry.

Shortly after the arrival of Sir William Gowers in 1925, the Directors of Agriculture and Education were appointed official members of the Council; then a little later Royal Instructions issued adding them as *ex officio* members of both Executive and Legislative Councils. At the same time the 'Principal Medical Officer' was renamed the 'Director of Medical and Sanitary Services'. The new Governor then addressed his attention to the Indian problem, which had become a dormant issue. He recognized that the original concept was an unofficial side having four members to represent 'interests' and 'race'; as Indians were participating in all the 'interests' he doubted whether it was necessary to represent 'race' and proposed, if the Indians raised the subject again, to point out that the Secretary of State had laid down nothing as to

the racial composition of the Council and that the Governor was free to nominate the persons he thought best qualified to serve, irrespective of race.

Eventually Indian participation was obtained when the Governor re-opened discussions in October 1925 with their leader, Mr. C. J. Amin, a barrister-at-law, not on the basis desired by the latter, but on the assurance that the acceptance of one seat would not prejudice their claims to increased representation in the future. Accordingly, the Central Council of Indian Associations in Uganda forwarded Mr. Amin's name and on 25 March 1926 the first Indian was appointed to Legislative Council.

During this period various Europeans had been appointed as temporary members to fill leave vacancies. These included a banker, several planters, an insurance manager and the General Manager of the Uganda Company, which was to prove a ready source of unofficials.

The Indians were quick to follow up their claims for equal representation, relying on earlier arguments and the warm tribute given in a speech by the Governor welcoming Mr. Amin to the Council, when rather surprisingly he referred to him as "a representative of the Indian community". The Secretary of State replied early in 1927 that unofficial appointments were personal and not representative of any particular race or specific interest. This was in accordance with the terms of the 1920 Order in Council, and there the issue rested in this inconclusive fashion until 1931.

Difficulties arose when Mr. Amin's three-year term of office expired in 1929 and the Central Council asked that on re-appointment he should definitely be regarded as representative of the Indian community, a condition unacceptable to the Governor. For some months Mr. Amin refused to accept nomination on a purely personal basis but later accepted after further consultation with the Central Council. During the interval of the vacancy the possibility of appointing a third European from the Eastern Province was entertained with a view to bringing in persons not resident solely in Kampala.

The Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa (1930-31) addressed itself to the general problem, and the Chief Secretary, Mr. P. W. Perryman, gave evidence that in his personal view there should be a second Indian on Legislative Council; there were, moreover, sufficient Government members on the Council for an increase to be made on the unofficial side. These arguments did not persuade Sir William Gowers to change his views. In reply he referred to the report of the Joint Select Committee to support his argument that unofficials were advisory where the Council had an official majority, and therefore not representative. If they were, he argued, then it would be necessary for the 3½ million natives to be better represented, possibly by bringing the four Provincial Commissioners on to the Council. Equal representation was again refused.

Although the Joint Parliamentary Committee was primarily concerned with closer union of the East African territories the fundamental question of the relationship of the native authorities and the Central Government in Uganda was raised in connection with the former's opposition to any form of federation. Mr. S. W. Kulubya giving evidence(20) said that the Baganda did not want representation on Legislative Council because they had "their own

constitutions" and if they were given one or two representatives, would be outvoted by the majority and then it would be difficult for Buganda to re-open matters passed through Legislative Council which they were then able to do by approaching the Secretary of State. The existing policy, outlined by Mr. Perryman in his evidence,(21) was to develop the native social and political institutions on native lines and later, when these were no longer an adequate outlet for the more intelligent, more capable and more civilized natives, to give them a share in the Central Government, if they so wished. He considered that the next step was to set up Provincial Councils and possibly a Central Native Council for the Protectorate before giving natives the vote and having them in Legislative Council. He claimed that there were no demands for any drastic changes in the composition of Legislative Council. He told the Committee that there was consultation with the Lukiko and Provincial Commissioners before legislation was enacted. The year previously the Provincial Commissioner, Buganda, had been brought on to Executive Council to secure a more complete representation of native interests and later, in 1934, the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, was made a member. It was not therefore thought necessary at that time to appoint these officers to sit on Legislative Council. Mr. Perryman recognized, however, that if the Indian demand for a common roll was to be granted, then it would not be possible to exclude natives from Legislative Council,(22) but he was not in favour of using the proposed Provincial Councils as a means for sending representatives to Legislative Council in the near future.

In this situation where both the Government and the unofficial community supported the reluctance of natives themselves to participate in Legislative Council, nothing was done. The policy of developing native institutions was widely accepted and the opportunity which then presented itself for building up the authority and prestige of the Central Government was missed. Sir Donald Cameron(23) envisaged "two entirely separate centres of legislation in Uganda", a non-native Legislative Council and a Central Native Council, legislation to be passed by both; this he saw as a device both to keep the natives out of Legislative Council and to prevent the white vote being swamped.

The evidence given on behalf of the Asians indicated that they wanted equal representation and if possible elective representation on a common roll with some reservation of seats for minority communities.(24) Their spokesman alleged that despite assurances that the existing form of representation was personal not communal, the appointment of leave reliefs always of the same race indicated that this was not so. He saw no objection to natives being permitted to come into Legislative Council provided they came in on a common roll; if not, then the existing system of nomination was to be preferred.(25) This view was not shared by the European spokesmen who opposed elective representation as this would disturb Indian—European relations which were good and would also raise the question of native representation.(27)

Sir Bernard Bourdillon succeeded Sir William Gowers at the end of 1932, and the Central Council of Indian Associations very quickly re-opened its

case with the new Governor for a second member. This time it was successful and Mr. S. H. Shah was appointed (although only temporarily) as an unofficial member on 31 July 1933. The background to this change of policy is of interest.

Sir William Gowers had reserved for the new Governor the question of re-appointing Mr. Amin for a third term of office. By this time several interesting issues had arisen. The principle of making appointments to represent all public interests was now accepted. This had been reinforced by the fact that unofficials, regardless of race, had for the past eleven and a half years always voted together, except on one occasion when a European member voted with the Government in favour of the Native Produce Marketing Ordinance.⁽²⁸⁾ The storm over this incident gave rise to consideration of yet another principle: whether unofficials, because of the consultations that took place over their selection and nomination, were delegates of the bodies consulted or representative of the entire public, free to express their own views. The *Uganda Herald* of 16 June 1932, reporting the proceedings of the Eastern Province Chamber of Commerce, records that the Chamber noted Mr. Reynolds' action with regret and hoped he would in future put forward the views of the commercial community whom he represented, and not his own. This suggestion produced a sharp riposte from Sir William Gowers, who made it clear that the Chamber's attitude was misconceived. Sir Bernard Bourdillon also made it clear from the outset that it was he who made the appointments and in consulting public bodies was only asking for advice, no more. However, he wished unofficials to be definitely representative of certain races and interests; he saw the distinction to be as between elected and nominated members. In fact the elected member, so long as he retains his seat, is as free as a nominated member to express his views if there is no power of recall.

The agreement to appoint a second Indian member was given publicity in a question in the House of Commons on 14 June 1933. The answer made the point that the Uganda constitution did not provide for representation of different sections of the community and that it was in the interests of the Protectorate generally to have the advice of a second Indian member. The appointment was preceded by an unhappy dispute within the Indian Community between the supporters of an Eastern Province candidate, Mr. J. C. Patel, and those from Buganda, particularly Kampala, who favoured Mr. S. H. Shah. Separate meetings were held to consider likely candidates and each side sent its own nominee. In view of support for Mr. Shah in other quarters the Governor selected him for the seat.

Another principle then under consideration was the simple one of whether third terms were desirable. The view was held that periods of appointment should be limited to three three-year periods at most, in order to extend political experience among the non-native population and to avoid the creation of vested interests. Dr. Hunter was dropped after three terms and it was eventually decided to drop Mr. Amin after only two, unless it was the wish of the Central Council of Indian Associations that he should be re-appointed. As it was not, Mr. C. P. Dalal (who had served as a temporary

unofficial member in 1926 and 1930) of Messrs. Narandas Rajaram and Co., was put forward in his place, and appointed.

The problem of replacing Dr. Hunter had also to be solved. The Governor was informed that no formal consultation had taken place previously in selecting European unofficials and indeed there was only one European unofficial body, namely, the Uganda Planters' Association. Accordingly the Governor discussed his successor with Dr. Hunter, but no one was appointed until 1933.

A new departure came in 1935 when the names put forward by the Central Council of Indian Associations were referred to the Provincial Commissioners, Buganda and Eastern Provinces, for their observations. By this time the split in the Council had been healed, the Governor having made it clear that representation would be neither geographical nor communal.

With the arrival in Uganda of Sir Philip Mitchell to succeed Sir Bernard Bourdillon in October 1935, the composition of Legislative Council received further examination. The new Governor believed it was inconveniently small and wished to add to it the Director of Public Works (the head of the largest spending department), the head of the Land and Survey Department, and the Provincial Commissioners, Buganda and Eastern Provinces (so as to reinforce the Administration's representation). To the unofficial side he contemplated the addition of a miner from the Western Province and a lawyer. He wished to add four in all including possibly one African. The European unofficials were sounded on this proposal. They both agreed with the need to expand the size of the Council, in particular because of the need to represent adequately the unofficial view, especially when one member might be absent. The need to spread representation among the various interests was advocated; the point was made that at that time (January 1936) three members had cotton interests and a fourth was a banker; during the previous month the unofficials had comprised two doctors, a banker and a cotton man. African representation was not, however, thought to be timely; one of the unofficials thought that a European missionary should be called in (on the Kenya pattern) to care for African interests, and another that an African's presence "would considerably curb criticism of Government that might otherwise be put by unofficial members". The possibility of having to include an additional Indian was recognized, but it was felt that individuals should be chosen for their personal qualities rather than to represent specific interests, although this was to be borne in mind. Eventually the Governor's proposals were dropped and no further action was taken until the end of World War II, although there were two war-time motions in Legislative Council asking Government to give early consideration to enlarging unofficial representation on the Council and also urgent consideration to the appointment of unofficials to Executive Council.

Thus the foundations were laid in the inter-war years for a series of rapid and important constitutional changes, including the gradual Africanization of the Legislative Council, which began as soon as World War II had ended. It is easy to criticize the failure to introduce African membership at an earlier stage in the realization now that a legislature representative of all the

different tribes of Uganda would have done much to unify the country at an important formative stage. On the other hand, there was, before 1939, a sense of abundant time and little or no indication of the new climate of opinion for rapid change which was to develop after 1945 into a tide sweeping many dependent territories towards self-government.

SOURCES AND NOTES

Secretariat Minute Papers, Minutes of Legislative Council, 1921-31, Verbatim Reports of Legislative Council, 6th-20th Sessions (1925-41) and other sources referred to in the following notes:

- (1) Hailey, Lord, *An African Survey*, Revised 1956, p. 261.
- (2) *Ibid.* p. 261.
- (3) Wight, M. *The Development of the Legislative Council, 1606-1945*, 1946, 143.
- (4) Ingham, K. *The Making of Modern Uganda*, 1958, 172.
- (5) *Ibid.* 172.
- (6) *Ibid.* 173.
- (7) Hancock, W. K., *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, 1942. Vol. i, 218 states that Lord Milner, without consulting the India Office, had taken steps to apply principles adopted with regard to racial representation in Kenya, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Uganda Protectorate.
- (8) *Uganda Official Gazette* of 3/1/21, General Notices Nos. 1 and 2 of 1921. The delay was necessary because otherwise no fresh legislation could have been introduced, except by a meeting of Legislative Council, once the Instruments were published.
- (9) Royal Instructions, dated 5/6/20. Clause XV.
- (10) *Ibid.* Clause XVI.
- (11) *Ibid.* Clause XVIII.
- (12) *Ibid.* Clause XIX. This arrangement was essential where persons were proceeding on leave frequently and communications were poor.
- (13) *Ibid.* Clause XX. The General Manager, Kenya and Uganda Railways, was always appointed in this way for the discussion of the Railway's Annual Estimates.
- (14) *Ibid.* Clause XXVII.
- (15) After a protracted correspondence, Major Renton was obliged to decline this offer because of his absences for some six months every year in the United Kingdom.
- (16) Ingham, *op. cit.*, 175, states that Sir Robert Coryndon tended to confuse the ability to understand and speak English with literacy.
- (17) Dr. Hunter, in a memorandum to the Joint Select Committee on Closer Union (vol. iii, 30 of the printed Report) claimed that before the inauguration of Legislative Council, he used to be consulted on proposed legislation and that the Indians paid him the compliment, when they had no representative on Legislative Council, that they considered he would look after their interests. He also said that he represented the Uganda and Eastern Province Chambers of Commerce on the Council.
- (18) Indians 3,518, Europeans 809 (including 484 Government servants), see *East African Year Book*, 1919.
- (19) They claimed they were shrewd, tactful, clever and could satisfy a fair educational test.

- (20) See the Joint Select Committee Report on Closer Union in East Africa, Report and Minutes, vol. ii, minutes 5793, 5934-5.
- (21) Ibid. Minutes 8934, 9034-5.
- (22) Ibid. Minutes 9097, 9246, 9230 and 9234.
- (23) Ibid. Minute 8984.
- (24) Ibid. Minutes 7579, 7584-6 and 7853-7.
- (25) Ibid. Minute 7641.
- (26) Ibid. Minute 2973.
- (27) Ibid. Minute 3131.
- (28) The Hon. F. D. Reynolds on 19/8/32 (see summary of Proceedings of Uganda Legislative Council, 11th Session).

Report
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THE SIEGES OF BUKUMI, MUBENDE DISTRICT, IN 1898

By SIR JOHN GRAY

THROUGH the kindness of the Rev. Father F. B. Gaffney, a former President of the Uganda Society, and the Rev. Father R. Lefebvre, Vicar General of the Diocese of Rubaga, I was supplied some years ago with copies of letters addressed by the late Archbishop Streicher and the late Father Simon Moullec to Monseigneur Léon Livinhac, Superior General of the White Fathers' Mission, regarding two sieges of the Catholic Mission at Bukumi in Bugangadzi at the time of the Sudanese mutiny in 1898. The original letters are in French and I am responsible for the English translations with all their attendant imperfections. Immediately after the second siege Father Moullec sent an account to Father Roche at Fort Portal. He also wrote some notes, which are now at the White Fathers' Mission at Rubaga, but I understand that they are not very legible and so have not been translated. I have no information as to whether the letter to Father Roche is still extant.

The two letters here translated will speak for themselves, but a few introductory remarks may not be out of place.

The Mission station at Bukumi was founded in May 1894 by Fathers Achte and Houssin shortly after Colonel Colvile had announced the annexation of Bugangadzi and other parts of the kingdom of Bunyoro to Buganda. The land was given to the Mission by Kikukule, who had been chief of the district under Kabarega and had been deposed in favour of the Muganda chief Sepiriya Mutagwanya, then county chief of Buwekula. Kikukule naturally resented his supersession by a Muganda and when a suitable opportunity offered, he was ready to renounce his new-found allegiance and endeavour to regain his own. Achte had no illusions regarding his trustworthiness and took what was to prove the wise precaution of constructing the new station so that it could soon be converted into a place of defence.

In 1896 another station was established to the north-west of Bukumi at Bujuni in Buyaga by Fathers Toulze and Gâcon. It would appear that at the time of the first siege of Bukumi this station was in charge of an African catechist. According to a list compiled by the White Fathers in 1900, this site was "received from Mwanga and Mr. Berkeley (then Acting Commissioner of the Protectorate)".

Henri Streicher had been consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Nyanza in 1897. In May of that year he had given timely warning to George Wilson, then Acting Commissioner, of a projected rising by a certain number of Baganda chiefs. Wilson was thereby enabled to nip the conspiracy in the bud by arresting certain of the conspirators, but on 6 July 1897, Kabaka Mwanga made a hurried flight from his capital. Aware that many of the Catholic Baganda were still labouring under a sense of grievance, he had hoped to raise the standard of revolt in Buddu. But only a very few weeks before

Bishop Streicher had been visiting that saza. He had realized the existence of this unrest and had exerted all his influence to warn his flock against the danger of associating with any such uprising. The result was that only a few Catholics joined Mwanga, whilst a very large number of them, under the leadership of Stanislas Mugwanya, assisted Major Ternan in the operations which led to the defeat of the rebels at Kabuwoko in Buddu on 20 July 1897 and the flight of Mwanga to German territory.

But the danger from this quarter was only temporarily allayed. After the outbreak of the Sudanese mutiny Mwanga escaped into Ankole from German East Africa, collected a large force of malcontents and set out to join hands with the Sudanese mutineers after they had evacuated Luba's fort in Busoga and begun to make their way towards the north-east. It was at this stage of events that Bishop Streicher set out from Rubaga to visit Bukumi. He must be left to give his own account of what followed, but a word or two must be said about the military situation as it was at the time he started on this journey.

At headquarters it had been quickly realized that all steps possible must be taken to prevent Mwanga from joining up with the mutineers, but for the moment the loyal Protectorate forces were numerically hopelessly inadequate for that purpose. Captain Sitwell at Fort Portal and Captain Kirkpatrick at Masaka were instructed to rendezvous and to endeavour to prevent the junction of the two forces. By the time that these instructions reached them it was too late to head Mwanga's forces off. All that Sitwell and Kirkpatrick could do was to try to overtake them and to inflict such casualties as would prevent or deter them from proceeding towards their objective.

On 4 March 1898 the Protectorate forces saw part of the enemy rear-guard a mile away in the act of crossing the Katonga river. Sitwell opened fire with a maxim, but was unable to prevent them from crossing, though they were forced to abandon much of their baggage. Some Baganda sent out as scouts failed to get in touch with the enemy. All that he could learn was that Mwanga's forces had crossed the Katonga in three different places and that he had since divided his forces into two. One party was heading for Bugangadzi with all the prisoners and booty which they had been able to secure and the other was endeavouring to join up with the mutineers. Each party was said to be 400 strong.

Sitwell was in a difficult position. He had to secure Buddu from invasion and at the same time to keep touch with the hostile forces which had crossed the Katonga. The information brought by his Baganda scouts was meagre and conflicting. To have attempted to contact those of the enemy, who had crossed the Katonga, might have led him off on a wild-goose chase and have exposed Buddu to the danger of invasion. He therefore halted at Kawanga and sent a messenger to headquarters at Kampala for further instructions.

On 7 March some Batoro scouts came in with the information that the enemy were heading for the Bugoma forest in Bunyoro. Sitwell realized that they would in all probability make for Bukumi *en route*. He may not at this time have been aware that the Bishop was at Bukumi, but he did know that there were other missionaries on the station and he conceived it to be his duty to give them protection. He accordingly despatched Kitunzi (Sitefano

Kalibwane), Mukwenda (Paulo Nsubuga) and Kyambalango (Firidina Mubanga) with some armed Baganda to reinforce Luwekula (Sepiriya Mutagwanya) at Kaweri with orders to proceed to the defence of Bukumi and then to return and guard the north bank of the Katonga.

As no instructions had been received from Kampala by 10 March Sitwell decided to send Kirkpatrick back with his party to defend Buddu and to proceed himself to Bukumi. He took with him sixty Sudanese belonging to the garrison at Fort Portal, who remained loyal throughout the rebellion, a maxim, and two hundred Baganda and Batoro.

The events of the next three days are best given in Sitwell's own words:

Friday 11th—. . . No certain news about Mwanga. Heard from French Catholic bishop that all round Bukumi was in rebellion. Decided to start tomorrow.

Saturday 12th—Rain all morning. Left camp at 6.45. Marched north with rests. Crossed Musisi river. Received letter from Bishop begging for help. Halted 7 to 9 p.m. Went on up to 1 a.m. Heavy rain. Guide lost his way. All got into 2 huts.

Sunday 13th—Left resting place at 5.30 a.m. Crossed Nkusi river. Reached Bukumi at 10 a.m. Distance about 45 miles. Ordinary marches Nyarisamba to Kiwalinga 7 hours, Kiwalinga to Tendara $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours, Tendara to Bukumi $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Everyone very tired. Found Bishop and party. Enemy miles away.

As Bishop Streicher's letter shows, on 11 March a sortie under the leadership of Noli Mujoga had suffered a number of casualties in an ambush, but the timely arrival of Luwekula with some two hundred men had put the enemy to flight. After this no further assault was launched against Bukumi. The enemy contented themselves with attacking and burning Luwekula's headquarters at Kaweri near Mubende. After Sitwell's arrival they withdrew northwards.

On 14 March Sitwell was joined at Bukumi by a column commanded by Major C. H. U. Price, who thereafter took charge of operations. Price had arrived from the coast at Kampala with 75 men of the 1st Bombay Infantry. Two days before his arrival news of the enemies' appearance at Bukumi had reached George Wilson, who was then Acting Commissioner, and an urgent message had been sent to Price to hurry. When he wrote to Lord Salisbury on 16 March Wilson had this to say regarding Bishop Streicher's visit to Bukumi:

"I was much concerned to learn that the Head of the Mission had paid an untimely visit to Bukumi station mentioned above, of which I had not been aware, although I had found it necessary some time ago on account of previous unauthorized journeys during disturbed periods to warn the Missions that, unless I was informed of all intended movements by their members, I could not undertake to have proper precautions taken for their safety. Fortunately, the station was not actually molested, the enemy having passed northwards, but the incident tended to embarrass the military operations at an awkward moment."

Several comments may be made upon Wilson's despatch. In the first place, the statement that "this station was not actually molested" was, as Bishop

Streicher's letter shows, inaccurate. Secondly, conceding that the Bishop ought to have informed Wilson of his intended journey, the fact remains that the Bishop must have been well aware that he undertook the journey at his own risk. Thirdly, it was not true to say that this visit to Bukumi "tended to embarrass the military operations at an awkward moment". Major Macdonald, who was in supreme command of the Protectorate forces, had for his main object at this moment the taking of all necessary measures to prevent Mwanga's forces from joining up with the mutineers, and Bugangadzi inevitably formed part of the theatre of such operations. Finally, even if Wilson had been able to dissuade Bishop Streicher from undertaking this journey, there were at Bukumi, as Wilson must have been well aware, two White Fathers and a lay brother, who were entitled to the same protection as was eventually given to the Bishop.

As official correspondence shows, letters were at this date constantly coming into Protectorate headquarters from out-stations informing the Acting Commissioner that the inhabitants in outlying districts were wavering, not from motives of disloyalty, but from fear that, if the rebels came their way, they would get no protection from the Uganda Administration. Most of the officers in those stations were single-handed and could do little or nothing to allay those fears by touring their districts. Neither Bishop Streicher nor any of his clergy deliberately courted danger, but the quiet and unostentatious way in which they went about the performance of their duties in more than one unsettled area did much to dispel misgivings and to restore confidence. To the hard-pressed Uganda Administration their labours were of real value.

Major Price and his contingent spent only two days in Kampala. On 8 March he set out for Bukumi with five European officers, a maxim, 70 men of the Bombay Infantry, 100 Swahili and 200 Baganda guns. As the crow flies, Bukumi is over 100 miles from Kampala. A number of swamps had to be crossed before the column could reach its destination. It eventually took six days to reach Bukumi. By that time the threat to the station had passed.

Dividing his force into three columns, Price began a drive to the north of Bukumi, but part of Mwanga's forces—and Mwanga himself—managed to pass round, or in between, those columns and effect a junction with the fugitive Kabarega and the Sudanese mutineers in Acholiland.

At the conclusion of these operations a military post was established near Luwekula's headquarters at Kaweri. It was placed under the command of Captain Fisher, and it was hoped that its garrison would be able to give some protection to Bukumi in the event of further trouble.

As Simon Moullec's letter to Monseigneur Livinhac shows, such trouble did occur in the following November, when Bukumi was closely invested by a rebel force for three days. Official correspondence throws little light on the events which led up to this recrudescence of trouble. On 14 February 1899, the Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office informed the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that "it is understood from a private letter which has just reached England, that the mutineers (strength, about 200 Soudanese and 500 Waganda) were on the 8 November last concentrated at

Kikakure in the extreme south of Unyoro. Serious difficulties may therefore arise before this band is finally overthrown." Sitwell's diary shows that on 11 November 1898 a report reached Fort Portal "that the mission station at Bukumi had been attacked by mutineers and after three days' fighting taken and burnt". On the following day, however, "Père Roche came up. Had heard from Père Moullec that Bukumi had been attacked on the 5th, 6th and 7th by 330 mutineers and 600 Waganda, that they were beaten off, and were dispersed in Luwekula's and Unyoro, that two deserters who came in said they wanted to make a boma at Kawanga or Kamtumi." On 14 November Captain J. A. Meldon wrote to Sitwell "saying he had reached Bukumi, that mutineers 300 strong and about 1,200 Waganda were at Fort Grant, and were looting all round, that 20 Sudanese and 200 Waganda had gone to Ankole to find Gabriel (Mwanga's Muganda Mujasi or commander-in-chief)". An entry in Sitwell's diary of 28 November and a diary enclosed in a despatch from Colonel Ternan to Lord Lansdowne, dated 27 December 1898, show that by the end of November a force commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Coles had successfully driven the enemy out of Bugangadzi.

In his *Basekabaka*, p. 273, Sir Apolo Kagwa informs us that on 12 November he received a letter from Daudi Omutalemwa informing him that "the Nubis attacked us in the fort at Bukumi and we fought with them on 8 November and we drove them off and they killed three of our people, Omulongosa, a peasant and a woman and wounded two others. We fought hard with them until evening and we killed five of them. Inside the fort there were thirty Baganda soldiers, under the command of Musa Mudduagonda, and Luwekula Sepiriya and a small number of his guns."

Either Sir Apolo has made a mistake in transcribing the contents of this letter or else his informant has erred; for the date of the final assault on Bukumi was 7 November and not 8 November. As may be realized, none of these contemporaneous records are as full as could be wished. Accordingly Simon Moullec must be allowed to tell his own story.

Early in 1899 Captain C. A. Sykes of the Uganda Rifles was detailed to construct a fort at Kaweri near Mubende. On his way he visited the Fathers at Bukumi. "I stayed there two days and had all my meals with them, and very much enjoyed their society. They were full of praise for the British officers, who had saved them and their mission from calamity. They had erected a rough fortification around their home . . . One of them had served formerly in the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and, perhaps from him came the bastions and quaint corners in the fort" (Sykes. *Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile*). According to my information Father Moullec was never a *chasseur d'Afrique*, as is suggested in *Uganda J.* 17 (1953), 66. It would appear therefore that Brother Dominique, who was at Bukumi during both sieges, is the person whom Captain Sykes refers to as a former member of that distinguished corps. Father Van Wees, present at the first siege, had been replaced by Father Selles before the second siege.

Both our letter-writers lived on into more peaceful times. Father Moullec died at Rubaga on 2 June 1924 and Archbishop Streicher at Villa Maria on 7 June 1952.

LETTER FROM MGR. STREICHER TO MGR. LIVINHAC

from St. Mary of Rubaga at Bukumi (Bunyoro).

. . . It was on the 13 February 1898 that I set out for Our Lady of Protection.

Twenty Banyoro neophytes, who had come from Bukumi to look for me, carried the supplies, which were destined for the two stations which I had to visit. Because of the troubled times, good Stanislas Mugwanya, Katikiro of the Catholics, compelled me to take an escort composed of four stout fellows, who bring the number of persons in our caravan up to 30.

Between St. Mary of Rubaga and Bukumi the stages are long and difficult. They are long because one does not pitch one's tent wherever one wishes. The Protestant province of Singo, which one has to cross in four days from east to west, is like a desert, not of sand but of brambles. Scattered about are occasional villages, which are oases. It requires five to seven hours to find a *kyalo*. And what a *kyalo*! The banana plantations are uncultivated and the warm ashes of the houses, which have been recently burnt, prove that the province has not escaped the revolution, which has turned Buganda upside down.

I have only seen one of all the previous chiefs whom I found on my way during my first journey (September 1896). They have joined Mwanga's revolt and been replaced by others, whom one hopes will be more faithful to the Government of the Queen. The stages (of the journey) are difficult because after the second camp there is in many places no foot-track! For the last eight months everything has come to a standstill in Buganda and not a single mattock has been applied to what was the public way. In addition, they have been invaded by long grass and bramble bushes. Every now and then there is a miry swamp to cross, which at times is just a plain transformed into a quagmire. Three of the most offensive swamps require more than an hour to cross from one side to the other, for the bottom is covered with decaying matter of every description. The water and the scum come up to the breast and the forest of papyrus, through which one has to force a passage, makes the going slow and difficult.

At the end of each of these journeys the tent is pitched, I change my clothing which is covered with mire, I recite my breviary and spend the rest of the evening in consoling and encouraging the catechumens of the district. All the country through which I pass is handed over to the Protestants, But in many of these places the Catholic catechumens outnumber them. At the end of a journey of seven days, in the course of which I baptized eight small children and attended to a number of sick, I caught sight of Bukumi. One hour before reaching the mission I met dear Father Van Wees surrounded by a hundred neophytes, most of them timid Banyoro, who, having never before seen a Bishop, hesitate to approach me and kept their eyes set on my pectoral cross which glittered in the rays of a burning sun. Most of the crowd of neophytes and catechumens, led by Father Moullec, Superior of the Mission, received me at some distance from the station with demonstrations of noisy joy, the outburst of which, it is true, had something wild about it, but which, plainly coming from the heart, gives a missionary the assurance that he is truly a pastor and father.

Monseigneur, before putting before your Grandeur the diary of my stay at Bukumi, I ought to say one word about the political state of the country when I arrived there.

The two Catholic provinces of Buwekula and Bunyoro, which each of them form part of the (ecclesiastical) district of Bukumi, had suffered relatively little from the revolution in Buganda. Only four chiefs of Buwekula had followed Mwanga in his flight. It is true that the rumour spread that the ex-king would come to Bunyoro to

effect a joinder of forces with the rebellious Nubians and the Banyoro, who were subjects of Kabarega. But the rebels had not set foot there. The longing of the pagan Banyoro to recover their independence had only found expression in some attempts at a rising and which were at once suppressed by the Baganda who were numerous and well armed.

After the fight at Lusalira on 12 January Mwanga's supporters were not pursued and established themselves only a few hours from the scene of their defeat on the frontier of Usagara (Ankole). A fresh expedition quickly took place, and our Catholics in Buddu, always on the alert in times of war, took up arms for the twentieth time, supported by four English officers and one hundred and twenty Waswahili soldiers.

In all preceding expeditions, the tactics of the insurgents had invariably been the same: when our victorious people pursued them across the frontier, they made a detour by means of forced marches and swooped like vultures on Buddu, which had been left without any defence, and, when the defenders of order realized this stratagem and hurried to the help of their province, they found it pillaged by the rebels, who had already fled with their booty. Thus on three occasions in the space of eight months Buddu had been pillaged.

It was foreseen that in the new campaign Mwanga's supporters would not abandon tactics, which up to then had succeeded so well. It is also easy to foresee that the impoverished Buddu no longer offered itself as a prey to the pillagers who would throw themselves on some richer province within their reach.

I was still at St. Mary of Rubaga when the Katikiro Mugwanya informed me of his fears, which he also communicated to Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner. The last mentioned apparently shared this fear, for he gave orders to Captain Sitwell, commanding at Fort Gerry (Toro) to come to Kawanga near the ford across the Katonga, whence he could protect at one and the same time Buddu, Singo, Buwekula and Bunyoro, whilst the army in Buddu, pursued Mwanga. When two days before my departure, Mr. G. Wilson communicated this plan to me, I heartily approved of it and this plan made me decide to leave for Bukumi. Unfortunately, for reasons of which I know nothing, this wise concentration (of forces) was abandoned. Captain Sitwell reached Kawanga with sixty Nubians and a maxim gun and sent word to all the chiefs of Buwekula and Bunyoro, proclaiming every one who did not reply to the summons as a traitor to the Queen. When he saw all the chiefs rallied round him, he informed them that, as chiefs of the expedition, he had decided to take them all to Buddu and thence to Usagara (Ankole). They were astonished and begged to be allowed to leave behind at least a contingent of troops which would be sufficient to guard the fort. The Captain did not think he ought to pay any attention to these observations and they had to resign themselves to following him.

Buwekula and Bunyoro both found themselves deprived of their defenders. The rebel Banyoro greatly rejoiced. Buwekula was left exposed to the enemy. The sinister forebodings of our Christians were only too soon realized, as your Grandeur will realize from reading

THE DIARY OF MY VISIT TO BUKUMI,
which is a diary written up from day to day at the theatre of events.

February [1898]

21st, 22nd, 23rd—I begin the exercises in connection with the retreat preparatory to confirmation. Baganda and Banyoro are seated side by side, forgetting their racial enmity, for one and the same baptism has made them all brothers. Nothing

could be more edifying than my audience; moreover, I am happy and at ease amongst these dear neophytes. All my free time is devoted to receiving visits from these interesting people. I am as much charmed by the simplicity of their manners as by their generosity. One offers me an egg, another a potato, another some bananas, etc.

Nevertheless, the atmosphere of peace which one breathes here is beginning to be troubled by reports of a rising amongst the Banyoro. At Bwamba a house has been burnt and two women carried off; at Kiwahuza two men have been killed; one would like to think these are ordinary acts of personal revenge, for the Banyoro, who are so mild by nature, are known to be irreconcilable in their hatred; nevertheless one sees here signs, which are not very reassuring, of the antipathy of the natives for their new masters.

24th—I received a deputation of forty Banyoro catechumens from Bujuni, all children or young people from ten to eighteen years of age, meek and mild, and knowing perfectly the words of the catechism. They have come to ask for the return of the Missionaries to their country. This is the fruit of four months' missionary labours in 1896 by Fathers Gaçon and Toulze and in the midst of this interesting people, most mild and ripe for the Faith.

25th—A band of Banyoro sent by Kikukule fell on the village of a Christian, Joseph Gawedde, whom illness has confined to his bed for the past two months. Three men killed and eight children stolen. This news has been given to us by Gawedde himself, who has been brought in a litter to Bukumi. It has caused a great stir in our station, which up to now has been peaceable.

27th—Confirmation of two hundred neophytes. During the instruction which precedes the ceremony, a loud voice calls outside; "A letter!, a letter! quick, quick!" A shudder passes through my audience. Father Moullec goes out quickly for the news.

Nevertheless the ceremony of confirmation continues to be devoutly conducted. The letter, which was announced in what appeared to be the way of distress and moved us for a moment, contains nothing than a general *sauve qui peut* which the representative of the chief of Buwekula has written to us. He tells us "Mwanga has arrived in Bunyoro; part of his army has already crossed the Katonga and set fire to Kawanga. Every body here is fleeing; yourselves to Buganda". Flee to Uganda! After our mission in Buddu has been pillaged and that in Koki destroyed! Abandon also Bukumi! Who will protect the women and children of our Christians, who have gone to the war? No, we cannot flee. We have in fact at the house sixty men armed with rifles. This is enough to sustain us during a siege, whilst we wait for the help for which we are going to ask. So we will defend ourselves and our Christians.

The Church, which is outside the walled enclosure runs the risk of being burnt down during the night. My tent is accordingly pitched in the inner courtyard and the Holy Sacrament is carried there.

March

1st—Confirmation of five hundred neophytes. Vast whirlwinds of smoke darken the horizon to the south and east. These are the villages of Kawanga and Buwekula which are in flames. Anyone who has a wife, sister or children at Bukumi is invited to make his way to Buganda. Whilst there is yet time we thus succeed in disencumbering ourselves of three quarters of the feminine population, who had come to the Mission to receive confirmation. There only remain with us one hundred and fifty women and children, who have come to take refuge in our

enclosure with anything they managed to save, wearing apparel, goats, fowls, etc. They are spending the night cowering on the verandahs of our houses.

In the evening every one of the able bodied men is posted for the defence. Father Moullec occupies the west bastion, which protects the Church, Father Van Wees the east bastion, Brother Dominique the north, and my young men the south. As for myself I am in general charge. The spearmen (about sixty) are extended along the walls ready to transfix anybody who tries to surmount them.

The main entrance gate and that leading to the Church are walled up. We only keep one narrow postern gate leading to the banana plantation. Sentries are posted on the roads leading to the Mission.

Towards midnight, as nothing has appeared, we stretch ourselves on our mats, but it is impossible to close the eyes.

2nd— At four o'clock in the morning, there is suddenly a crackling fire which makes us jump out of our beds. We learn that two individuals were crawling to within thirty metres of the Church in order to set fire to it, but on the cry of "Who goes there?" from the sentry, they had taken flight. Being unable to achieve their purpose these two wretches set fire to the house of one of our catechists.

Every half hour we receive fresh fugitives who are abandoning their villages on the approach of the enemy bands. The Banyoro themselves have risen in full force and the revolt is general.

A man of Lwamulungi, an under-chief of the province of Bunyoro, who had left with so many others along with Captain Sitwell, has arrived, having had his fingers cut by a spear and his arm pierced by a bullet. Lwamulungi's capital (four hours from Bukumi) has been burnt by the Banyoro. His wife and two children have been carried off and enslaved. The infernal band has butchered those who resisted. The wounded man adds that he has heard the Banyoro swear that within three days Kikukule will be installed in his former capital, that is to say, in this very place!

Fire is the most redoubtable enemy of our missions, because all the houses touch each other and are covered with straw, which catches fire from the slightest spark. The four bastions and several houses outside have been freed from this dangerous covering. Jars, saucepans, and even steel trunks for carrying our effects have been filled with water.

At nightfall, Nicolas, caretaker of our Mission at Bujuni, arrived after that place had been reduced to cinders. Fifty child catachumens have followed him so as not to fall into the hands of their pagan fellow-countrymen, who would offer them the alternative of choosing between death and apostasy.

3rd—Bukumi is surrounded by a circle of fire. All the villages are in flames at each of the four points of the compass. I send forty rifles to the nearest village, from which our garrison obtains its food. Our brave men came back with two prisoners, whom they have surprised with torches in their hands. One of them is a messenger of Kikukule, the instigator of the revolt in Bunyoro. But for my intervention these wretched incendiaries would have been hacked to pieces. So exasperated are our Christians! Kyambalango, Catholic chief of Bunyoro, has been prevented by illness from personally accompanying Captain Sitwell. He was attacked at his home by a band of Banyoro thirsting for blood. He only escaped death by making a wonderful sortie. He was compelled to beat a retreat with a handful of soldiers. Ill though he is, he managed to keep the enemy at a distance. They harassed him for nine hours and he had three men killed and two others grievously wounded. The nineteen rifles are a valuable reinforcement to our small force.

Two men have undertaken to take to the capital through the enemy lines a letter which tells of our critical situation.

4th—At eleven o'clock at night, two rifle shots arouse us with a start. A fresh attempt to set fire to the Mission has just been averted, thanks to the vigilance of our sentries. Our people stand to arms till daybreak.

Towards midnight, Cyprien Semagwangu, arrives with seventeen young men armed with rifles and eighteen women. They have marched for fifty hours without partaking of any food from Buyaga, Cyprien's country, to Bukumi. Each hill has been the scene of a fight. All their baggage and twenty women have had to be abandoned. Worn out with fatigue and hunger, those who have reached here are almost naked and their feet are bleeding. Cyprien's child, his only son, died during the night of exhaustion.

5th—The pangs of hunger begin to make themselves felt. Women and children are weeping. Twenty armed men are therefore sent to look for food.

Three-quarters of an hour's distance from the Mission they run up against a large band of rebels. Several rifle shots are exchanged and nobody is hit. Our people, being in too small a number, hurriedly take the road back to the Mission. Instead of pursuing them, the brigands who are loaded with a rich booty carried off in Buwekula, continue their journey to the east.

A scout informs us that these are Nubians, that they have two hundred and fifty rifles, and that they slept the last night at Kijungute (four hours and a half from Bukumi). I assemble the whole garrison and in a speech which was no longer than four or five minutes, I charge them to go and surprise the bandits and rescue the women and children, who have been carried off and reduced to slavery. A loud cry of enthusiasm drowns my voice, a cry of faith, for this concerns a holy task.

Today two children die as the result of hunger. What grief it is for us to have before us the sight of so much misery, which we are unable to assuage.

7th—At midnight our fighting men set out for Kijungute under the command of Petero Mukanga, who is an exemplary Christian. "My friends", said he when placing himself at their head, "you are only sixty and you are marching against more than three hundred. But have no fear: this is not the first time that Jesus Christ and Mahomet have come to grips in Uganda. You know that the party of Jesus Christ has always ended by triumphing; well, today it will be as it was before."

These words are received with cries of enthusiasm: "It is so ! It is so ! We have killed the Muslim, we have destroyed him." Then each of them brandished his rifle or spear, full of impatience to fly to the scene of battle.

Then a roll of the drum calls for silence. "We are going", cried out Petero again, "but on the march every one must keep the strictest silence. There must be neither fife, nor drum, nor the slightest sound of a voice. Anybody who offends will be punished by twenty blows with a rod." "If any one," he added, "has to warn his neighbour of the presence in the road of an obstruction such as a stone, a tree trunk, or a hole, he will inform him by means of a sign and striking the thigh with the hand."

The cock had not crowed when the small force reached Kijungute. As the Baganda never fight during darkness, our fighting men stopped and slept for a brief time on a rock near the banks of the Kanangalo. In a short time several of them will perhaps lie stretched out on the field of battle, bathed in their own blood. That does not prevent them from snoring just like Turenne.

When day begins to break, Petero rouses his men. "On your knees, my friends,"

he says, "and let us ask God for help". When he has said this, all of them recite the morning prayer: After which each one prepares himself as best he can. The powder and the bullets are put in bamboo cartridges; the caps are placed between the lips: a band of *lubugo* (cloth made from the bark of a tree) covered with a leopard skin which hangs behind and hangs down to the shins.

Thus equipped our warriors cross the River Kanangalo and reach the first village of Kijungute. Everybody is asleep. If they wanted to surround the houses and set them on fire, not a man would escape. No, our Christians have not come to murder; the only people in these houses are poor *bakopi* (peasants) armed with spears. This is not an enemy worthy of them. They march therefore on tiptoe so as not to arouse them and pass on further to look for the chiefs and their entourage. These are encamped in another village on the bank opposite to the mountain.

When our men reach this place, the sun is on the horizon. Already some *bakopi* from villages further off are coming to the palisades behind which the rebel chiefs are in sleeping. Some bring fowls, others lead goats, several have nothing to offer to Mwanga's partisans except a diet of bananas.

Petero and his men accost them. "Well, my friends, have you brought us breakfast?"—"Who are you?" ask the *bakopi*, who are puzzled at seeing sixty rifles climbing the mountain in close file. "We are Mwanga's men; we have just arrived to salute the *bakulu* (chiefs)."

Saying this, Petero launches his men on to the assault of the palisade, which separates them from the rebels who are still asleep. They were all drunk the previous night and were sleeping at leisure when a terrible fusillade broke out round their huts.

Surprised, they seized their rifles, fired a few shots and fled into the banana plantations. After recovering from their first surprise, they rally and confront their assailants. They are about three hundred against sixty. Very lively fighting takes place for some moments. The combatants are so close, the one to the other, that they pull at each other's clothing. But the Muslims cannot hold out against the impetuosity of the Christians. They take to their heels and scatter, leaving eight dead on the field of battle. Of the Christians only four are very slightly wounded.

The victors obtain quite considerable booty consisting of goats, mats and *mbugo*. But the women, for whose deliverance they have come, have disappeared. A Munyoro, who has been taken prisoner, informs them that they are in another village under the guards of a rebel detachment. On hearing this news, Petero, faithful to my recommendations, gives orders for everything to be abandoned so as to march to deliver the captives. "We will come at once," reply his men, "but let us have a little refreshment". They had seen in the huts, which the enemy had just abandoned, some large saucepans full of victuals. How could they go away without making a feast?

After this repast had been hurriedly taken, they reunite and combine to make fresh plans. "We cannot," says Petero, "march openly to the village we are going to attack. The enemy are too many. Let us go into the long grass. It will make it more easy to defend ourselves, if we are attacked."

They then took an indirect and misleading route. For if they had been noticed marching in the direction of the village where the captive women were, they would have encountered a large detachment of rebels running to help their friends after they had been beaten that morning. Towards midday Petero reached the enemy for whom he was looking. During the first exchange of shots, Kiwaya, a

rebel chief, was wounded and carried off the field of battle. His people, having lost their general, took to flight in every direction. Nine Christians are then set free. Our warriors also took from the enemy one hundred and forty-five bales of mats and bark cloth and one hundred and twenty-four goats.

Our little army, proud of its two victories, took the road for Bukumi, in the midst of the bravado of the defeated, who perched on the heights, utter threats such as this; "Today we have been defeated, but wait till tomorrow morning; you will have your turn." "Yes, yes," reply our men, "we will wait for you at Bukumi, whilst we eat your goats, for we have surprised you regaling yourselves on the cattle of Buwekula".

At two o'clock we have the joy of seeing our warriors make their triumphant entry into the mission.

8th—Whilst our small force was looking for the raiders whom we have just mentioned, we are informed of another band an hour from the Mission. Cyprien Semugwanga, hastened to attack them and tried to rescue some Christians, who had been made captive and were being dragged behind them.

About three o'clock in the evening an alarming storm has struck the Mission, and destroyed our Church, which Father Moullec had just left three minutes before with ten Christians. A crowd of women and children regularly spent the night there. It would have been natural that, with the rain falling in torrents, they should take refuge in the only place which offered them a convenient shelter from the rain and hail. But, as it was, they were sheltering under the narrow verandah which runs the length of our brick walls.

We have in this seen the effect of the Divine protection and we chanted a Te Deum in thanksgiving.

Semugwanga comes back at nine o'clock in the evening. He has put the Banyoro to flight and killed one of their number, but he could not save any of the women. Not knowing with whom they had to deal, they hid themselves in the long grass.

At night, a fresh storm accompanied by hail and the most violent wind I have ever seen. I caused twenty little children to be carried into my room. But for this they would probably have died of cold. As our huts can only shelter half our refugees, the rest have to pass the night in the open and to endure the full rage of the tornado.

9th—Baptism of a child, who was born in a pool of water in the middle of the banana plantations. He died during the day.

10th—Our position is no longer tenable. The Mission has been transformed into a hospital, a stable, and a barracks and threatens to become a cemetery. Each day brings us more fugitives. Even the Protestants of Singo, who have been wounded in a battle against the rebels make for Bukumi to obtain help. We are about to fall ill from cold and hunger.

We are sending a caravan into Buganda in charge of Semugwanga with thirty rifles. There remain only the wounded and sick—about one hundred and fifty persons.

Some warriors arrive from Usagara (Ankole). They provide us with a reinforcement. May God be praised! But for them what bitterness it is, what desolation, what anguish, what tears, when they learn that they have lost everything, property, wives and parents! We have rarely seen so desolate a scene.

11th—At eight o'clock in the morning we see a great cloud of smoke rising into the air to the north of the Mission. About nine o'clock in the morning four young men of Noli Mujoga came running in in haste. Up to now, they have by themselves prevented the Banyoro from setting fire to the chief's village, but

today they have had to flee on the arrival of two large enemy columns, one of which consists of Muslims and the other of pagan Banyoro.

On receiving this information, Noli sets out with all his men and the other warriors from the province of Kyambalango. He has hardly left the Mission domain before he has fallen into an ambush of four hundred Muslims, who are hidden in the reeds on the side of the road. At the first discharge of guns eight of our men are killed or grievously wounded. Noli is surrounded on every side and despite his bravery he is compelled to beat a retreat fighting all the way.

Luwekula pursues the rebels for a little time and then catches sight of a second enemy column at the foot of a hill comprising about seven hundred Banyoro, who have taken no part in the fight. Evidently these two columns had come to attack the Mission. They would have to pass the night in the neighbouring villages and probably would have fallen upon us during morning Mass.

Nobody expected that the Muslims would be so near. Our astonishment has been great on seeing the wounded men returning so soon after Noli's departure. Whilst I rendered first aid, Father Moullec hastened to the field of battle and found two of our Christians who had been stabbed in the breast. He confessed them and gave them extreme unction.

Another small chief arrives, being carried on his people's backs. His knee has been shattered. On seeing the Father he stretches out his arms towards him and calls out "I am Patrice. My blood has been bled in God's cause." A fourth; who has not been baptized, is carried in *in extremis*. A bullet has passed through his stomach. He died two or three hours later, after being fortified with the Sacrament of Baptism.

(Patrice lived for only fifteen days after being wounded. The others recovered, thanks to the great care of Father Van Wees.)

12th—What a sad night! All our fighting men, as well as the women and children who have taken refuge here, have passed it in the open air under a pitiless rain, which never ceased to fall from ten o'clock in the evening to four o'clock in the morning.

At first cock crow, the hour at which the Baganda are accustomed to attack, every body is on tiptoe, each at his battle station, ready to open fire. But our enemy, disconcerted no doubt by yesterday's sortie, did not attack.

A scout informs us that they are encamped two hours from here and that they are waiting, for the purpose of attacking us, for the arrival of two columns; one is led by Kintu and the other by Bisigoro, who are remaining behind and should soon rejoin the main body, which was seen in the plain yesterday.

13th—One of two columns reported yesterday by our scout as being about to join the main body of Mwanga's army fell, in the middle of the night, on Luwekula's capital (seven hours from Bukumi). This chief has been at the Mission for the last three days. His capital, which was the only point in the province of Buwekula which up to now had escaped burning, has been pillaged and consigned to the flames. One of the pillagers, who had formerly been a subordinate officer of Luwekula, dare to write to his former chief the affectionate letter, of which this is the translation: "My congratulations to thee, Luwekula. Truly thou art too lucky. We came to kill thee, and we had so well arranged our attack that, if thou hadst been at home, neither God nor the devil would have saved thee from death. But have patience. In a little time we will go up to the fort (sc. the Mission), where thou hast taken refuge with the white men and there we will kill everyone of you."

In reply, Luwekula went out with two hundred rifles in the direction of his burnt

capital in the hope of overtaking the incendiaries and taking from them at least part of their booty.

The attack on the Mission, which, thanks to God's protection, has been postponed from day to day by the rebels, who have been surrounding us for the past two weeks, now appears to be inevitable. When the danger has then become imminent, the Guardian Angel of Bukumi brings Captain Sitwell with sixty Sudanese and a maxim gun.

At one o'clock in the morning a letter, which is signed Macpherson, informs us of the approach of six English officers and a company of Indian soldiers.

14th—Arrival of the Major Price and five other officers and amongst whom is an excellent Catholic, Captain Dugmore, a brave old man of sixty, but just as active as a young man.

At 5 o'clock in the evening seven armed men came just to the foot of Bukumi hill. On our Christians seeing them, several rifle shots are exchanged and these scouts from Mwanga's army flee with a clean pair of heels. They have had enough of it, as they have seen the officers' tents and the Indian camp.

16th—Good Mugwanya arrives with his men. Pleased be God! The Mission of Notre Dame de la Garde has been saved.

✠ HENRI STREICHER.

LETTER FROM FATHER MOULLEC TO MONSEIGNEUR LIVINHAC

Notre Dame de la Garde, 20 November 1898.

My Lord and Venerable Father,

Your Grandeur has not forgotten the attacks at the hands of the pagan Baganda, who had revolted against the English Protectorate, which our Mission had to undergo during the early months of this year.

Numerous bands of rebels who came from Busagara (Ankole) and consisted principally of Muslims, spread themselves over the whole extent of our district, delivering over to pillage and flames all the villages of Buwekula and south Bunyoro.

When they reached the vicinity of our station, the Muslims joined forces with the Banyoro, whom Kikukule had stirred up into rebellion, and resolved to attack our Mission, to set fire to it and to kill us. When the Catholic chiefs who were assembled at Bukumi, saw the enemy, each of them at the head of his men advanced bravely against them so as to give battle in open country.

The clash took place 20 minutes from the Mission. The assailants had a thousand rifles. Our Christians had only three hundred. None the less victory was never for the moment uncertain. After a terrible fusillade we remained masters of the field.

Twice before our Christians had beaten the enemy by surprising them. Accustomed to being victorious, thanks evidently to the protection of Notre Dame de la Garde, we were bound to continue our exploits.

In fact, during those days, we carried off three successive victories, as glorious for our Christians as they were difficult.

In the early days of October Father Achte wrote to us from the capital saying the Nubians, who had been joined by all Mwanga's partisans, had crossed the Nile and were coming to make war in Uganda.

Some days after our brother warned us to be on our guard, that the enemy was making towards Bunyoro and they were quite likely to pay us a visit. A little later a rumour spread that 15 white officers at the head of 300 Indians and 1,000 Baganda had beaten the enemy near the Kafu and that they were pursuing them with the sword in hand. In what direction? We do not know.

On the eve of All Saints' Day the chiefs of Kijungute wrote us a letter.

"The rebels," they said, "and all the Nubians have reached Ntuti near Kitumbi. They are marching on Kijungute." During the night another letter from Camille Katorogo confirms this news.

Beyond any doubt the enemy is at our gates. From Ntuti to Bukumi is only two days' march.

What to do? To flee and abandon our Christians and above all our Banyoro catechumens, who are very numerous, all to the will of our barbarous enemies? Already in the month of March a pagan chief in Bunyoro had put out a young catechumen's eyes because he was praying, and many others were despoiled of their property and beaten with rods for the same reason.

From another point of view, if we take flight, the enemy will find a formidable position inside our walls and it will require a lot of blood to dislodge them from it.

Everything therefore, both the interests of religion as well as those of the government which protects us requires us to resist to the death.

Father Selles, Brother Dominique and myself take counsel with each other and resolve to die rather than to flee.

I communicate our resolution to the Catholic chiefs who are present at Bukumi. "We agree with you," they reply to us and everyone of them, "flight before battle is disgraceful to the Baganda. Let somebody bury us all beside you in the same grave, the grave of the brave, *entana ya bazira!*"

Once resistance has been resolved upon, I hasten to inform Captain Fisher, who commands the Fort of Buwekula. He replies in these terms: "Father, when you see danger approaching write to me at once. Even if it be during the night, I will hurry to your aid."

You will see therefore, my Lord, that our resolution was not a rash one. On the one hand, we knew that the army which had come from Buganda was closely pursuing the enemy; on the other, the Captain of the Fort of Buwekula had promised us prompt assistance. Could we hesitate?

On 2 November we learnt that the rebels were camped at Kijungute. We at once instructed Noli Mujoga and Camille Katorogo to keep a watch on all the roads so as to avoid being surprised.

On the morning of the 3rd a letter from Cyprien Lwekula informs us of the departure of Captain Fisher for Busagara (Ankole), where sixty Nubians have rearmed themselves and occupied several forts under the leadership of a single Effendi.

When setting out the Captain left in Buwekula 40 Baganda soldiers, who were distributed between three posts; 13 at Kawanga, 7 at Kaweri at Luwekula's, and 20 at Kiruma near Bukumi on the side where the enemy was. He left also 30 cases of cartridges in charge of his Muganda Effendi, Musa Mudduagonda, a minor Catholic chief, and the most pleasant man I have met during my eight years in Buganda.

As the Captain had left and the danger had become imminent, we had to arrange a plan of defences with the Muganda Effendi. There was no time to lose.

On the 4th, at an early hour, Musa reaches Bukumi with his 20 soldiers. "I

must defend you to the death," he says, "for two reasons. First of all, because I am a Catholic and all Catholics ought to die in defence of their priests. Next, because I am a soldier required by the Protectorate government to give you every possible assistance." He then asked my advice as to what he should do with the soldiers, who remained at Kaweri and Kawanga. I observed to him that the fort at Kaweri had not been completed. He could not possibly leave his soldiers there any more than his ammunition. If the Nubians could gain possession of the 23 cases of cartridges, what an additional strength it would be for them! "As for your soldiers who are at Kawanga," I say to him, "you will do well to leave them there. If the enemy proceeds in that direction, they will assist the chiefs of that part of the country and their people to flee in good order toward Buddu.

Musa agreed with my advice and quickly sent two soldiers to Kaweri to look out for their companions and all the ammunition. Whilst our good Effendi is concentrating his forces at Bukumi, all the Catholic chiefs of Buwekula and some of those from south Bunyoro also rally with their people at the Mission.

On the 5th, about 9 o'clock in the morning, a letter from Noli Mujoga puts us on the alert. "The enemy is approaching," he writes to us, "and he is coming in large numbers." We make all those who have taken refuge with us come inside the walled enclosure. Noli himself arrives almost at once at the mission with all his rifles. At the same moment we receive the cases of cartridges and the soldiers from Kaweri. A quarter of an hour later, they would have arrived during the fighting at the grave risk of being robbed and killed. Blessed be Providence!

However, the enemy has not yet entered the mission domain. We make use of the few moments preceding the attack to place in the Church every thing of value and put the Most Holy Sacrament in its place.

We ought perhaps, according to the judgment of man, to have consumed the sacred elements. But we remembered the story of the Saints, of Saint Clare driving back the Saracens by showing them the Holy Eucharist.

Is the Almighty Power to drive back hordes of barbarians less efficacious in the nineteenth than it was in the thirteenth century? We do not think so and we place the Holy Tabernacle in front of a little window, which is protected from bullets but faces the enemy!

Whilst the rebels approach, each of our people hastens to take up his battle station. As the approaches to the station have no banana plantations and no depression in the terrain to the north-east, we expect the enemy will attack in that direction. It is on this side, at some distance from the walled enclosure that our Church stands, which has been recently built with reeds in the form of a Cross. We hastily build a breast work with bricks in front of it for the protection of the Christians guarding it.

Everything is ready. Our brave men, full of trust in God and with perfect steadiness, await the enemy.

About 10 o'clock we see lines of the enemy climbing the hill which commands our station on the east and is only 700 or 900 metres distant. Evidently the enemy wishes to take up his position on this height in the hope of causing a hail of bullets to rain on the women and children who have taken refuge inside our walled enclosure. They open fire. One of our better marksmen replies with twenty shots from a Martini rifle, which show the enemy that they had made a mistake about the range of our bullets. They hurriedly depart and scatter into the village in order to set fire to our Christians' huts. Musa's soldiers then climb onto the roofs. Their bullets compel the enemy to go further off.

For some time, we no longer hear our assailants' fire—not because they are

beaten and in retreat, but because they are concealed amongst the reeds at the back of the hill, hoping to draw us into an ambush. They send a detachment to attack the church and to try to set fire to it. The chiefs think it better not to make a sortie, as it appears at the very least to be useless, but the young men and soldiers who listen to nothing but their own orders set forth dancing in front of the enemy.

A deafening fusillade breaks out at the foot of the hill and continues for more than 20 minutes. The bullets whistle on every side. The women pray in a loud voice and utter to Heaven such invocations as the following: "Ayi! Maria! Ayi Yozefu, Musajja Mukuru, mukwata mundu z'abana.—O Mary! O Joseph! Take the rifles of our children and direct their aim."

Despite all their bravery our fighting men did not succeed in driving the enemy back. They fell back on the Mission and continued to fire through the loopholes. The last of them came back carrying in their arms a minor chief, Elisee Mulongosa, who had been mortally wounded. The bullet had passed through his chest. I was immediately informed and hastened to him to administer the last sacraments. Whilst I was administering extreme unction the wounded man yielded up his soul to God amidst the tears of his people. Another Christian has been wounded in front, but the bullet has only grazed him.

During the night, our fighting men do not leave the loopholes. The enemy, who are encamped close to the Mission behind the mountain, unceasingly send men on every side of the Church in order to set fire to it. The incendiaries make their way under the cover of darkness. Fire from the bastions prevents them from drawing near.

Towards midnight, a well directed bullet hits in the arm the wife of a Nubian, who was occupied in picking bananas in the middle of the camp. Nothing else happens which could lead the enemy to move away. Whilst some go off to build huts on a neighbouring hill outside the range of our fire, others return to Kijungute to inform their friends about their check.

Not being aware of the presence of Captain Fisher's soldiers in our Mission, the rebels believed that two or three hundred rifles would have sufficed to effect the assault on a small missionary station, which was still incomplete.

They were deceived. During fighting which lasted not less than nine hours, they had only succeeded in killing a single man without approaching near our walls.

Nevertheless a check like this did not discourage them. Stirred by the lure of plunder and by the hope of finding in our station an impregnable position for themselves, they were anxious to expel us at all costs.

On Sunday, the 6th November, in the morning some soldiers, who had been sent out as scouts, soon came running back. The enemy is quite close. They are in a column which is so long that 'one cannot see the end'. Everybody runs to his post, whilst the war drums resound with a frenzy.

As yesterday, the enemy begins to climb the hill, not upright, but half crawling and hiding themselves behind clusters of reeds and rocks and stones, which they hurriedly pile up.

Thence they cause a hail of bullets to rain on the Mission. It is lost labour! The projectiles lodge in our mud walls or lose themselves in the courtyard without hitting anybody and only excite laughter and witticism.

Our rifles reply with a no less well sustained fire and force them to abandon a position which has become untenable.

The rebels then have recourse to different tactics. Whilst the main body of the

fighters go and hide themselves in the banana plantations which surround the Church, a detachment of 200 Nubians go and crouch down in the grass behind the catechumens' house. Undoubtedly they hoped to entice us out and catch us between two fires and then try to assault our walls. But we are careful not to fall into the trap. Each of our men commences rapid fire from his loophole. I ask myself how can an undisciplined body of men maintain their ground against such a fusillade.

However, a Nubian, with a burning torch in his hand, daringly braves this hail of bullets and runs up to the Church to set it on fire. But the fusillade surrounding it prevents him from reaching the roof. He tries by violent kicks to pull down the obstacles. Fortunately he does not succeed and saves himself with a clean pair of heels.

After this first attempt had proved useless, the attackers cease fire and appear to be going off. We take advantage of this to make a sortie to cut grass for the cows and goats, which have eaten nothing for two days.

But several shots fired on the foragers warn us of the presence of the enemy, who are scattered and hidden in the banana plantations. This makes us decide to cut down on a large scale the bananas in the neighbourhood. How can we manage this? Whilst armed with their rifles our soldiers, as on yesterday evening, attack the rebels, those who have no spears set to on the banana plantations so as to cut them down. It was three o'clock in the afternoon. When they see our people coming out, the attackers return to the charge with a new fury. For half an hour there is terrible fighting amidst the banana plantations. The Baganda chiefs with all their men attack the front line of the enemy, whilst the Effendi Musa, with his twenty-three soldiers, assaults them on the flank.

The rebels do not wait for these manoeuvres and under salvoes which riddle them with bullets they are compelled to withdraw from the banana plantations and to hide in the long grass.

Our people return with indescribable enthusiasm having lost only one man mortally wounded and two others slightly wounded. Father Selles hastens to help the dying man, who had already received holy water from a companion.

The enemy, having been put to flight, takes up a position at a distance but close to some springs so as to prevent us from drawing water. Fortunately they do not know all the springs. Our soldiers make their way in file to a spring, which is not being guarded, with calabashes fastened to their belts. Some of our refugees follow their example. They came back after firing a rifle in a direction of the enemy so as to show them that they have not succeeded in preventing us from drawing water.

At seven o'clock in the evening, believing that they would surprise us, the rebels made a last effort. Uttering furious cries they all rush towards the Church and the bastions, which are covered with straw. "*Wanga! Wanga!*" (for Mwanga, Mwanga), cry the rebels. "*Chwa! Chwa!*" (for the king who has been recognised by the English), is our Christians' reply. Amid all these repeated cries uttered by thousands of voices our loopholes emit flames which spread alarm, if not death. What a fusillade! Our ears are troubled by it right up to the morning.

During the night some shots fired from time to time suffice to show to the enemy that we are on the alert. He only makes an appearance in the morning and begins, as always, by going and concealing himself on the hill and firing on the Mission.

A young Munyoro girl, who went out to look for wood, is hit in the head and falls down backwards. She is carried into the walled enclosure. I find her in the

passage and, seeing some signs still of life, administer baptism to her. A fresh fusillade resounds; it is the last. We see three men rise up on the summit of the hill and take to flight. Then follows a torrential rain which contributes not a little to our assailants' departure.

As it beats down, the rain transforms our inner court into a veritable pool of muddy water in which men and beasts splash about. We have not yet had a single moment for cleaning up our enclosure, which is exhaling an odour capable of bringing on the plague!

If the enemy returns and continues the siege, rain, cold, hunger and disease will powerfully assist him in triumphing over us.

Three letters asking for help have already gone to Rubaga, but we are a long way off and cannot foretell the moment when we shall be delivered. We at once pray to Notre Dame de la Garde not to desert us.

When the rain ceases towards three o'clock in the afternoon, we see several deserters, who are truly walking skeletons, in front of our gate. Amongst them is Francis Wenkajja, a minor chief of Buwekula, whom the king made a prisoner at the time of his flight into Bukedi in March.

Francis recounts to us all the miseries which he has had to endure since that time and assures us that the rebels really wanted to expel us from our Mission, as well as get possession of the twenty-three cases of cartridges left behind by Captain Fisher, and then to establish themselves in our fort.

According to Francis the combined rebel forces which assembled before Bukumi are still imposing despite the defeats inflicted upon them by the Protectorate troops.

The army which left Bukedi consisted of 330 Nubians and 600 Baganda or Banyoro. The other rebels, who were hidden in the forests of Bunyoro, joined forces with their friends with nearly the same number of rifles.

Near 2,000 rifles against the 270 which we had. The sides were certainly unevenly matched. Despite all this, we have remained masters of the battle-field.

After having failed against our Mission, the Nubians are said to have taken the road to Kawanga and Busagara (Ankole) in the hope of rallying those rebels who were still hiding themselves in that country.

It is now twenty-four days since the encounter between the Indians commanded by 15 officers and the rebels, and we still have no news of the victorious English army. Despite the fact that from Bulengesa, where the battle of 27 October took place, to Kijungute is no more than four days' march.

Fortunately for us, Captain Meldon from Toro, has come to our relief without having been called. It is Providence who has brought him to us. If he had not been here, the rebels would have attacked again. Lutaya himself, their chief, wrote to me on 10 November, three days after his departure from Bukumi. "If you persist in not abandoning your fort," he told us, "I will renew the siege." What could we have done then except flee so as to avoid dying of hunger and thirst?

The Captain's arrival enabled us to reply to this insolent fellow that we were not going to flee and we would accord him the same reception as before.

There, my Lord and most Venerable Father, are the tragic events which have recently happened.

Our station has had to suffer a great deal through this rebel attack. We have saved the dwelling house of the missionaries and the Church, but our banana and other plantations no longer exist.

If only we could hope to rejoice in a peace in the near future! But there is

nothing which foretells the happy day when the pacification of the country will be finally completed.

May Your Grandeur vouchsafe to pray for us and tranquillity in our Bunyoro. Then we shall see again those good days in past months when the Bunyoro came from every side to the Mission in bands of forty and fifty to hear our teaching on Sunday and to receive Mary's medal, whose name, as your Grandeur has just seen, is as terrible as an army drawn up in battle.

Please bless us, my Lord, and accept etc., etc.—

SIMON MOULLEC

of the White Fathers, Missionary in Bunyoro.

AUTHORITIES

G. Leblond, *Le Père Auguste Achte* pp. 220, 324 supplies the dates of the foundation of the Mission stations at Bukumi and Bujuni.

Military operations at the time of the first siege of Bukumi are set out at length in *Africa* No. 1 (1899) and *Africa* No. 4 (1899).

Major Claude Sitwell's *Uganda Diary 1895-1899* (now in the Secretariat Library at Entebbe) supplies some information regarding both sieges.

The information regarding the second siege (other than Simon Moullec's letter) is very meagre. Sir Apolo Kagwa's *Basekabaka be Buganda* p. 273 gives a few details, but the date of the enemies' attack is clearly wrong. The error may be one of transcription by Sir Apolo or may have emanated from his informant. Apart from this, the only other printed sources are despatches etc., in Foreign Office Prints, dated 27 December 1898 (Colonel Ternan to Lord Lansdowne) and 14 February 1899 (War Office to Foreign Office) respectively.

Leblond *op. cit.* pp. 322-26 gives an account of the first siege of Bukumi, quoting extracts from Mgr. Streicher's letter to Mgr. Livinhac. Otherwise, printed references to that event are extremely few.

SOME BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Coles, Col. A. H., C.M.G., D.S.O. (1856-1931). 1884-91 attached to Egyptian Army; 1898 to Uganda; 1900-05 Commanding Uganda Rifles.

Dugmore, Capt. F. S. (1839-98) retired from the Army. In 1894 he came to East Africa as a member of the Freeland Association, which planned an Utopian settlement on the Tana river, but quickly collapsed; 1895-7 served in East Africa in various temporary capacities—Somali raids on the Tana, the Mazrui campaign, and district work in Ukamba and Masailand; Nov. 1897 volunteered for military service against the mutineers in Uganda but his health gave way and he ultimately died in hospital at Mombasa.

A man of great courage but eccentric (he walked about accompanied by a tame cheetah), he did not fit readily into Government harness. He was the father of Lieut. (later Capt. D.S.O.) W. F. B. R. Dugmore (1868-1917) who had courageously kept the Sudanese troops at Masindi under control during the critical months of the Mutiny until relieved in February 1898; and of A. Radclyffe Dugmore (1870-1955) the artist-naturalist and author of *The Wonderland of Big Game*.

Fisher, Capt. H. F. T., later Lieut.-Col. C.B.E., (d. 1956), 1898-1900 served with Uganda Rifles: later for many years associated with organization of League of Nations Union.

Kirkpatrick, Capt. R. T. (1865-98). 1897-8 to East Africa with Macdonald's 'Jubaland' Expedition; 26 November 1898 killed by natives at Nakwai.

Meldon, Capt. J. A., later Lieut.-Col. C.B.E. (1869-1931). 1897-1903 in Uganda latterly in a civil capacity: 1900 served in South African War.

Macpherson, Dr. J. S., later C.M.G. (1863-1935). 1889-92 medical officer with I.B.E.A. Company; 1891 with Lugard on march to Lake Albert; 1895-1902 medical officer, Uganda Protectorate; 1897 gallantly attended wounded under fire at Luba's Fort and himself twice wounded; later principal medical officer, British North Borneo.

Price, Major C. H. U., later Brig.-Gen. C.B., D.S.O. (1862-1942). 1897-99 served in Uganda for a time commanding troops in Bunyoro. To be distinguished from his younger brother Lieut. C. U. Price, later Lieut.-Col., Indian Army, C.M.G. (1868-1956) who also served in Uganda and was in charge of the patrol which cornered and shot Bilal Effendi in southern Bunyoro on 6 December 1898.

Sitwell, Capt. C. G. H., later Lieut.-Col. D.S.O. (1858-1900). Saw service in Afghanistan and Egypt; 1895-99 First Class Assistant, a civil appointment, in Uganda; 1899 South African War; 23 February 1900 killed in action on River Tugela.

Sykes, Capt. C. A., later Brig.-Gen. C.M.G., D.S.O. (1871-1938). 1898-1900 served in Uganda; 1900-02 South African War.

BANTU GENESIS

By M. POSNANSKY

THE purpose of this article is to bring together certain aspects of recent research relevant to our knowledge of the introduction of agriculture and iron in Africa south of the Sahara.

The significant features of stone age Africa were the small size of the total population, the general preference of societies for existing by hunting and food-gathering and for the drier savannah grassland areas, and the existence from the Capsian, perhaps around 15000-5000 B.C. of a trickle of population and new ideas from the Horn of Africa. The basic population was probably Bushmanoid and the languages spoken probably proto-Khoisan.(1) The movement of Erythiote groups(2) led eventually to the introduction of the zebu cattle of the Afrikander, cervico-thoracic variety possessed by the present-day Hottentots.(3) It is also possible that around 1500-1000 B.C. the idea of using pottery had spread to East Africa. The Elementeitan pottery of Kenya(4) certainly predates any other in East Africa, whilst the use of stone bowls could also have been derived from the north-east. A radio-carbon date of around 1000 B.C. has been obtained for the Njoro River cave in Kenya where a non-Negroid population using pottery akin to Elementeitan and stone bowls was present (Leakey, 1950). The presence of a true Neolithic or agricultural economy has sometimes been ascribed to these Stone Bowl users but the evidence is inconclusive (Posnansky, 1959). The existence of settled fishing societies along the major rivers can be inferred from the evidence of Ishango (de Heinzelin, 1957) and Khartoum (Arkell, 1949). Though stone tools do occasionally occur in the more heavily vegetated areas of Africa their relative paucity would indicate a sparseness of population compared with that of the clearer savannah grassland and 'bush' scrublands of Africa. The widespread nature of various of the Late Stone Age Cultures like the Wilton would suggest the general homogeneity of both population and economy.

The present-day linguistic map shows that the larger part of Africa south of the Sahara is inhabited by Bantu speakers. Bantu Africa is also relatively populous, dominantly agricultural, as opposed to pastoral, and iron-using. The striking fact about the Bantu languages is their fairly close similarity over a wide area. The conclusion would seem inescapable that here we have a group of peoples with a common origin and a relatively recent individual identity. The problem is to know how recent was the expansion and from what quarter. The most up-to-date authoritative work on the origin of the Bantu is that of Greenberg (1955) who has indicated the affinities of Bantu to the West Sudanic languages spoken in West Africa. From a study of morphemes or nouns in common usage he has shown that out of 50 Bantu nouns, 43 are found in the semi-Bantu or Benui-Cross languages of the Cameroons—Nigerian border area which are a sub-group of the West Sudanic languages. The probability of borrowing by the semi-Bantu speakers is ruled out by the fact that it is the fundamental words for parts of the body or low

numerals that are common to both semi-Bantu and Bantu proper. Therefore it is suggested that the expansion of this West Sudanic sub-group led to the wide and rapid dispersal of the Bantu languages. The similarities between the present Bantu languages suggested to Greenberg that they are probably not older than two to three thousand years.

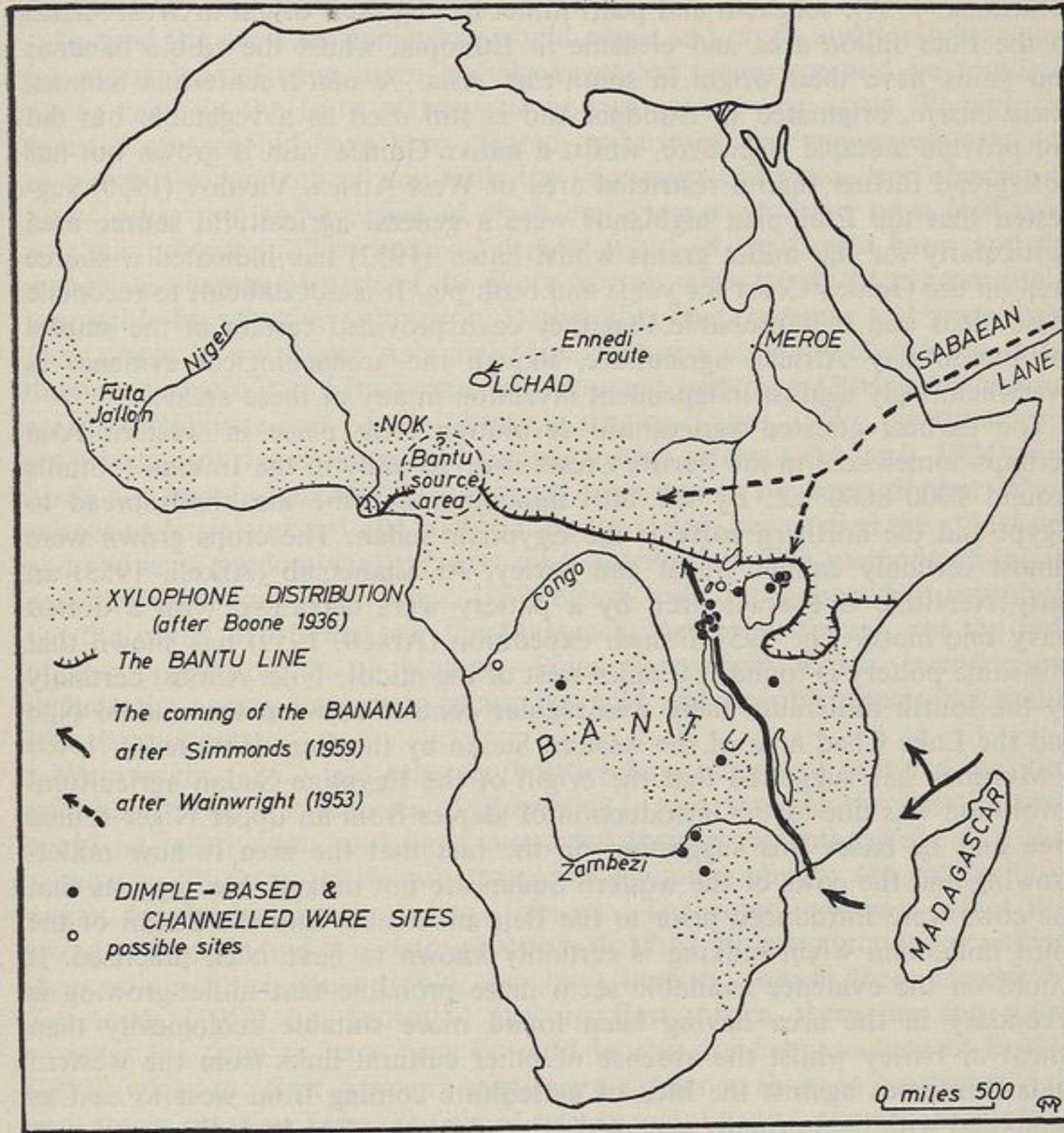


FIG. 1
Bantu Genesis.

The population expansion thus envisaged must have been resultant upon the introduction of agriculture. A hunting and food-gathering society can only support a limited population. An agricultural economy with an assured control over its food supply would allow a larger population to survive and be provided for in a much smaller area. Assuming this, we must next consider

when and where the staples of African agriculture originated. At present these staples fall into three main groups, the millet grains—sorghum, eleusine (finger millet) and pearl or bullrush millet; the crops suited to better-watered areas like yams and bananas; and the crops that we know on historical grounds to be recent introductions from the Americas like maize, manioc (cassava) and sweet potatoes. The first group has been shown to be of African origin (Murdock, 1959); sorghum and pearl millet having their origin in West Africa in the Futa Jallon area and eleusine in Ethiopia, whilst the edible bananas and yams have their origin in south-east Asia. A non-fructiferous banana, *musa ensete*, originated in Ethiopia and is still used as a vegetable but did not provide a staple elsewhere, whilst a native Guinea yam is grown but has not spread further than a restricted area of West Africa. Vavilov (1950) suggested that the Ethiopian highlands were a general agricultural source area particularly for the millet grains whilst Sauer (1952) has indicated a source area on the Guinea Coast for yams and bush pig. It is not difficult to reconcile these ideas and it is probable that they each provided certain of the staples for present-day African agriculture, though the archaeological evidence is overwhelmingly against independent invention in any of these areas.

The earliest attested agricultural revolution took place in western Asia perhaps somewhere in the Fertile Crescent or possibly in the Iranian foothills around 7000–8000 B.C. By the fifth millennium B.C. the idea had spread to Egypt and the northern parts of the Egyptian Sudan. The crops grown were almost certainly emmer wheat and barley. At Shaheinab (Arkell, 1953) an early Neolithic is characterized by a pottery ware decorated with a dotted wavy line motif. The 1957 Ennedi expedition (Arkell, 1959) has shown that this same pottery is found 750 miles west of the middle Nile. Almost certainly by the fourth millennium there was regular contact between the middle Nile and the Lake Chad area of the western Sudan by the Ennedi route.(5)

Murdock has suggested that the origin of the Egyptian Sudan agricultural revolution was due to the introduction of staples from an upper Niger source area and he bases this suggestion on the fact that the area is now millet-growing and the cows of the western Sudan are not milked. He suggests that the cows were introduced prior to the Beja movement into the Sudan of the third millennium when milking is certainly known to have been practised. It would on the evidence available seem more probable that millet-growing is secondary in the area having been found more suitable ecologically than wheat or barley whilst the absence of other cultural links from the western Sudan militates against the idea of agriculture coming from west to east as compared with the normally accepted view of it spreading from the north-east. We certainly know that the West African cattle (Epstein, 1957) are of Asian origin and the contact between the middle Nile and the Chad area, as indicated by the archaeological evidence, would suggest that the idea of agriculture spread from that quarter and triggered off a separate agricultural revolution in the upper Niger area, where eventually pearl millet, sorghum, fonio, sesame, Guinea yams, cotton and rice were grown.

Did this agricultural revolution lead to the Bantu Genesis? Probably not as it would seem too early, but it certainly did lead to population growth in

the savannah lands of the western Sudan. The area presented no land hunger and we have to assume that this growth finally filled the western Sudanic lands, but the barriers of forest to the south and west and desert to the north were effective in preventing the spread of the crops that were available. In this period the Neolithic cultures typified by the polished stone and ground axes described by Jeffreys (Jeffreys, 1957) and the 'terracotta cigar' objects described by Davies(6) flourished.

In time the need for expansion would come and crops and tools necessary for expansion into the more heavily vegetated country would be required. These came in the form of bananas and yams and iron tools. Though the forested areas could have been cleared by burning and ringing of trees and so was not dependent on iron tools the successive cultivation and clearing of forest areas and the practice of slash and burn must have been facilitated by their possession. The areas of densest forest of the Congo basin and the mangrove swamps of parts of the West African coast would have been totally unsuitable for effective cultivation. Both edible fruit, bananas and yams, have their origin in south-east Asia and form part of a complex of cultural introductions brought into Africa some two thousand years ago. Other introductions are the xylophone and parallel thirds in singing (Jones, 1959), the zithers, the sewn boats, outrigger canoes and various fishing methods (Hornell, 1934). The boats are found along the East African coast and in the form of Sese Island canoes as far inland as Lake Victoria. Boone (1936) has studied the xylophone and shown a predominantly forest zone distribution. The methods of tuning and the scales employed (Jones, 1959) clearly rule out independent invention. On the island of Madagascar the Malagache language, though not the bulk of the population, is of Malayo—Polynesian origin. Other introductions include the names for certain items like gold and possibly decorative motifs like the guilloche.

Wainwright (1952) and other authorities have suggested that the tradition that Kintu, the first Kabaka of Buganda,(7) also brought the first bananas could be relied upon, and have supported their arguments by the fact that a banana still grows at Kintu's temple at Magonga and by the similarity of names for the banana throughout Ethiopia. The name, however, is not that found in Uganda and it is more probable that had the introduction come from the north-east the name would also have been borrowed. Recent work by Simmonds (1959) has indicated that in East Africa there are too many varieties for them to have been brought by the dry Sabaeen lane of Burkill (1953), whilst the East African varieties are similar to those in south-east Asia and not to those in India.(8) Out of twenty-one different somatic mutants to be found in East Africa, fifteen are to be found in upland East Africa which is suggestive of long development in the interior possibly of the order of two thousand years. This is also borne out by the complex nomenclature and usage of the banana that has arisen. Differences between the upland East African bananas and those on the East Coast are ascribed to more recent replacement of the older varieties by new introductions perhaps dating to the main phase of Arab Indian Ocean trade after the ninth century A.D. The banana would seem to have spread from the Mozambique coast via the mouth

of the Zambesi and the great lakes to East Africa as similar varieties of cultivars and names for the cooked food are found all along this route. Though no similar study has been made of the yam it is not inconsistent to think of a similar dispersion route.

The banana is a cultigen and must be planted and carried in the form of suckers and corms. Though these can survive for a short period they are not the crop of a transitory people. Sauer has pointed out the difference between planted agriculture and seed agriculture and suggested an earlier origin for planted agriculture in south-east Asia. Unless climates have significantly altered or movement was extremely fast and not dependent on successive transplanting the route via the Great Lakes is the only one consistent with the facts. One drawback to this route is that we have no evidence of a population living along it who could have carried the banana through to upland East Africa and West Africa. The same drawback is of course present for any other diffusion line to the West. It can be argued that the fructiferous banana, had it arrived via the Sabaeen Lane and Ethiopia, would have replaced *musa ensete* in the latter area as a staple crop. A further drawback is the apparent absence of many cultural items from India compared to the overwhelming number from Indonesia. The only items that have been ascribed to an Indian origin are the zebu cow of the thoracic variety and possibly the sickle-cell trait, but the former is certainly too recent an African immigrant to be a parallel introduction with the banana, whilst the value of the latter trait has been minimized in recent years (Allison, 1954). A further factor in favour of the southern entry route is the very early development of important Iron Age societies in the Rhodesias which could indicate a not inconsiderable pre-Iron Age population capable of transmitting the new ideas. This of course poses additional problems as to who these were. That they were Bushmanoid hunter-foodgatherers seems highly improbable though more advanced people like the non-negroid population found at site K2 near Bambandganalo may provide an explanation within the bounds of feasibility.

The evidence collected by Christie (1957), Ferrand (1919) and other authorities using Chinese literary evidence has clearly shown that as early as the period 200 B.C.—A.D. 200 ships from south-east Asia were capable of distant voyaging and mention is even made of vessels up to 170 feet in length. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea refers to the existence of a trade on the East African Coast as early as the first century A.D.

Both bananas and yams are crops ideally suited to the more heavily vegetated parts of Africa and if they spread by the route indicated by the present dispersal of the xylophone and other south-east Asian cultural traits they would have quickly reached the edge of the west Sudanic area perhaps at a time that land pressure consequent on the West African agricultural revolution of the third millennium B.C. had begun to be an important factor. The coincidence of the arrival of suitable crops for expansion into the forest with the arrival of the knowledge of iron-working acted as the trigger for the Bantu explosion that was to fill quickly, albeit sparsely, the empty and more fertile parts of southern Africa.

Iron(9) was not in general use in Egypt until at least the seventh century

B.C. (Forbes, 1950). Its arrival in the Nile Valley led to the rise of the Meroitic Iron Age culture of the Sudan in the fourth century B.C. By the third century the knowledge of iron working had reached Nok(10) in northern Nigeria. It could of course also have reached the western Sudan from North Africa as iron was certainly in use there as early as the fifth century B.C. and contact across the Sahara had been established at least as early as the third millenium (Mauny, 1951). With the use of iron the forest could at last be cleared by serviceable tools. Expansion took place both to the south(11) and to the east. To the south-east there existed a virtual human vacuum in the Stone Age and it was here that the expansion was of an explosive nature.

The archaeological record indicates an iron-using culture that is both relatively widespread and early and which could fit this contention of rapid expansion. This is the culture, or more accurately groups of societies, characterized by the dimple-based pottery wares from the Kavirondo area of Kenya first described by Leakey (Leakey, M. D., 1948) in 1948. Subsequently similar wares have been described from Ruanda (Hiernaux, 1960) and Kasai (Nenquin, 1959) whilst the same pottery has been found in Uganda at Nsongezi, in Tanganyika (Smolla, 1956) and possibly in the Lower Congo Valley. The channelled wares of the Rhodesias fall into the same genre. The ware is characterized primarily by its grooved or channelled decoration, scroll motifs and certain distinctive bowl-form features. The age is rather more difficult to determine. Radio-carbon dates for the Rhodesias (Clark, 1959) suggest first century A.D., though Ruanda evidence suggests the tenth century. The important archaeological fact, however, is that these wares represent the first iron-working and iron-using folk in the areas where they are found and that the ware is widespread and similar. At both Nsongezi in Uganda and in Ruanda (Hiernaux, 1959) the ware is found immediately above or admixed with Late Stone Age Wilton industries. None of the sites where these wares are found indicates large or even very settled societies and they are superseded by regional pottery variations and by more settled societies. The evidence would thus support the idea of rapid expansion from a common source followed by regional separation and development.

Over large parts of the area concerned, the use of the Bantu stem form *-uma* for iron (Wainwright, 1954) and the use in smelting of bowl furnaces and bellows as used in the Sudanic source area suggest a common origin of iron working. It has been suggested that the use in parts of East Africa and the discovery on an iron age site in Ruanda of the domed furnace could indicate that iron working should be considered as being of coastal and Arab origin. There is, however, insufficient evidence to prove that the domed furnace is primary, and the weight of the linguistic, archaeological and ethnological evidence would suggest that the domed furnace, though comparatively widespread, is secondary in Africa.

The use of iron finally led to the growth of iron age agricultural societies. Where these were in areas where native gold was readily found, such as West Africa and Southern Rhodesia, important cultural centres like those of Ghana—Mali and the Zimbabwe developed.

To sum up, it is as well to indicate the gaps in our knowledge that could

alter this interpretation. At present we know nothing of the banana varieties in either Madagascar, which it is here assumed was in direct contact with Indonesia, nor of West Africa where present-day observations of the agricultural societies would suggest that agriculture based on planted crops is better and possibly longer established than in East Africa. We can only assume that the agricultural revolution that allowed the expansion of the Negroid Western Sudanic groups led in its turn to a more rapid development once the planted crops had been transmitted to the forest societies to the south. We have no data on the pre-Arab societies of the East Coast nor of how and when the Indonesian influences could have been transmitted into the interior. The archaeological evidence is as yet too isolated to allow more than mere suggestions of data and origin. It is inconceivable that any traces of the spread of planted agriculture other than the trace of settled societies will be found, for the material agricultural equipment concerned with cultivation is neither distinctive, as in the case of grain, nor imperishable.

NOTES

(1) The term Khoisan was originated by Schapera (1930) for the click-speaking peoples of southern Africa. 'Khoi' is the Hottentot name for themselves and 'san' is their name for the Bushmen.

(2) A term used to connote those people physically akin to the Caucasoid. Erythiote skeletal remains are known from the Horn of Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika and Nyasaland.

(3) It is thought that the Hottentot preceded the Bantu in southern Africa and brought the first domestic mammalia. No date is known though it is probable that they predate the first millenium B.C.

(4) Elementeitan pottery is found associated with Late Stone Age hunter-food-gatherers and would certainly seem on present evidence to date from at least the second millenium B.C. The idea was most probably acquired through contact with the Horn of Africa where pottery was already in use.

(5) Similar wares to those of Ennedi have been described by Lebeuf (information from discussion at IVth Pan-African Pre-history Congress, Leopoldville, 1959).

(6) O. Davies, paper given to the IVth Pan-African Prehistory Congress.

(7) It is probable that the Kintu story also embodies myths about the first man as well as the first Kabaka, Kintu and his wife being given the banana and the cow to provide the staples of life. The circumstantial evidence of the story would seem less reliable than that surrounding the Bachwezi legends.

(8) The Indian bananas have as yet received no comparable intensive study.

(9) Various radio-carbon dates have been given for the Iron Age at Nok. The most recent indicate 400 B.C.—A.D. 200 (*Illustrated London News*, 3 Sept. 1960).

(10) The evidence from various West African cave sites indicate that in the forested zone material assignable to the Iron Age is found directly superimposed on a Wilton Late Stone Age with no sign of a Neolithic. S. V. Pearce (*The appearance of Iron and its use in Protohistoric Africa*, an unpublished M.A. thesis presented to the University of London, 1960).

(11) G. Mortelmans, paper given to the IVth Pan-African Prehistory Congress. Locality is given as Thysville. Some doubt has been entertained as to whether this pottery is really dimple-based ware. (Personal communication from J. Nenquin.)

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FEMALE CIRCUMCISION AMONG THE SEBEI¹

By J. P. BARBER

THE Sebei live in the north of Bugisu District. Their country stretches from the cold heights of Mount Elgon to the hot plain of the Karamoja border south of Greek river. To the east lie the highlands of Kenya where European farms reach, and in one case overflows, the boundary with Sebei. Until recently the Sebei were pastoralists and even today the ambition of the rich man is to possess large herds of cattle. It is, however, only at the extremes, high on the slopes of Elgon in the forest area, where the Basibolo or Konjek section of the tribe live, and down on the Greek river plain, that the Sebei are still truly pastoral. Even in these two areas the pressure of change is gradually being felt. The Basibolo are only allowed to remain in their high pastures by the grace of the Forest Department, which refuses to allow any new settlement within the forest area, and the young men of the Basibolo are tending to move into the more densely settled areas for employment and entertainment. On the Greek river plain there has been a large influx of Kitosh from Kenya, who have brought with them an arable economy primarily based on maize growing. In the middle section, reached by the well-known mountain road, the influence of the Bagisu and the Kenya tribes is apparent. Coffee from Bugisu and maize from Kenya have spread into Sebei to form the major cash crops of the country. It is in this central section that the bulk of the Sebei people, who number between 35,000 and 40,000, live. The period when the country was dominated by the pastoralist is over, and now it is the shamba owner with his problems of land ownership and crop prices who is the predominant figure in Sebei.

Change has come quickly, for until fairly recently the area was considered to be so primitive that it was controlled under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, and the close relatives of the Sebei, the Suk of Kenya and Uganda, are still some of the most primitive peoples in East Africa. The Sebei have now joined in the race for education, more roads and cash crops, but the tribe is still proud of its individuality and its particular customs. The custom which perhaps distinguishes it from all other Uganda tribes is female circumcision.

The Sebei circumcise both male and females. Male circumcision is also practised by their neighbours the Bagisu, although there are important differences in the details of the ceremony. In Sebei the circumcision of males is carried out every two years and is organized on a district level, the dates of the ceremonies being decided by the District Council. There is no such organization for female circumcision. It is an annual event, usually held in December, but no firm dates are laid down. The controlling factor is the harvest, for once the crops have been harvested and the parents have sufficient wimbi or maize to brew beer for the circumcision party, arrangements are put

¹ Written in 1959, and submitted to the Uganda Government Essay Competition, 1960.

in hand. The prestige of the parents hangs on the size of their party. There must be sufficient beer for any relative, friend or passer-by who may wish to join it.

The girls to be circumcised are usually aged between 13 and 16 years. They should be virgins and if a girl becomes pregnant before circumcision it is usual to circumcise her immediately her condition is known, without the dancing and parties that form a large part of the usual ceremony. Circumcision is the symbol of entry into womanhood and only after circumcision should the woman enjoy her full rights, including sexual intercourse.

The first sign that the ceremony has started is the appearance of small groups of girls dancing from homestead to homestead. The girls in each group are usually related or their parents are very close friends. The dancing is led by a young woman of twenty to thirty who is chosen to lead because of the prestige she attained at her own circumcision when she bore great pain without complaint. Other female relatives and friends will also join the dancers from time to time, and the party grows progressively larger as the time for circumcision grows nearer.

The major part of the girls' attire must be of recent origin. They wear cotton blouses and short cotton skirts, which are held up by crossed straps over the shoulder. From their shoulders hang brightly coloured cotton squares which, on other occasions, would be used for head-scarves or table-cloths. Traditionally the girls sing throughout the dancing but, as this may go on for two days before the circumcision, their voices often gave out, so now most of them have whistles on which they blow continuously.

The day before the circumcision is one of mounting tension and excitement. The small group of dancers which moves from household to household early in the morning grows steadily during the day until in the evening hundreds of people may be dancing with the girls. The girls themselves are not supposed to eat or rest, but if they become particularly distressed they are allowed to drink milk and have short rests. Late in the afternoon the girls' faces and legs are decorated in the form of squares of white clay. This is said to have no particular significance but increases their beauty.

After sunset as large crowds of people gather, the girls visit each of the homesteads of their parents for the final dancing. A tight circle of people, four or five deep, forms round the girls. By this time their faces look numb and expressionless, but there is no slackening in the tempo of the dance. Although they have been dancing without respite for many hours any signs of fatigue are derided by the crowd. They are urged to greater and greater efforts. Old women step into the circle to sing songs in praise of circumcision; to tell how terrible was the pain which they bore at their own circumcision, and how the girls must endure all without fear or complaint. The whole crowd joins in the repetitive choruses, while the girls jump up and down, raising the dust and dirt of the courtyard into a cloud which hangs over everything. Then the girls will join hands in pairs and skip to the edges of the circle where they lightly touch the on-lookers with the cows' tails or branches they are carrying to show that they have no fear of anybody; all is noise, confusion, excitement.

This is not, however, the complete picture, for there is a quieter, but seemingly equally important activity—beer drinking. Close friends who come to the ceremony bring with them gifts of a cow, or sheep, or beer, and, depending upon the prestige of the bearer, or the size of the present, are given a pot of beer by the father of the girl. There are also general pots of beer from which any visitor can drink. The beer-drinking groups, like the group following the dancers, are mixed fairly evenly between men and women, but the beer drinkers on the whole are older. The drinking goes on from the day before the ceremony until all the beer is finished, perhaps two or three days later. Many members of the party seem to spend the whole period alternately sleeping and drinking near their pot. The Sebei drink through long tubes, which have filters at the end, so that twenty people may be drinking from one large pot, the tubes winding and twisting between the drinkers. Sometimes the father of the girl will have a large hut specially built for the main drinking party.

The girls are circumcised just after dawn. The dancing, which has been going on throughout the night finishes and the girls, with their female relatives and friends assemble at the place chosen for the operation. By tradition no males should attend, but any woman or girl may witness the circumcision. The spectators sometimes include girls who are themselves to be circumcised in the near future.

The girls, who are made to lie down with their arms above their heads and their legs spread out, should not be tied down nor held during the operation. The area which is to be cut has cold water poured on it which has been kept in a pot standing in a river or some other cool place, and a nettle which grows on the river banks in Sebei is rubbed over the area. Immediately before the operation the intestines of a sheep, which is specially slaughtered for the circumcision, are laid on the eyes of the girl. This is said to keep the girl's eyes open during the circumcision. When all these preparations are complete the circumcisor performs the operation by making three separate incisions in each girl.

Immediately after the circumcision the girls are led into a fenced boma, across the entrance of which the entrails of the slaughtered sheep are laid. On each side of the entrance two spears are placed, pointing outwards from the boma, and only just leaving sufficient room for a man to enter. The sheep, which has magical significance, is never eaten. It, together with the spears, is placed at the entrance to the boma to keep out evil spirits. It is also said that in the past the spears were used by the parents to kill any girls who refused to be circumcised. When the girls are in the boma any person is allowed to see them, to congratulate, to commiserate or just to stare. The girls themselves are in no condition to appreciate the visitors. Their pain is so great that they are engulfed by it. They bend and kneel, they moan and whistle in an attempt to lessen their extreme agony. Their faces, which have lost the shine usually found on black faces, are drawn and contracted. They look grey. They are too conscious of pain to notice or to care about anything or anybody. Between half an hour and an hour after the ceremony they are led away to the huts where they will remain under the care of old women, until

they recover a month or two later. It is said that the method used for the treatment of the wounds is the regular application of urine.

After the circumcision great deference is shown to the circumcisor. A special pot of beer is prepared for her which she shares with people whom she herself invites, and she receives the thanks and congratulations of the girls' parents. These women circumcisors are a select band, for there are probably no more than four or five in the whole of Sebei. They are not secretive about their profession. One, a small, middle-aged woman, certainly not 'an ancient', told how she had served an apprenticeship before she had become a full circumcisor, allowed to take complete control of the operation and charge a fee. She said that when she became a full circumcisor she had two children, now she had five, but was unable to say how many times she had circumcised. For the operation she used a small, clean knife, razor sharp, which she said had been beaten from a four-inch nail. Before the operation she would dip the knife into hot, but not necessarily boiling water, and wash her own hands. There is no particular dress for the circumcision. This woman wore an ordinary *gomesi* styled like a Muganda. Some of the circumcisors wear short red kanzu-like dresses, but there is said to be no tradition behind this, and uniformity is not considered essential or desirable. For each girl circumcised the circumcisor usually receives a fee of ten to twelve shillings. The fee to be charged has been laid down by the Sebei County Council.

The Sebei say that a girl has a right to refuse circumcision and is never forced into it, but this is open to grave doubt. During the operation itself there are said to be times when force is used. After the first cut the pain is so great that the girl may sit up or jump up with shock, saying that she cannot endure it, she cannot go on. There is, however, no going back once this stage has been reached. She is first asked to lie down again, but if she refuses she is held down while the operation is completed. Another known incident is of a girl who refused to be circumcised after she had completed the dancing, but before the operation had started. Her father decided that she must have been bewitched and rushed around imploring people to help him in having her circumcised as the only way to break the spell. The girl leant against a food granary dejected and miserable, while a group of women stood around her laughing and taunting and singing songs of derision about her cowardice. The girl was so sad and bewildered that she would not speak to anybody or even look at anybody. She just stood, her head bent, staring at the ground. It is difficult to imagine this girl withstanding such treatment for long. It is probable that because of the pressure put on her she would eventually agree to be circumcised, or the pleas of her father would persuade others to help him in having her circumcised.

When the girls have been led away by the old women to their huts the excitement and tension disappear. The final scene at the circumcision is of groups of people sitting around their drinking pots, for once daylight comes the huts which were the centres of drinking during the night are abandoned, and it is under *bandas* or in the shade of trees that the drinking groups reassemble. By mid-day most of the drinkers are asleep, lying by their pots, to

awaken in the late afternoon when they will continue to drink and sleep until the pots are empty.

Female circumcision has a firm hold on the Sebei, which it is difficult to imagine being broken without strong opposition. Perhaps because they live in a district which is dominated by a more numerous and advanced tribe, the Bagisu, the Sebei seem particularly anxious to preserve their individuality as a tribe. This attitude may reinforce the desire to retain female circumcision, because it does distinguish them from surrounding tribes. The arguments used by the Sebei in defence of circumcision are an echo of those used by Jomo Kenyatta in his book *Facing Mount Kenya* in which he defends female circumcision among the Kikuyu; it does no harm to the women; the tribe has a right to its own customs which have been built up over past generations; and it is wrong to judge these customs by standards which have been developed in completely different conditions. It is interesting to note that it is not only the men who defend this custom, for it is the women who are the greatest deriders of any show of cowardice and who take the greatest pleasure in recalling the pain and agony which has to be endured. It is an attitude of "what was good enough for me, must be good enough for you". It is probable, however, that with future development there will be an increasing tendency to question the value of the custom, and probably even direct opposition to it. This will perhaps depend on the increase of education among girls, for their education will almost certainly be in the hands of Christian missionaries, who are not sympathetic towards female circumcision. At present very few girls have received more than the most elementary education, but the pace of development has been so rapid in recent years, especially in education for boys, that it must be presumed that an increasing number of girls will go to school, and that of these a growing number will continue their education to secondary and college standards. Once there is a core of young educated women among the Sebei, opposition to circumcision can be expected to arise. Nor can the influence of other tribes be discounted. It has been stressed that the Sebei are anxious to retain their identity, but with increasing contacts with other people they have accepted, perhaps unconsciously, many of the standards and habits of these other tribes. It may be that the even closer contacts that are likely to develop in the future will be another factor weighing against female circumcision. The first real opposition to it among the Sebei themselves came when a group of young men introduced a motion against it at the Sebei County Council. Their motion was defeated but it would seem that time is on their side.

NOTES ON THE RUWENZORI GLACIERS

By H. A. OSMASTON

Speke Glacier

RECENTLY Dr. Noel Humphreys has very kindly sent me prints¹ of many of the photographs taken on his expeditions to the Ruwenzori, and among them is one of Mount Speke (Fig. 1) showing the Speke glacier very clearly. It appears to have been taken from the rock ridge above the present Elena huts, on the east side of the Elena glacier, and was therefore probably taken in mid-July 1926, since in February the weather had been consistently cloudy.²

Among the interesting points which it shows is the thickness of the glacier at its snout which seems to be at least 150 feet; the glacier is evidently active with masses of ice poised ready to fall down the steep rock slabs immediately below. There is less ice than at the time of Abruzzi however. Sella's photograph³ was taken from below the Scott Elliot pass so direct comparison with Humphreys is not easy, but a similar one taken by Pasteur in 1906 shows the glacier to be only a third of its thickness in 1906, so that then it must have been about 180 feet thick.

The small basin to the west of the glacier, previously filled with ice and continuous with the main glacier, was little more than a snowfield by 1926.

Fig. 2 is a photograph taken from almost exactly the same point as Fig. 1 in January 1951, twenty-five years later. The glacier snout is thinner, the snowfield has all but disappeared, and there has been a major retreat of the Johnston glacier.

The earliest air photographs of the Speke glacier are some beautiful obliques taken by Humphreys in December 1931,⁴ which are included among the ones he has sent me. It seems that Light⁵ obtained no close air photographs of the peaks, and the next were some runs of vertical photographs taken by an R.A.F. Mosquito in April 1952.⁶ Unfortunately these are rather hazy but they are remarkable for being taken at high noon in dry cloudless weather, so that none of the ground is obscured by shadows. These were followed by some good verticals and obliques (though rather too shadowed and at too low an altitude for easy map making) taken by Messrs. Harward MacLachlan in September 1952 after a light fall of snow.⁷ Finally came those of Hunting Aerosurveys in June 1955 which have been used to prepare the excellent new maps of the Ruwenzori.⁸ Figs. 3, 4 and 5 are small sections taken from these three series of vertical photographs, which cover the snout of the Speke glacier with its crevasses. In Fig. 5 the lower part of the glacier is free of snow, and the small streaks of surface moraine are clearly visible. They appear to come from the minor ice-fall just above them, where the ice cover is very thin and the underlying rock is occasionally exposed. The crevasse pattern at the snout is so nearly identical in the three photographs that the central séracs may actually be the same, though diminished and divided by a wider crevasse

in the later ones. If so this confirms that the glacier is nearly stagnant. The retreat of the ice on the east side of the snout is clearly visible.

Savoia Glacier

When this glacier is seen or photographed from the south-east an optical illusion makes it appear to rise on Savoia peak, and Abruzzi named it accordingly.³ In fact, as Busk was the first to point out,⁹ the small Coronation glacier intervenes and the top of the Savoia glacier is a snowy col between Philip and a buttress to the east of it.

This glacier holds promise for glaciological study, since it is confined to an almost parallel-sided bed about 2,000 feet long by 500 feet wide without excessive variation of gradient, thus eliminating many of the complications caused by the irregularity of the Speke and Elena glaciers. The snout of the glacier is now at about 14,900 feet and the top is at 16,000 feet. Halfway up at 15,400 feet there is a band of major crevasses stretching across the glacier, but they present little obstacle to passage. In August 1953, when I first visited the glacier, there was bare ice only up to 15,300 feet but in February 1954 it extended to at least 15,600 feet and exposed a number of small crevasses not previously visible.

At about 15,150 feet the slope of the glacier eases temporarily to nearly level and boulders rest on the surface with no tendency to slide down. Measurements of the positions of two boulders during this period from the end of one dry season to the end of the next indicated movements of 35 feet in 6 months near the centre of the glacier and of 15 feet in 6 months at 75 feet from the eastern edge. These compare reasonably with the movements measured by me in August 1953 and confirmed by Menzies in December 1953¹⁰ on the Elena glacier, which varied between 60 feet and 150 feet in one year. (The Elena glacier has a far larger accumulation zone and might be expected to flow more quickly.)

This rate of flow means a high rate of turnover since a piece of ice will move from the top to the bottom of the glacier in a period of the order of 100 years. The response to changes in precipitation should be correspondingly sensitive.

Some observers on Ruwenzori have commented on the lack of finely ground rock-flour which normally gives a characteristic grey colour to glacial streams.¹¹ On my first visit the whole surface of the glacier up to the snow line was melting and running with water; this continued even when the sun was behind the clouds and after it had set behind the high ridge on the west, though I think this was exceptional. At the snout two streams could be seen mingling, one of clear water from the surface, and one, grey and turbid, from below the ice. About 500 feet lower down the combined flow passed into a small pool where it deposited some of the fertile grey sediment before losing itself in scree and boulders. Others have commented on the small flow of the glacier streams,¹² but this may have been without a proper appreciation of the small size of the Ruwenzori glaciers compared with familiar examples in the Alps and elsewhere. The Speke glacier, one of the largest, only occupies a

catchment of 100 acres. The outflow from this is at a rough estimate 10-20 million cubic feet a year,¹³ which is equivalent to 30-60 inches of water over the whole catchment. This is significantly less than the estimated snowfall, especially as some water is derived from shrinkage of the glacier, and suggests that evaporation may be an important cause of water loss; however all the data are very scanty.

These glacier streams appear to provide exceptionally favourable conditions for the growth of tree groundsel, and many of them support small groves of young vigorous trees, which measurements show to be growing at a rate of several inches a year, whereas in acid bogs or on dry stony moraines they may take many years to grow an inch. This variability in the rate of growth of plants under different conditions is often overlooked by people who want a convenient chronometer for dating the retreat of glaciers and other events.

A rough guide to the rate of growth of a tree groundsel is given by the presence or absence of a ruff of old dead leaves extending down the stem, sometimes to ground level. The rate of leaf production seems to be much less affected by local conditions than the rate of stem growth, so that under favourable conditions the leaves are widely spaced, do not form a close enough thatch to keep out the rain, and so rot and fall off. Frequent flowering is also closely related to favourable conditions of growth, and since a tree forks every time it flowers, the degree of branchiness also indicates the probably rate of growth.

The only measurement of tree groundsel growth hitherto published were made by Hauman¹⁴ on a species which occurs only on the western side of Ruwenzori, growing under conditions which are probably much drier than those in the centre and east of the range, where his results are therefore not applicable.

Other biological records have been wrongly adduced as evidence for glacial advances or retreats through inadequate knowledge of local conditions. Thus the presence of dead worms in rock pools near the Elena glacier has been thought to indicate that they were killed by the cold of an advancing ice-front.¹² Apart from the very rapid advance that this would seem to imply, and the fact that the rock pools are anyway filled with ice and snow every rainy season, I have also seen dead worms in pools on the surface of the glacier, though where they came from and what they indicate I do not know. The zonation of lichens on the prominent rock island near the outflow of Lake Bujuku, coupled with a series of raised beach lines 16, 22 and 32 inches above the dry season water level have been thought to indicate past periods of greater humidity and of glacier advance:¹² this they do, but only in the sense that the lake rises a foot or two in the wet seasons. Similar features and fluctuations in level occur in several other Ruwenzori lakes with subterranean outlets, the two Ruamuli lakes in particular. These were dry in July 1952 although filled to a depth of several feet in April 1952, and indeed flooded to a level several feet above normal, judging by the recently killed *Alchemilla* on the banks. Humphreys has recorded similar changes.⁴

Elena Glacier

The following series of measurements represent the distances in feet of the ice from 5 cairns spaced along the eastern edge of the Elena glacier between the huts and the snout. The cairns were set up and the initial measurements taken by Bergstrom and Menzies;¹⁰ the subsequent ones by me.

| Cairn No. | July/52 | Aug./53 | | Feb./54 | | Jan./58 | | Total Change in feet |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|----------------------|
| | Distance in feet | Distance in feet | Change | Distance in feet | Change | Distance in feet | Change | |
| 1 | 84 | 97 | +13 | 97 | 0 | 100 | + 3 | +16 |
| 2 | 30 | 43 | +13 | 34 | -9 | 33 | - 1 | + 3 |
| 3 | 17 | 30 | +13 | 35 | +5 | 30 | - 5 | +13 |
| 4 | 16 | 26 | +10 | 24 | -2 | 24 | 0 | + 8 |
| 5 | 22 | 14 | - 8 | 20 | +6 | 50 | +30 | +28 |
| | | | + 8 | | 0 | | + 5 | +13 |

These show that though there is a general tendency of the ice to retreat it does not do so uniformly either along the margin, or in time, and there are occasional intervening advances. Possibly the Elena and Speke glaciers differ in this respect, since there still seems to be considerable flow in the former so that there is a dynamic equilibrium, not just the melting back of a lump of ice. Bergstrom and Menzies indeed measured a flow of 3 feet per day during a few weeks in July and August 1952,¹⁵ though this was not confirmed by the measurements taken a year and eighteen months later which have been quoted above. It is possible that a severe earth tremor which occurred in July 1952 may have caused a temporary exceptional flow.

Other glaciers

On normal prints of vertical air photographs it is often very difficult to see detail of snow and rock, or even to distinguish between them, owing to the great range of contrasts. Prints made with a special scanning printer, which only exposes a minute fraction of the photograph at a time and controls the exposure so as to reduce excessive contrast, yield much more information, and the precise extent of snowfields and glaciers can be clearly seen. Vestigial ones still remained on both Mount Emin and Mount Luigi di Savoia at the time of all three series of photographs. The east Johnston glacier explored for the first time by Pasteur in 1960, has evidently retreated greatly, as the April 1952 photographs show at the end of the glacier a large peninsula of ice about 100 yards across; by September the isthmus of ice joining it to the main glacier had almost melted; by 1955 it was quite isolated and only half the size; and by 1960 it had disappeared, leaving only a pool of water in a large hollow.

The former Semper glacier, which has now quite gone, shows clearly on one of Humphreys' photographs, but unfortunately the lower part is cut off in both his and Abruzzi's.³



[Photo: G. N. Humphreys]

FIG. 1
Mount Speke, 1926.



[Photo: H. A. Osmaston]

FIG. 2
Mount Speke, 1951.

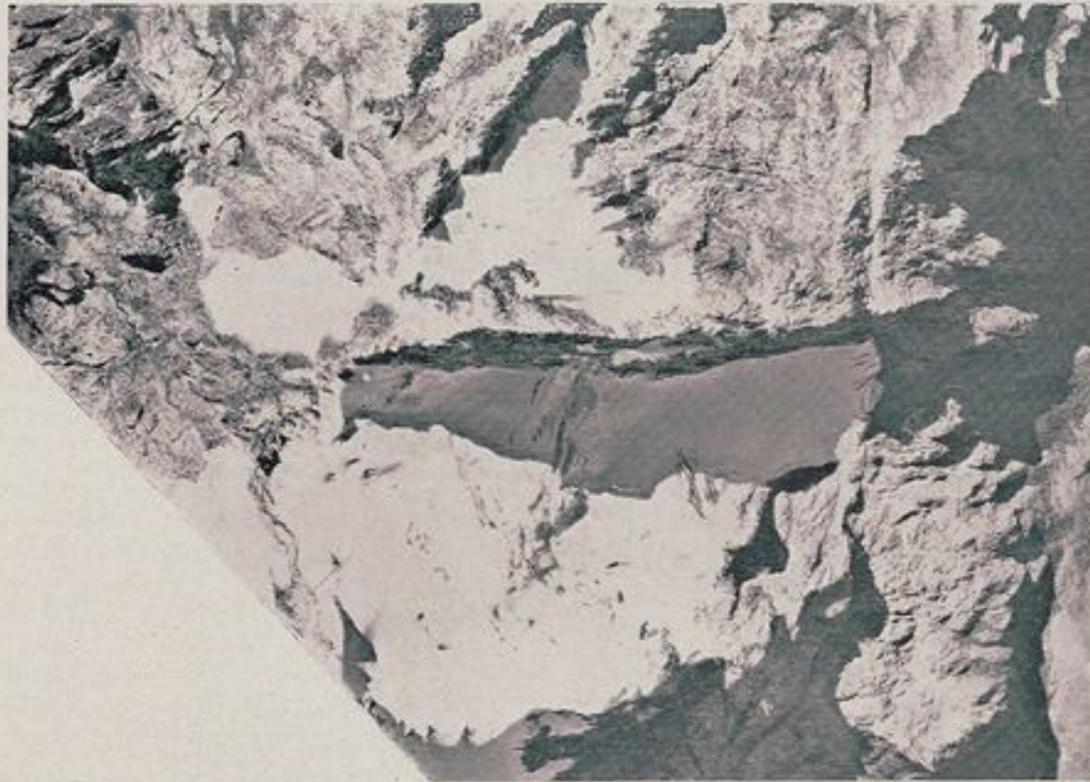
These photographs show the reduction in thickness of the snout of the Speke glacier (centre) and the retreat of the Johnston glacier (right).



[Photo: R.A.F.]

FIG. 3

April 1952.



[Photo: Harvard MacLachlan]

FIG. 4

September 1952



[Photo: Hunting Aerosurveys]

FIG. 5

June 1955

These vertical air photographs of Mount Speke show the Speke Glacier in the centre with its snout at the bottom; the Johnston and East Johnston Glaciers at the right-centre and right-top respectively; and the Vittorio Emanuele Glacier at the top left. The retreat of the Speke and East Johnston Glaciers during this three-year period can be seen clearly and in Fig. 5 the light zone of rock below the Vittorio Emanuele Glacier shows the area recently uncovered by ice, where lichens have not yet grown. North is to the top left corner of the plates.

Precipitation, ablation and dirt bands

The quantity of snow falling on a glacier, and the losses by melting and evaporation are the essential factors which determine its behaviour but direct measurements involve great difficulty, especially when the glacier is only visited at long intervals.

The dirt bands which are such a characteristic feature of the ice of Ruwenzori glaciers are clearly due to seasonal causes and offer a valuable indication of the net accumulation above the firn line, but first it is necessary to be sure how they are formed, and what they represent. If dirt falls on the glacier continuously throughout the year, during a dry season ablation from the snow surface will nevertheless concentrate part of it into a dirt band, and the degree of concentration will indicate the volume of snow lost. In the accumulation zone this would result in a more or less regular succession of bands, and it is generally accepted that these are formed in the January—February and June—July dry seasons.¹²

The firn line itself varies considerably by several hundred feet in altitude from season to season, from year to year, and from place to place (being much higher on steep slopes where accumulation is less), so that the formation of dirt bands in this neighbourhood is irregular. There is a greater likelihood that almost the whole of the season's dirtfall will be concentrated into a narrow conspicuous band, and in a severe dry season several years dirt may be concentrated into a single band. This accounts at least partly for the fact that dirt bands are more distinct in the middle parts of the glaciers than higher up, or at the snout where the ice from the upper regions eventually melts.

Below the firn line dirt bands are not formed at all because each dry season all the snow of the previous wet season is removed with some underlying ice as well, and the surface of the glacier is littered with the accumulated dirt of many successive bands. It mostly remains aggregated in small clods or in pockets in the ice so that the water running over the surface of the glacier remains clear.

Fig. 4 shows that the glacier is darkest just at the upper limit of the exposed ice, rather than further down at the snout of the glacier. This is I think usual and due to the dirt being spread out more evenly there than on the snout where it is washed into pockets by melt water. This would account for the shape of Bergstrom's ablation graph which has a maximum just below the firn line.

Analysis of this dirt shows that it is mainly composed of very fine mineral material, with about 30 per cent of charcoal and much pollen. Although it is not necessary to suppose any seasonal variation in dirt fall to account for the dirt-bands, it is reasonable to expect that it increases during the dry season when the mountain is completely hidden by the smoke haze. This is normally only a few thousand feet thick and in calm clear weather one may look out from the peaks over a level sea of haze on the plains; however I have occasionally seen it streaming up and over the mountain before a steady easterly breeze, and mountain storms must also carry it up.

Solar radiation is the dominant cause of ablation—an hour or two of sunshine will cause a minor spate in the outflow stream—and this very black dirt must have a considerable effect in increasing the amount of radiation absorbed. An increased dirt-fall might therefore be a cause of glacier recession, and this would accord well with the great wasting of the lower parts of the glaciers, compared with relatively slight changes higher up; however I know of no evidence for it and the smoke haze seems to have been just as severe in Stanley's time.

Assuming that there are normally two dirt bands a year, pits dug by Bergstrom and Menzies in 1952,¹² by Smith and Fletcher in 1955¹⁶ and by Ball in 1957¹⁷ and measurements made by me in 1953, at various altitudes on the Elena glacier and Stanley plateau, indicated a net annual accumulation of 24-48 inches water equivalent. Some very limited figures for ablation¹² indicate an annual loss of about 54 inches water equivalent, so that the total snowfall may be 80-100 inches water equivalent or about 15 feet of snow. A three-year corrected average rainfall for Bujuku hut (13,000 feet) was also 80 inches and for Bigo hut (11,800 feet) was 78 inches.¹⁸ These observations are too few to permit detailed conclusions to be drawn about the distribution of precipitation with altitude; however they do suggest that it does not decrease sharply with altitude and is at least 80 inches water equivalent between 12,000 and 16,000 feet.

NOTES

¹ I have passed these on to the Makerere College Ruwenzori Expedition for detailed study; only some of the most interesting points are mentioned here. Afterwards they will be put in an album and kept in the Uganda Mountain Club Library in the Uganda Society's rooms, together with some of the vertical and oblique air photographs mentioned later.

² G. N. Humphreys (1927). *Geog. J.*, 69.

³ F. de Filippi (1909). *Ruwenzori*, 235.

⁴ G. N. Humphreys (1933). *Geog. J.*, 82.

⁵ R. U. Light (1935). *Focus on Africa*.

⁶ Runs 82D/565 of 4 April and 82D/587 of 20 April 1952.

⁷ Two series on 17 and 27 September 1952 covered the main peaks; an earlier series on 11 December 1951 covered the upper Namwamba and Nyamagasani valleys.

⁸ Runs 15.UG.13 and 15.UG.14.

⁹ D. L. Busk (1954). *Geog. J.*, 120.

¹⁰ I. R. Menzies (1953), typescript report.

¹¹ I. R. Menzies (1951). *J. of Glaciology*, 1.

¹² E. Bergstrom (1955). *J. of Glaciology*, 2.

¹³ J. B. Whittow. 2nd report of the Makerere College Ruwenzori Expedition (revised, 1958). *Uganda J.* (1959), 23, and *J. of Glaciology* (1960), 2. There are some variations in the data given.

¹⁴ L. Hauman (1935). *Revue de Zoologie et de Botanique africaine*, 28.

¹⁵ I. R. Menzies (1952), typescript report.

¹⁶ J. Smith, *Bujuku Hut Book*.

¹⁷ Personal communication. See also J. B. Whittow in *J. of Glaciology* (1960), 2.

¹⁸ The graph of precipitation given by Whittow and Shepherd in *Uganda J.* (1959), 23 is wrong; I am preparing a paper giving corrected figures.

NOTES

ROCK PAINTINGS ON LOLUI ISLAND, LAKE VICTORIA

By M. POSNANSKY

In 1953 Mr. J. Hinchliffe, now of the Sleeping Sickness Control Unit, and Mr. V. H. J. Neal of the Uganda Police visited Lolui Island whilst searching for Mau Mau escapees from Kenya and they discovered the group of paintings to be described below(1). Subsequently Mr. Hinchliffe revisited the island many times, took photographs and brought the information to the notice of the Uganda Museum.

The island is situated some twenty miles from the mainlands of both Kenya and Uganda at the end of a group of islands belonging to Uganda which stretch from the Busoga shore, and of which Dagusi and Sagitu are the largest. The paintings are executed on the under side of a large boulder supported by smaller boulders formed by erosion of the 'granite tor' variety resting in their turn on a large slab of rock. (Fig. 1.)

This pile of rocks is clearly visible from the lake on the north-west corner of the island (Fig. 2). The seven supporting rocks form an open-ended chamber (Fig. 3) some six feet high and seven and a half feet wide at the

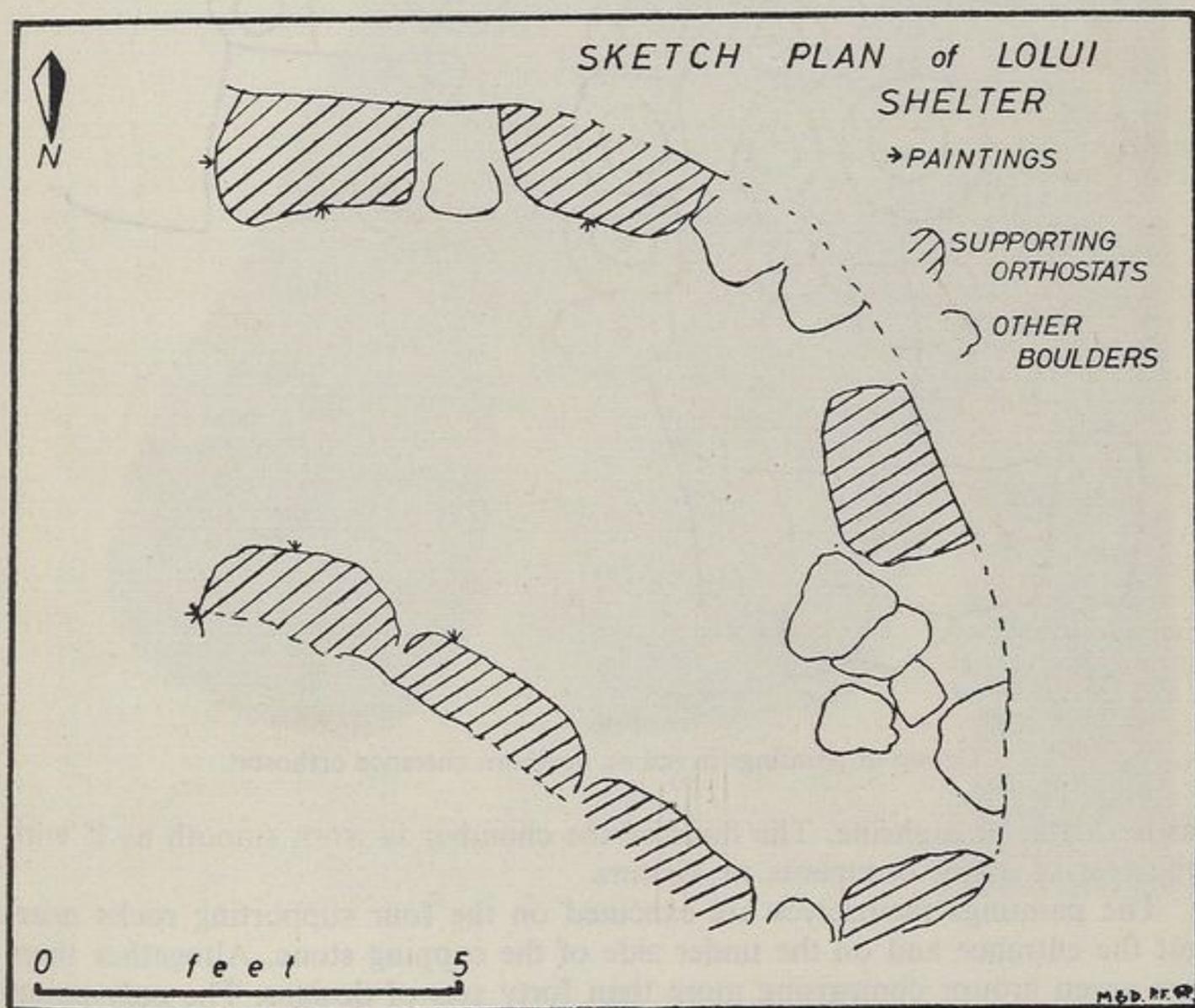


FIG. 3
105

entrance. The internal height varies very little and the chamber is twenty feet long at its greatest dimension and never more than twelve feet wide. Between the supporting boulders are smaller rocks. The chamber is clearly an erosional feature but of a peculiar form which presumably led to its use

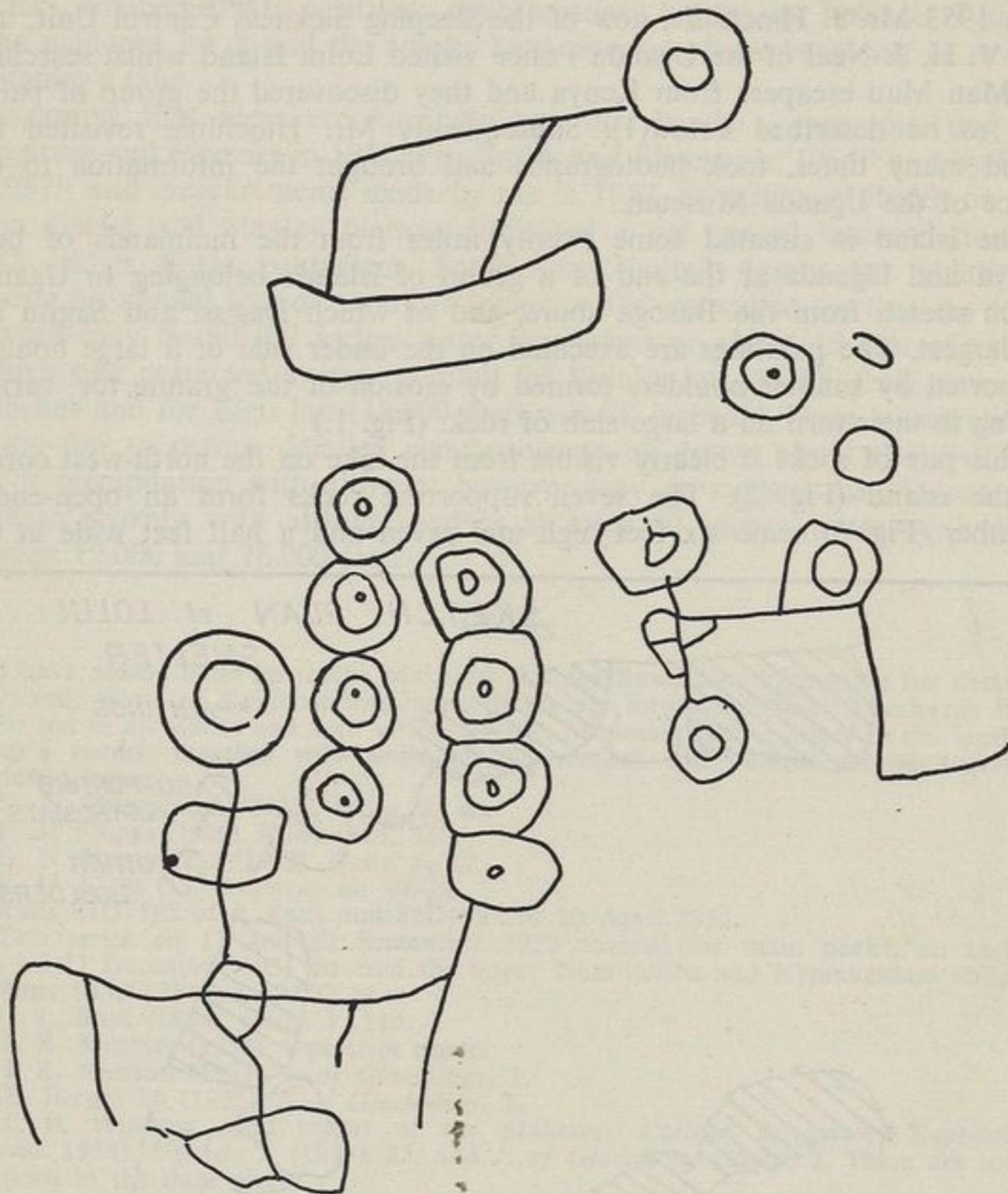


FIG. 4

Group of paintings in red on northern entrance orthostat.

as a shelter or a shrine. The floor of the chamber is worn smooth as if with the feet of many occupants or visitors.

The paintings themselves are executed on the four supporting rocks nearest the entrance and on the under side of the capping stone. Altogether there are seven groups comprising more than forty sets of designs. The only paintings executed on the exterior of the chamber occur on either side of the



FIG. 1
Lolui Island. The tumble of rocks with chamber beneath. Paintings on under side of
large rock and supporting rocks.

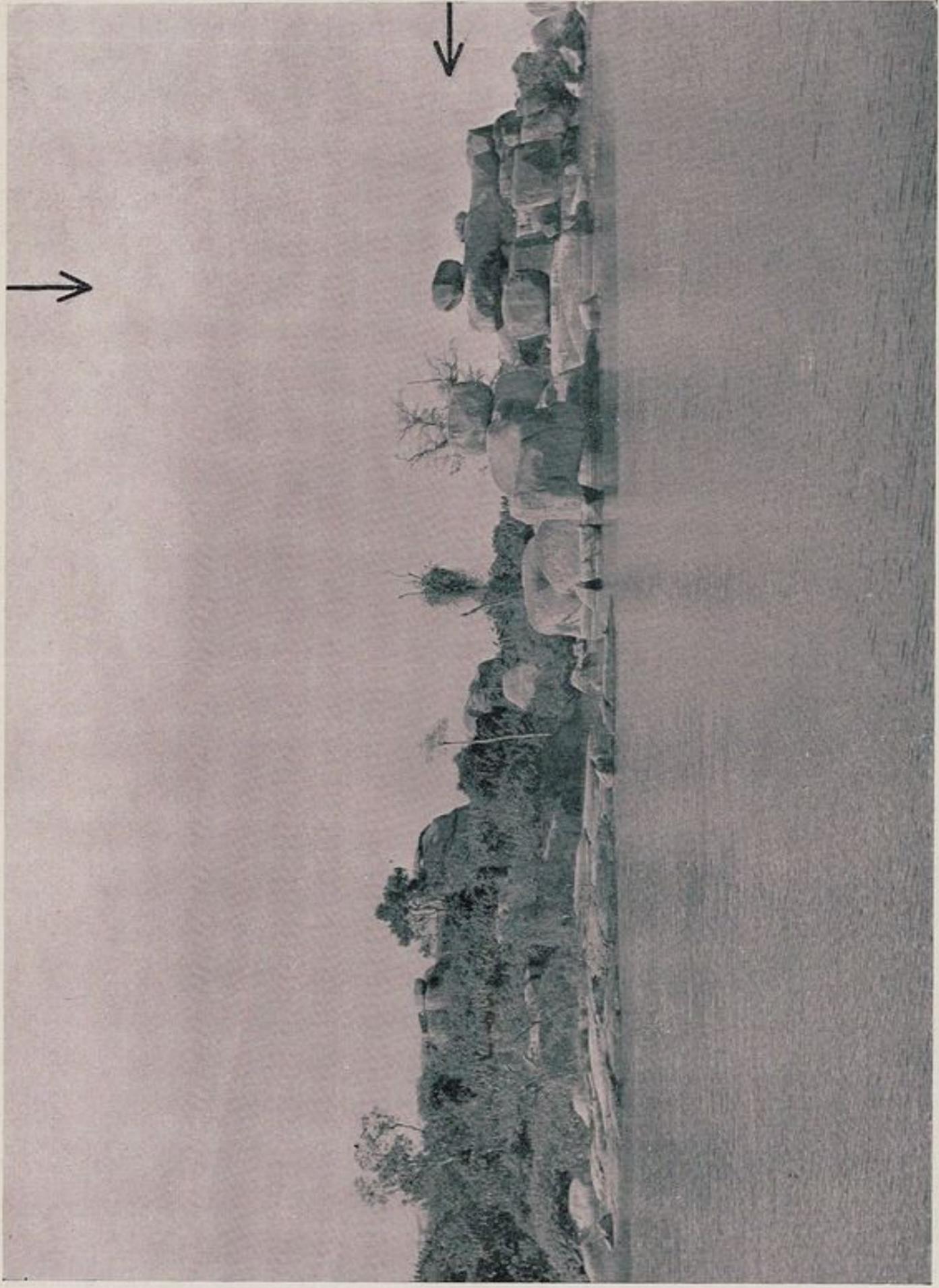


FIG. 2
Lolui Island from the north showing situation of rock paintings.

entrance. All the paintings are accessible and clearly visible. They are in two shades of red, a deep red and an orange red; the colour difference would not seem to be intentional and does not represent one set of paintings superimposed on a former set. The red colouring is powdered ochre and the paint would seem to have been applied by finger.

The designs themselves most clearly link up with the paintings previously described and listed by Lawrance in 1953, 1955 and 1958, and are of a geometric nature. Three groups are illustrated (Figs. 4, 5 and 6). Of the designs,

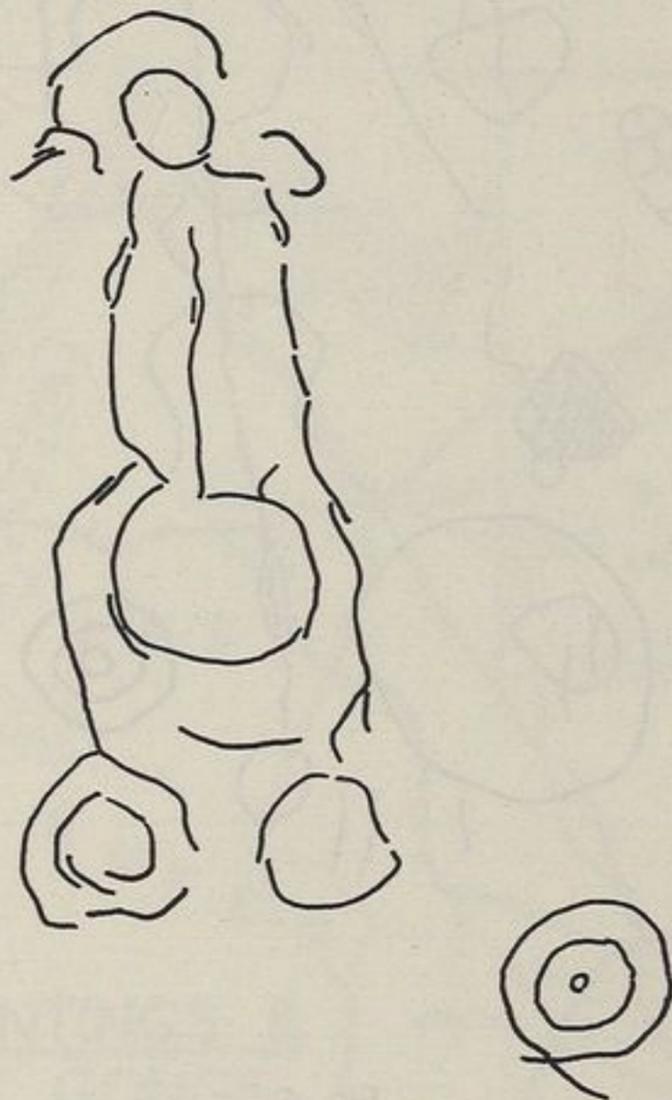


FIG. 5

Painting in red on under side of capstone.

that of concentric circles found at the previously described sites predominates. A frequent design is a dumb-bell like object in which two sets of concentric circles are joined, or in which one end lacks the concentric circles and is terminated by a simple enlargement of the connecting parallel lines. Two designs (Fig. 5) could vaguely be said to resemble a human figure. But as with geometric designs from the other Uganda sites the designs defy interpretation unless a phallic significance can be attached to the dumb-bell like designs of the type shown in Fig. 6. The only design interpretable as naturalistic is one which appears to be a dug-out canoe with a sail from one of the entrance stones (Fig. 4). The presence of a boat is of course not unlikely as the painters themselves must have been fishermen to have even visited Lolui. Canoes are also found at the Nyiro site(2).

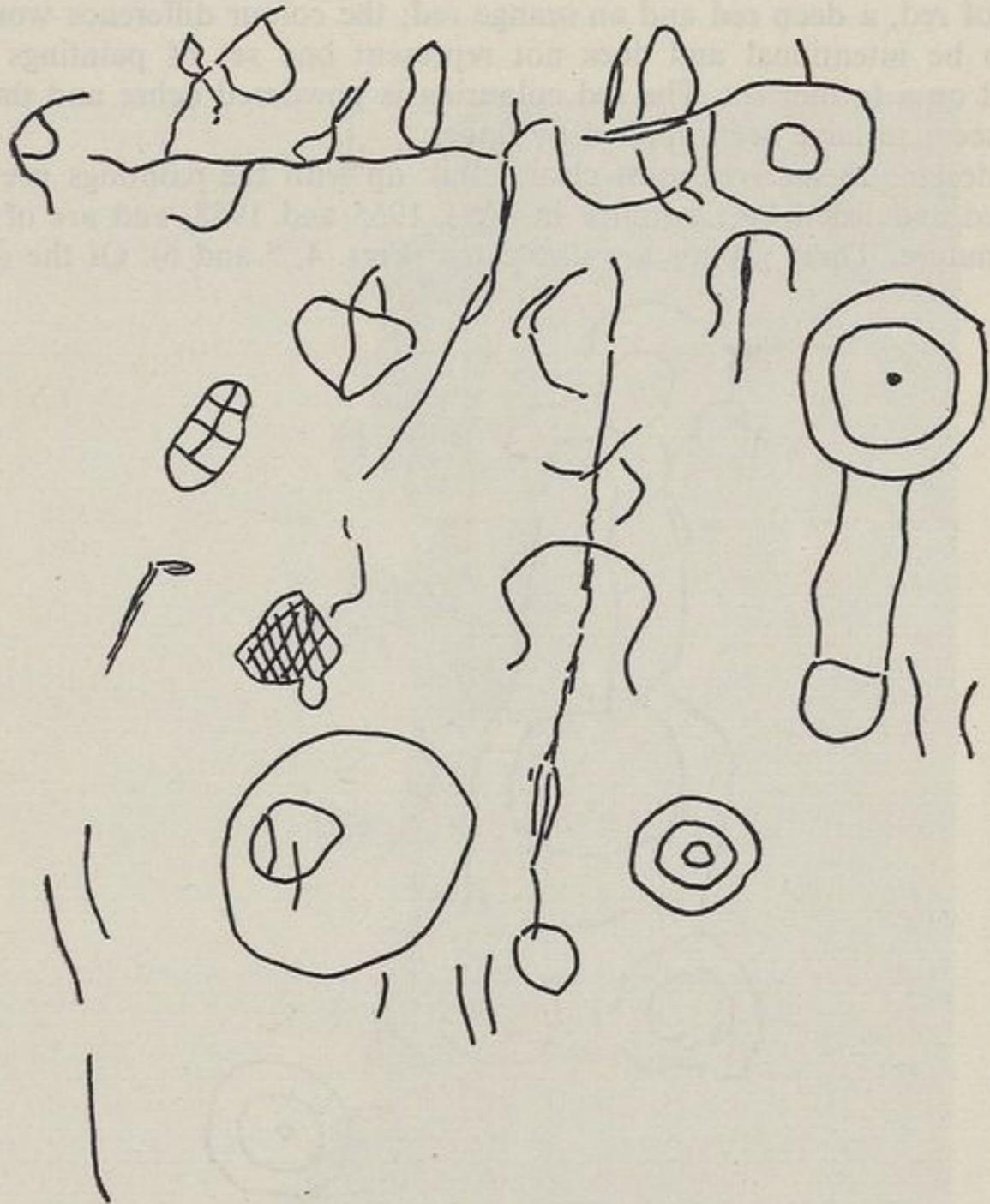


FIG. 6

Group of paintings in red on under side of capstone.



FIG. 7

Piece of decorated bone from Nyiro rock shelter. (Natural scale.)

Just below the site in a gap between the rocks a large number of potsherds were found. The gap is too narrow for habitation and it is probable that they were thrown there from above. There is no evidence to connect the pottery with the paintings. The pottery, though not of a type currently in use on either mainland, could have belonged to the inhabitants who were evacuated from the islands over fifty years ago at the time of the sleeping sickness epidemics.

What date can be assigned to these or any other of the Uganda paintings which clearly must be considered as a whole? Lawrance (1958) has indicated

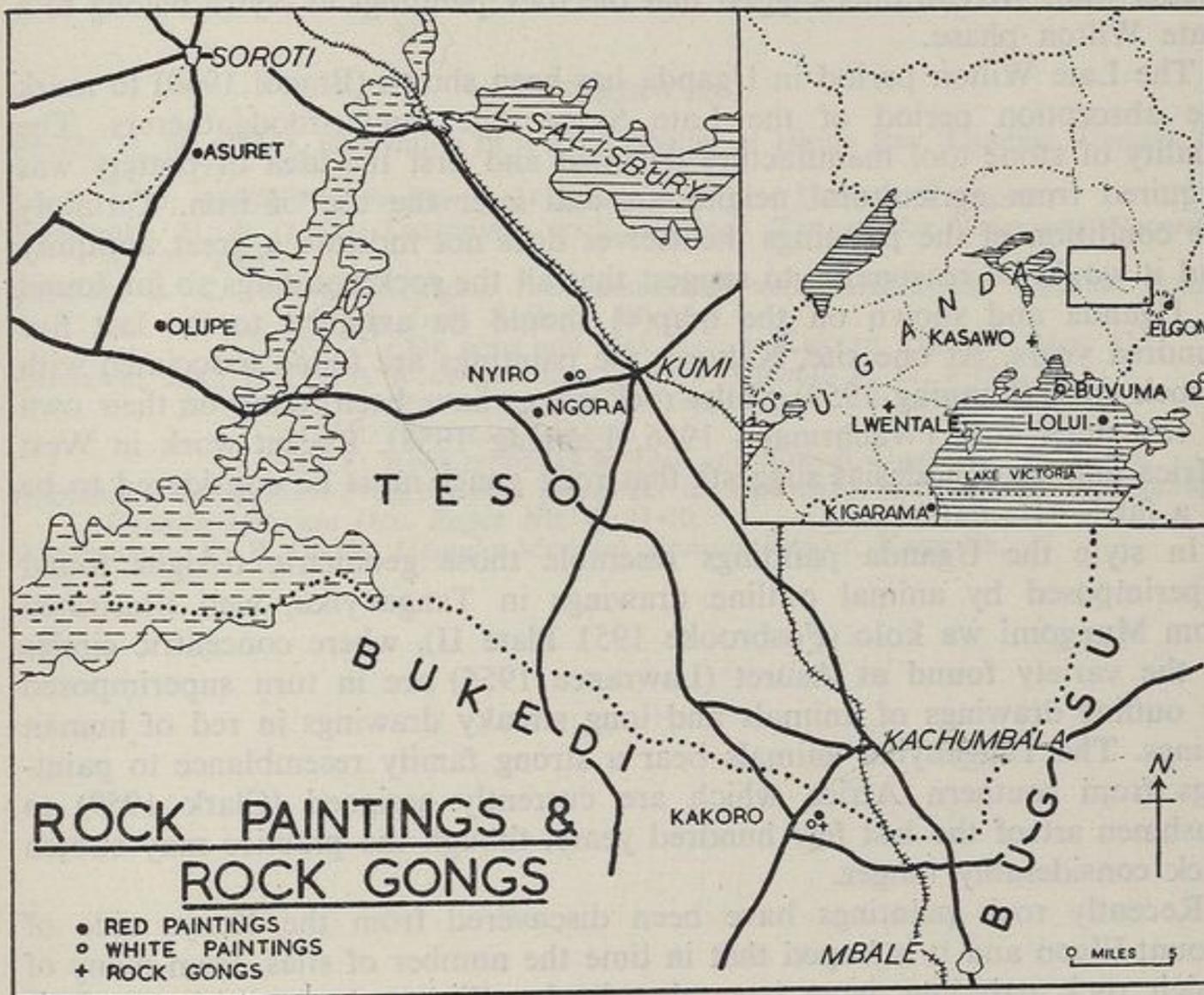


FIG. 8

that in Teso they predate the coming of the Iteso some two to three hundred years ago. He has also (Lawrance 1955) suggested that the small, pale-skinned people living amongst the rocks before the arrival of the Iteso were Bushmen. This would seem quite likely from the evidence of the absorption of the Late Stone Age hunter-foodgatherers by Iron Age agricultural societies (Posnansky 1959). Recently new evidence has come to light to date these paintings. At Nyiro in 1945 C. A. E. Harwich, the discoverer of the site, made a small excavation at the shelter and presented his collection to the Museum of the Faculty of Archaeology at Cambridge. The collection has not been studied in detail(3) but can be said to consist of a quartz industry assignable to a Late

Wilton occupation. The quality of the microliths is poor, and pottery, though chiefly found in the upper disturbed layers, cannot be ruled out as being contemporary with the quartz industry. A large number of scrapers were found whilst waste flakes of obsidian and other stone foreign to the immediate area were also present. Amongst the bones found during the excavation is one (Fig. 7) which bears an incised decoration of three concentric circles with four parallel vertical incisions below. This is the first time that any example of mobilier art has been found in East Africa in an archaeological deposit. The decoration is identical to that of various of the designs on the rock-shelter wall. We can thus suggest that the rock paintings at Nyiro belong to a Late Wilton phase.

The Late Wilton period in Uganda has been shown (Brachi 1960) to mark the absorption period of the Late Stone Age hunter-foodgatherers. The quality of stone tool manufacture declined and first the idea of pottery was acquired from agricultural neighbours and later the use of iron. Certainly the condition of the paintings themselves does not indicate a great antiquity and it would be reasonable to suggest that all the rock paintings so far found in Uganda and shown on the map(4) should be assigned to the last five hundred years. At one site, Kakoro, the paintings are found associated with a rock gong (Lanning 1959) whilst rock gongs have been found on their own at two other sites (Wachsmann 1956, Lanning 1958). Recent work in West Africa and the Rhodesias suggests that rock gongs must be considered to be of a fairly late date.

In style the Uganda paintings resemble those geometric designs found superimposed by animal outline drawings in Tanganyika, well illustrated from Mungomi wa kolo (Fosbrooke 1951 Plate II), where concentric circles of the variety found at Asuret (Lawrance 1955) are in turn superimposed by outline drawings of animals and long streaky drawings in red of human beings. The Tanganyika animals bear a strong family resemblance to paintings from southern Africa which are currently assigned (Clark 1959) to Bushmen art of the last few hundred years, though the practice may stretch back considerably longer.

Recently rock paintings have been discovered from the Kenya side of Mount Elgon and it is hoped that in time the number of sites, from many of which rock paintings have been described, will increase as the search is extended to areas other than the Eastern Province.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is deeply indebted to Mr. J. Hinchliffe for his initial information on the site, his help and company in visiting Lolui, for the use of Fig. 2 and for other photographs now in the Uganda Museum's photographic collection. Thanks are also tendered to Mr. P. Foley for his help in tracing the rock paintings.

NOTES

- (1) The initial discoverer of the site appears to have been Neal.
- (2) Illustrated on the front of *South African Archaeological Bulletin* No. 56, 1959.
- (3) The writer hopes to make a complete study of the collection and to augment it by a further excavation at Nyiro.
- (4) On the map (Fig. 8) the paintings described by Lawrance 1958 at Tira are shown at Olupe following the note by J. E. Compton and C. J. Hellberg, *Uganda J.* 23 (1959), 88-9.

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ISHEKINDI WILL GIVE BIRTH TO ISHEKINDI.
AN ANKOLE FOLK-TALE

By M. J. WRIGHT

It is tempting to believe that the last sentence of the following Ankole folk-tale, which is part of the Uganda Society's collection, does not fully rise to the point implicit in the story, and that it was something more than mere tenacity which kept the boy at the house of his bride-to-be after she had died. The tale is scrappy and not well told—perhaps other versions will be found which reveal that the boy was the only suitor really in love with the girl, and so received his reward in the end. On the other hand, the evidence on social attitudes in Old Africa points rather the other way, and suggests that the feelings of a bridegroom in this predicament would indeed have been comparable with those of a man cheated of a good meal, rather than to anything more profound or moving.

When I was collecting Lango folk-tales I came across a group of stories which told of the benefits of trust, love and kindness, especially in the family, and which did not appear to such an extent in the folk-tales collected from other tribes. I therefore suggested that the Lango had a preference for this type of story.(1) This Ankole tale, however, is similar to one of the tales in the Lango group, at least in the ending, and points to the other possibility in this respect—that the appearance of this type of story in the Lango tales collected so far is merely coincidental.

The Lango tale is called 'A Man and his Brother'.(2) A man pretends to be dead and finds that his brother, and not his best friend, is the one who stays behind to bury him; and so the brothers are reconciled after an estrangement. In a fairly similar tale collected from the Nyungwe of Southern Rhodesia, called 'The Untruthful Wife',(3) a man pretends that the carcass of a sheep is the body of a man he has killed, and his nagging wife reveals the extent of her disloyalty by denouncing him. In both of these stories, as in the Ankole one, the appearance of a supposedly dead body reveals the false friends and the true.

ISHEKINDI WILL GIVE BIRTH TO ISHEKINDI
(ISHEKINDI ERYAZAARA ISHEKINDI)

An Ankole Folk-tale, translated by A. K. K. Ruhweza

Once there was a man Ishekindi and his wife Kaihirisa. They had a child, whom they called Nyamugasha, and who surpassed everyone in beauty and was loved by all.

Hakaba hariho omushaija Ishekindi n'omukazi we Kaihirisa. Bazaara omwana waabo, baamweta: Nyamugasha. Omwana ogu tarabaire murungi akaba Nyamunyonyi! Abantu boona bamweyitira.

When she grew up, men soon began to bring goods in order to marry her. Some brought cattle, and she was married—yes, Ishekindi gave his daughter in marriage. First one man brought the bride-price, then a second and a third and a fourth—many people brought the bride-price.

Then people started to abuse Ishekindi, and said "Now you've done it, Ishekindi! To whom will you give the girl"? He replied, "I shall give them a girl—just let them bring the bride-price": So they went on bringing the bride-price; everyone who came brought it. His wife said to him, "Husband, what have you done? How will you deal with these people"? Her husband simply replied "Ishekindi will give birth to Ishekindi".

Eventually all the suitors came and knelt before Ishekindi, saying "Please give us our wife". He then agreed, saying "Come all of you to the wedding feast". The feast was prepared, and all the suitors flocked to the house. It was a wonderful wedding.

When the festivities were at their height Nyamugasha left the feast. The wedding lasted all night, and in the morning she died. Hold her, hold her, the girl is dead, and they wrapped her up, and all the people in the house wept. They dug the grave.

When the suitors saw that their bride was going to be buried, each one took his spear, and they left the body unburied, and some drove away their cattle. Only one boy remained, and he was terribly upset.

While they were taking the girl's body to the grave she coughed. "Goodness, we are about to bury a live person!" they exclaimed. They brought her back to the house, and gave her milk to drink, and she revived. Then she asked, "Where are all the people who were at the

Yaakunda yaakura. Baatandika okumutasisa. N'abandi baareta enkwata-rugo baashwera, yaabaha Ishekindi. Omuntu w'okubanza yaajuga, n'owakbiri, n'owakashatu, n'owakana n'okukiraho.

Abantu baamujuma ngu "Wazaara akantu Ishekindi! Iwe oryahingira oha orekye oha?" Ati "Nimbaha omukazi imwe nimujugye". Baaragara baajuga, buri owaija kushwera omuha. Mbweni omukazi jaarugaho yaagira iba ati "Owomwaitu, ebigambo waabitwaza ota? Abantu aba oryabagira ota?" Ndi iba ati "Ishekindi eryazaara Ishekindi".

Weeza ntakusibizayo abakwe omuhanda baguzamu bamwegaranjurira ishezara bo ngu "Mishi tuingire" Naawe atabagirira bibi ati "Nimutaasye obugenyi". Obugenyi babuzamu babutaasya; burugaho butaaha Abekwe enju bagijura; nga obugenyi bukunda bushemera.

Nyamugasha kwatsiga ebigambo byashemera, obugenyi bwararamu aricwa omu kanwa. Kwata-kwata omuntu agangara; bamuhinya. Eka eboroga omuntu ahwayo. Barima enju mbi.

Abakwe kubatsiga yaaza kuzikwa, abashaija batyo baabagana amacumu gaabo beegyendera ngu ekyosi titabashanga omuka omwo. Nangwa n'abandi ente zaabo baiteera. Bambe hatsigaraho omukwe omwe agira enshoni.

Mbweni batyo bamutwara kumuzika. Ku baba nibamuhitsya aha kiini akorora. Ngu "Eee"! Ngu "Twezire kuzika omuntu ahuriire". Bamuhotora, bamugarura omu ka, bamuha amate. Omuntu akira. Mbweni abuuza ati "Obugenyi bu naatsigaho n'abantu baazahi"? Ishe

wedding?" "When they saw you dying they went away," replied her father, "I told you that Ishekindi would give birth to Ishekindi".

Then the boy who had stayed behind was married to Nyamugasha. So if you intend to eat something, don't take your eyes off it.

amugira ati "Ku waakaba baagyenda. Tindabagambire nti Ishekindi eryazaara Ishekindi".

Mbwenu Nyamushaija ori owaat-sigaireho baamuhingira Nyamugasha. "Eki orikwenda kurya tokizorera maisho."

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- (3) F. Posselt. *Fables of the Veldt* (1929) p. 90.

ABO PHENOTYPE DISTRIBUTION IN TORORO SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By W. GLEESON

During the past few years, 369 students in two Tororo boarding schools have volunteered as blood donors. From school records an ABO phenotype distribution by tribe has been prepared. The data are published for use by social research workers. Tribal nomenclature follows that used by the East African Institute of Social Research, and described by Goldthorpe.¹

TABLE I
Numerical ABO Phenotype Distribution by Tribe.

| Linguistic Class | Tribe | Group O | Group A | Group B | Group AB | Totals |
|--------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|--------|
| Bantu | Chagga | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Ganda | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| | Gisu | 14 | 12 | 10 | 2 | 38 |
| | Gwe | 5 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| | Gwere | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 10 |
| | Haya | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| | Kenye | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 6 |
| | Kiga | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| | Nyuli | 7 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 11 |
| | Samia | 11 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 17 |
| Soga | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 6 | |
| Nilotic | Acholi | 4 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 7 |
| | Lango | 18 | 12 | 3 | 0 | 33 |
| | Padhola | 12 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 30 |
| | Paluo | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| Nilo-Hamitic | Kumam | 12 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 23 |
| | Sebei | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | Teso | 83 | 39 | 37 | 3 | 162 |
| Total Bantu | | 52 | 18 | 30 | 8 | 108 |
| Total Nilotic | | 34 | 21 | 17 | 2 | 74 |
| Total Nilo-Hamitic | | 96 | 48 | 39 | 4 | 187 |
| Total Population | | 182 | 87 | 86 | 14 | 369 |

¹ Goldthorpe, J. E. (1959). *Outlines of East African Society*, Department of Sociology, Makerere College, Kampala.

Percentage distributions are given for those tribes in which more than 20 individuals were tested.

| | O | A | B | AB |
|------------------|------|------|------|-----|
| Gisu | 36.8 | 31.6 | 26.2 | 5.4 |
| Lango | 54.5 | 36.4 | 9.1 | 0.0 |
| Padhola | 40.0 | 26.7 | 30.0 | 3.3 |
| Kumam | 52.2 | 39.1 | 8.7 | 0.0 |
| Teso | 51.2 | 24.1 | 22.9 | 1.8 |
| All Bantu | 48.2 | 16.6 | 27.8 | 5.4 |
| All Nilotic | 46.0 | 28.3 | 23.1 | 2.7 |
| All Nilo-Hamitic | 51.5 | 25.5 | 21.0 | 2.1 |

It is of interest that the Lango and Kumam, although in different linguistic classes, show a very similar blood picture. It is also interesting that in spite of the close cultural links between these two tribes and the Teso, there is a great phenotype distribution difference between the Teso, on the one hand, and the Lango and Kumam on the other.

The probability of drawing a sample of 17 individuals from the Bantu population, without a Group A individual in the sample, is $(83.4/100)^{17}$ or approximately 0.046. This probability is fairly high (odds, 21 to 1 against). It cannot be said, therefore, on the basis of the data given, that the Samia show an unusual ABO Phenotype distribution.

The assistance of the District Medical Officer, Bukedi, and staff of Tororo Hospital, the Principal, St. Peter's College, Tororo, and the Principal, Mathers Technical School, Tororo, is gratefully acknowledged.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE KIBUGA OF BUGANDA

In his 'Notes on the Kibuga of Buganda' (*U.J.* 24 (1960), 29-43) P. C. W. Gutkind treats Mengo and Kibuga as being synonymous terms for the capital of Buganda. I do not think this is correct. London has not always been the capital of England and the name is certainly not in English eyes synonymous with the expression 'the capital'. Similar remarks appear to me to apply to Buganda, Force of circumstances compelled Mwanga to remain at Mengo but, as Gutkind says, his predecessor, Mutesa I, more than once moved his capital. Reference to Sir Apolo Kagwa's *Basekabaka* and *Mpisa* shows that more than one early ruler of Buganda moved his capital (called by Kagwa his Kibuga) from one hill to another at quite frequent intervals. They had obvious reasons for so doing. The very large population inhabiting the Kibuga made a heavy demand for food on the shambas adjacent to the Kibuga, and this eventually led to a shortage of supplies in its immediate neighbourhood. More important still, the question of sanitation must often have made such moves a pressing necessity. It is also conceivable that at other times political or strategic reasons induced a Kabaka to move his capital from one hill to another

In this connection I venture to quote certain observations made by Dr. Roland Oliver at the Second Conference on History and Archaeology in Africa which was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in July 1957.

"In Uganda, for example, royal towns are dated by tradition not only exactly to a reign but to a part of a reign, and excavation of the middens of these sites might quite easily be made to tell the whole story of the development of the long distance trade."

I feel that, if there is a competent archaeological investigation of the traditional sites not only of the bygone royal towns of Buganda, but also of those in Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro and Busoga, we may eventually be able to obtain a firm chronology of events which took place in the remote past in those lands.

Cambridge,
October 1960.

J. M. GRAY.

Neither Kagwa's map, nor P. Gutkind's reference to it in *Uganda Journal*, 24 (1960), 30 and Fig. 7, are very explicit. Roscoe does not appear to say that the *kibuga* was on 'Mengo' hill, and it is not clear that Gutkind is using the term in the generic sense (*ibid.* p. 31). The *lubiri* in Kagwa's map is on Kasubi hill, where the Royal Tombs now stand. It can hardly be deduced from the map that the *kibuga* 'included' Bukesa and Namirembe.

It is not difficult to correlate Kagwa's map with the modern Series Y832, Kampala 1:25,000, and I find that (a) the 'north' arrow on the old map points approximately north-west; (b) the named plots occupy an area about 3 miles

by 2. If Roscoe's assertion is true, that 'the capital extended five or six miles in front and two miles on either side' (of the *lubiri*), Kagwa's map which he entitled 'The Capital', includes only about one quarter of that entity, which seems unlikely.

There is no 'river Muga'. All the rivers on Kagwa's map are marked 'Muga', which is the Luganda for a river or swamp (in the standard orthography *mugga*). The stream marked Muga which runs into Muga Nabisasiro is the stream into which Namirembe swimming pool now empties, and is marked 'Drain' on the modern map. I cannot see the river Nsoba on the old map; but the modern river Nsoba rises below the Kira Road Police Station and flows into the Lubigi through the Bwayise drain, so I should not expect to. The reference is presumably to the Kiunya (Kiwuunya). The site of the *Nyanja* (lake) and the road leading to it (*Lugudo lugenda kunyanja*) are indentifiable on the modern map. It was presumably artificial.

Makerere College,
24 November 1960.

A. FRENCH.

REVIEWS

BUNYORO—AN AFRICAN KINGDOM. By JOHN BEATTIE. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960 ix + 66 pp. \$1.25.

Dr. Beattie has packed an imaginative study of the people of Bunyoro into this small book, which is one of a series entitled *Case Studies in Social Anthropology*, edited by G. and L. Spindler. He was in Bunyoro for twenty-two months between 1951 and 1955. During much of that time he lived in villages away from administrators and missionaries, and the Banyoro came to know that he belonged to neither group. Perhaps that is why he managed to get first-hand information from the people among whom he lived, information which is not always willingly given to administrators and missionaries. The reasons for this reluctance are shown in the chapter on 'The Supernatural'. Dr. Beattie came to speak Bunyoro fluently and therefore did not have to rely on interpreters, who might have told him what they thought he wanted to know. His work throws much clear light upon the life of Banyoro both in the past and at present, and may help in explaining the apathy often attributed to the Banyoro.

Today Bunyoro is accurately called a district, because it is only a remnant of what is believed to have been a large empire. In spite of its small size, however, it is worthy of study for the reasons given by Dr. Beattie in his Introductory Chapter.

The inclusion of a chapter on 'Myth' may be regarded as superfluous by the general reader not acquainted with the Banyoro. But myth is very real to the Banyoro and any assessment of their social structure would be incomplete without some mention of it. From the point where myth and traditional history cease, Dr. Beattie gives a sympathetic account of the early contacts of Europeans with the Banyoro.

Europeans arrived in Bunyoro at a time when Omukama Kabalega was engaged in reconquering the empire of his forebears and had no intention of handing it over either to the Egyptians or the British. He goes down in the history of Uganda as one who bravely defended his kingdom against invaders, although he was hopelessly defeated in the end. Much of the material we have of this early period was written by people who were influenced and misled by the traditional enemies of the Banyoro and so it does not make happy reading. Dr. Beattie has set out to correct this mistake not in a sentimental way, but objectively, using facts, insight and understanding.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with "the system of political relations . . . which centres on the kingship and the hierarchical system of chiefs". The reader's attention is drawn to the traditional and modern ways of thinking about the Omukama and his chiefs, and the uneasy co-existence of the old and new values in this time of rapid political and constitutional changes.

The system of social relationships which must be confusing to many non-Africans, is dealt with in the chapters on 'Relatives' and 'Neighbours'. Here

the reader can see the causes of strain on young Banyoro who are economically independent and have adopted western ideas upon what constitutes a family unit.

Readers should not be deterred by the book's glossy cover. It is a brief, clearly written and very readable work on the Banyoro. It will be a useful guide to anyone wishing to understand the Banyoro, including those young Banyoro who, due to long periods of absence from their homes, are growing away from peasant attitudes.

SARAH NTIRO.

THE ASIANS OF EAST AFRICA. By L. W. HOLLINGSWORTH. London: Macmillan, 1960. xi + 174 pp. 8s. 6d.

The Asians referred to are the more recent immigrants into eastern Africa from the Indian sub-continent, who were formerly grouped as 'Indians', but have been divided as Indians and Pakistanis since the partition in 1947.

This well-produced little book tells the circumstance of their settlement in East Africa. It provides an assessment of the importance of their contribution to the economic development of the region, and shows a notably understanding grasp of their problems as a minority group.

'Indians' were emerging as a significant element of the settled population of the East African sea-board by the end of the 18th century. They had no political ambitions, asking only to be allowed to make their livelihood by commerce, to practice their community life, and to come and go in peace. Essentially these remain their purposes today. The rulers who exercised authority at the Coast during much of the 19th century tolerated, even encouraged, such useful settlers—industrious, thrifty, skilful and potentially exploitable; so that in the course of time they became well-nigh indispensable. The European penetration of the interior in the 1890s and particularly the building of the Uganda Railway opened the way up-country for the more enterprising among them, and many prospered.

World War I can be taken as the end of these more exciting pioneering days. Threats of restrictions and racial discrimination, particularly in Kenya, and a wakening national consciousness impelled the Indians into politics in the 1920s. The author skilfully threads his way through the tortuous episodes of the Indian Question, the Devonshire paper and subsequent developments.

There are interesting chapters on the use of Indian troops in East Africa and on Indian participation in the clove industry in Zanzibar, with a useful guide to the various Muslim sects. A similar note upon such of the no less confusing fissions of Hinduism as are present in East Africa would have been welcome. One would like to know how far the caste system has transplanted itself across the Indian Ocean.

This book can be highly recommended, and should be widely read at this time when the various non-African communities have to be fitted into the inevitably complex pattern for Africa's future which is now being woven.

H. B. THOMAS.

IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY. By E. R. VERE-HODGE.
London: Macmillan for East African Literature Bureau, 1960. vii + 95 pp.
Shs. 3.70.

This readable little work competently fulfils its claim to provide an introduction to the history of the luckless Chartered Company in whose hands, for much of its brief existence—a bare seven years between 1888 and 1895—lay the destinies of British East Africa.

The 'Foreword' is unfortunate. The author acknowledges the help afforded by P. L. McDermott's *British East Africa*, but remarks that "the fact that the book is largely an apology for the failure of the Company written by an acting servant of the Company more than restricts its impartiality. There is, too, the fact that the book was published in 1893 before it was possible to see the merits and short-comings of the Company in reasonable perspective."

But McDermott published a second edition of his book upon the demise of the Company in 1895. This (632 pages) is nearly twice the length of the 1893 edition (382 pages) and contains nine new chapters and several additional appendixes with—to the annalist most valuable—a 'List of Company's Staff'. It is hardly reasonable to expect the Company's London office to recount the tangled story with the judicious detachment of a Hallam, for clearly McDermott had no means of penetrating the arcana of the Foreign Office while the future of the Company was in the balance. But this second edition does present a comprehensive, well-documented and lucid account of the motives, the frustrations and the achievements of the Company.

Having glanced at this preface the reader might prepare himself for a partisan recital of the Company's many and obvious deficiencies. In this he would be agreeably mistaken. For the narrative is characterized by unexceptionable fairness and by an understanding of the Company's difficulties and failures.

The Company's story could be presented in allegory. The African Department of the Foreign Office might be pictured as controlling a select educational establishment, to which the Chartered Company is reluctantly admitted as a pupil who will do a stint of fagging. But an unsympathetic headmaster (Sir Percy Anderson) and a supercilious usher (Sir Gerald Portal) give the inexperienced pupil no encouragement. They come to realize that the intruder's parents are short of money and are moreover tainted by trade. Ways are found to force his withdrawal from the school. For the shelves and furnishings which he is unable to remove from his study, the parents are repaid a modest sum, largely provided by another pupil—the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Within his appointed limits Dr. Vere-Hodge's execution of his task is to be commended. But students of East African history may regret that the opportunity was not taken to present a definitive and more penetrating survey of the Company's policy and affairs. When a few years back the papers of Sir William Mackinnon were lodged with the School of Oriental and African Studies it was hoped that such a survey might be forthcoming. Miss de Kiewiet, now Mrs. Marie Hemphill, worked on these to produce a thesis

(unpublished) on 'The Imperial British East Africa Company (1876-95)' (London, Ph.D. 1955); but this has not been followed up. Furthermore the Company's official books deposited in the Colonial Office Library by the solicitors of the Company some sixty years after its liquidation seem not yet to have been expertly examined. The present account may well result in the indefinite deferment of the full length study which the I.B.E.A. Company merits.

The 'List of Company's Staff' shows that Simmons (p. 32) was R. T. Simons; and George Leigh (pp. 75, 78) was G. C. Leith. The 'Moslem kingdom or Unyoro' is referred to (p. 90), but, though in his later years Kabarega found it convenient to encourage Arab traders, there is little reason to infer that he ever embraced Islam, even nominally.

H. B. THOMAS.

AFRICAN DESIGN. By MARGARET TROWELL. London: Faber, 1960. 78 pp. + 75 plates. 50s.

The impact of African sculpture from West Africa upon early twentieth-century painting in Europe was strong and permanent. The powerful simplicity of design, the vitality and liberty with which African craftsmen depicted the human form and the shapes of animals have exercised a strong emotional appeal upon western Art. Not only in painting and sculpture but also in commercial design the primitive strength and uncompromising distortions have left their mark. Many of our now commonly accepted pattern motifs in poster design, fabric design, pottery shapes and abstract decorations are derived from, and owe their appeal to, the strength of primitive art.

For those of us who are neither scientists nor anthropologists and who have perhaps only a slight acquaintance with the African continent, the study of African design can be a formidable task, however eager and stimulated one might become at the beauty of some polished and carved calabash or textured weaving. Unless unduly blessed by free and easy access to museums and books the interest and excitement experienced at first sight of the lovely spontaneity of primitive art is apt to fade and die for want of nourishment. It is therefore pleasant to be able to describe a book that will please and instruct those who would know a little more of African crafts and that should also, by means of its excellent photographs, give visual pleasure to those who are well informed on the subject.

Mrs. Trowell, a resident in Africa for nearly thirty years, a painter and a teacher of art there, has given us in *African Design* a book easy both to handle and assimilate. The array of photographs is impressive, leaving the reader wishing for more. She describes work from the area commonly known as 'Africa south of the Sahara' and, in addition to the descriptive chapters dealing with the various types of crafts, there are brief semi-technical paragraphs beneath the illustrations which add to the information already given in the chapters. The facts contained in these pages concerning the methods and techniques by which primitive workers produce their designs, the materials at their disposal and the qualifying effects of locality, tribal custom

and traditions upon the pattern types makes interesting reading. These woven mats, carved gourds, modelled figures and shaped stones are the result of an age-old compromise on the part of the craftsman, between his materials and conditions, and his skill in manipulating and combining them to his purpose. A knowledge and understanding of his difficulties and limitations is essential before a full appreciation of his products is possible.

Primitive art cannot be approached from a purely aesthetic angle, for the desire to beautify only partly accounts for the decoration of articles used in pre-industrial societies. Superstitions and war-like impulses, tribal history and tradition, fashion and social status all influence the type and scope of design and motif, and this fact the author is at pains to illustrate. Her approach, she maintains, is that of the artist rather than ethnologist; her handling is on the visual plane and she goes no further than the necessary description of techniques and conditions. Having agreed with the reasonableness of this approach, since to have gone deeper Mrs. Trowell would no doubt have precipitated herself into anthropological waters, one is yet left with regret that curiosity, roused by illustration or brief paragraph, is left so unsatisfied. The remedy, obviously, is to follow up her numerous references, acknowledgements and quotations.

African Design therefore, is full of the sort of information which is bound to set one off in search of the many other works on this and allied subjects which Mrs. Trowell quotes throughout her book. As a 'starting post' for the enthusiastic amateur of African art, and as a visual record of work from many parts of Africa, this book deserves a place upon the bookshelf.

JOAN GREHAN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

J. P. Barber joined the Uganda Administration in 1956 and has spent most of his time in the Eastern Province, leaving Bugisu for Karamoja in 1959.

R. O. Collins is at present a lecturer in history at William College, Massachusetts. In 1956-57 he travelled in the southern Sudan collecting material for a book on the Mahdist invasions of the southern Sudan.

T. W. Gee joined the Uganda Administration in 1949. Much of his time has been spent in Buganda and he has also been Clerk of Executive Council.

John Middleton is lecturer in social anthropology at University College, London. He carried out anthropological research among the Lugbara and Madi from 1950 to 1952, and in Zanzibar in 1958. His full-length study of *Lugbara Religion* was published by the Oxford University Press in 1960.

H. A. Osmaston has been a Forest Officer in Uganda since 1949 and was a member of the 1952 British Ruwenzori Expedition. He has since climbed the Ruwenzoris on many occasions.

Merrick Posnansky has been Curator of the Uganda Museum since 1958. A research archaeologist, he has excavated in both Kenya and Uganda. In 1959 he conducted the first excavation in eastern and southern Africa which used African student volunteers.