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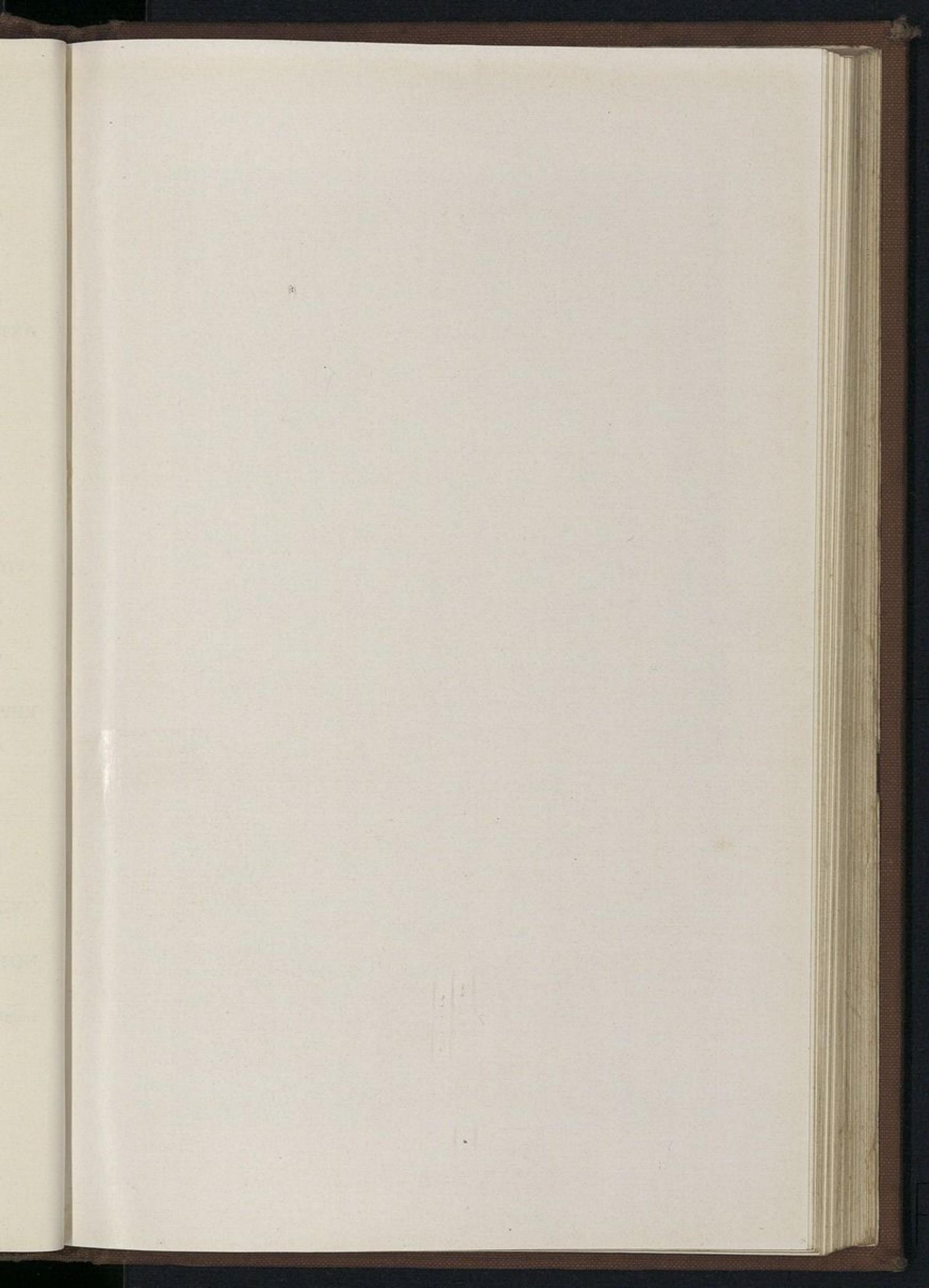
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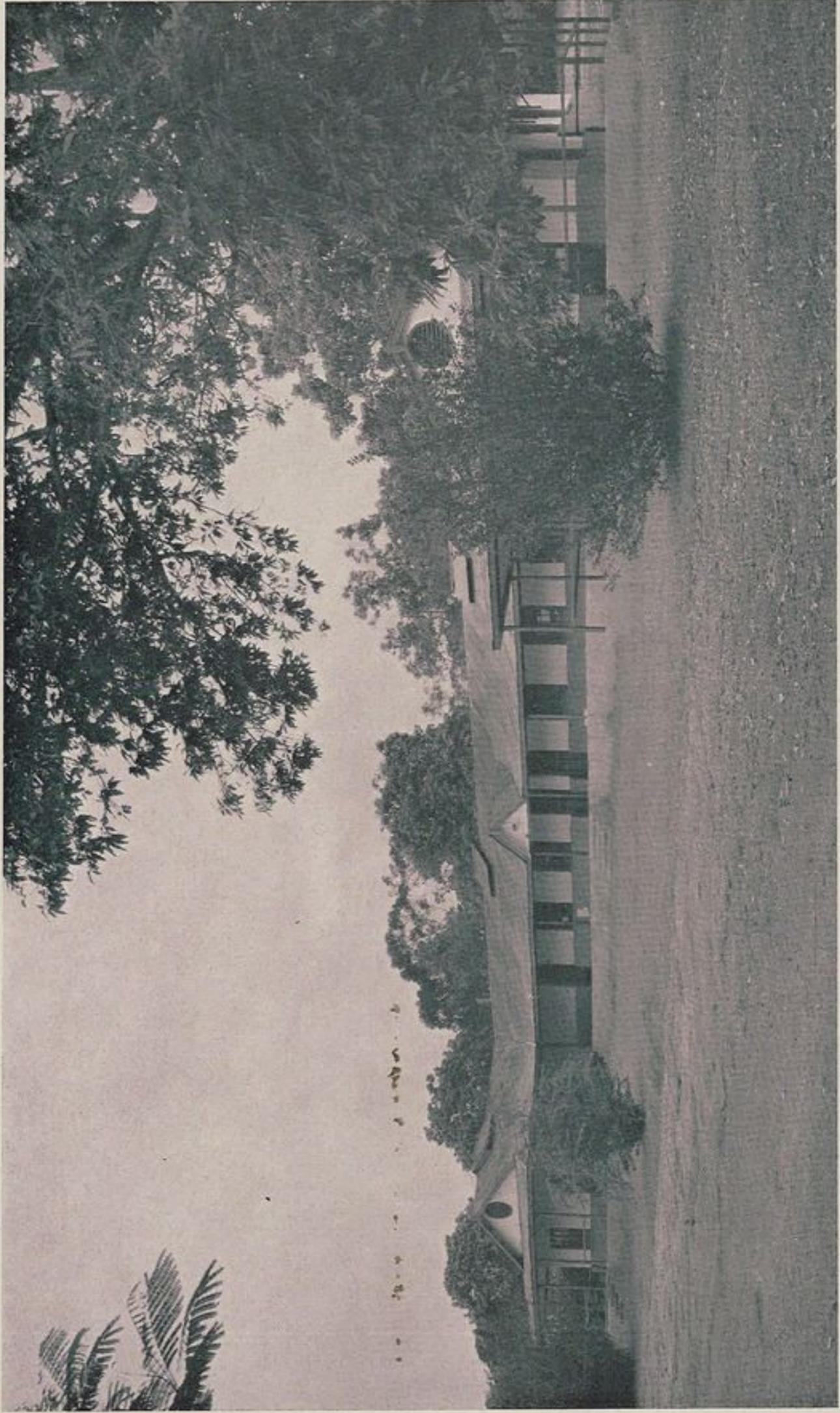
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[Photo: Department of Information, Uganda

FIG. 1  
Old Sikh Barracks, Kampala, The Society's First Home, 1938-60

## THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES

By SIR JOHN GRAY

THIS issue completes the twenty-fifth volume of *The Uganda Journal*. It will also mark the end of an arrangement of some fifteen years standing, whereby the printing of the Journal has been carried out in England. Henceforward, commencing with the issue of March 1962, the Journal will, thanks to the good offices of the Uganda Government, be printed at the Government Press, Entebbe.

So this is an appropriate moment at which to look back over the Journal's career—its inception, its vicissitudes, and its performance; and, as it attains its silver jubilee, to assess, by a random sampling of its contents, how far the aims proclaimed at its birth have been achieved.

*The Uganda Journal* was first published in January 1934 as the organ of the Uganda Literary and Scientific Society. This Society had been founded in 1923 by Mr. Justice Guthrie Smith, Alan Hogg (then Attorney General) and E. J. Wayland (then Director of Geological Survey) with headquarters at Entebbe. Its activities consisted in the reading of papers and delivery of lectures. Its membership, which was almost entirely confined to Entebbe, never exceeded seventy in number.

During the next five years over forty lectures were given. A list of these appears in *Uganda J.*, 4 (1936-7), 94-6. One, on 'Native Witchcraft' is published in that volume. It was the work of Percy Perryman, late Chief Secretary of the Government, and gave a thrilling account of his contacts with witchcraft and witch doctors in his early days as an Administrative Officer in the then primitive Bugisu District. A glance at this list shows the very wide field covered. The names of the speakers are evidence that the quality of their lectures was a high one.

Unfortunately there came a time when the little band of organizers either dispersed or became too engrossed by other activities to be able to devote sufficient time to the Society's affairs. It was found difficult to replace or to find a *locum tenens* for the Secretary when he went on leave or was absent from Entebbe. Subscriptions fell into arrears and lectures were not arranged. By 1928 the activities of the Society had almost completely lapsed. This must have been particularly disappointing to Wayland who almost without a break had been the Society's Honorary Secretary since 1923. Nevertheless he managed to keep the Society just alive by an occasional lecture from some distinguished visitor. Also, in the hope of a better day, he took care to conserve the Society's assets.

In June 1933 fresh interest was shown in the Society. By removing its headquarters to Kampala and issuing a journal it was hoped that wider support would be attracted and that the Society would be able to fulfil what

was clearly a much needed want. In July of that year a large number of people were circularized. The replies were so encouraging that it was decided to set the Society on its feet again, and the Governor, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, consented to become its first Patron. On 19 September at the Kampala Club he attended the first lecture of the revived Society. Very appropriately that lecture, which was on the subject of 'Gold', was given by its sole surviving founder, E. J. Wayland. It was mainly due to his dynamic enthusiasm and that of E. F. Twining (as he then was) that the Society had once more come to life.

In the Editorial of the first number of *The Uganda Journal*, it was stated that its aim was "to collect and publish information which may add to our knowledge of Uganda and to record that which in the course of time might be lost. To be a success it must at one and the same time have an appeal to members of the Society and bring to light information which is not otherwise readily available".

The original intention was to publish quarterly. Each issue was to comprise about sixty pages of reading matter with some ten or twelve photographs and was to be in two main parts. The first was to consist of three or four substantial articles. The other was to contain short notes. The first Editorial expressed a hope that "these notes would become a useful and popular feature of the Journal. There are many people in Uganda who from time to time acquire pieces of interesting information which may not be suitable for long articles, but which could make interesting notes. It is of course essential, if the Journal is to fulfil its purpose, that all members should be regarded as potential contributors".

Thus manifestly the intention of its parents was that the Journal should be concerned, not to provide a general literary organ, embracing local outpourings of *belles-lettres* and poetry, but to record matters of Uganda and associated interest. With very few exceptions this policy has been followed to this day.

In the Editorial to the second number it was stated that its predecessor "has been received with an approval which is most gratifying to the promoters. Since its publication the membership of the Society has risen from 172 to 269. Demand for extra copies has been such that the original edition of 400 is almost sold out and it is deemed expedient to order a reprint". Sceptics had suggested "that the first number was a mere flash in the pan and that there could not possibly be enough material to keep the Journal going". There were certain criticisms of its format. One helpful comment regretted "that there were no advertisements to provide really interesting reading matter". Today the reflection of those who survey with understanding the fortunes of the Journal throughout its life would probably be that twenty-five years of contributions, so far from exhausting the Journal's chosen field, have revealed unsuspected and continually lengthening vistas of knowledge. Perhaps fewer of the short intimate notes which were a feature of early volumes are now coming forward, with a preponderance of more weighty articles; but the balance may well change.

In this second number there appeared the first instalment from the pen of

one of Uganda's grand old men, Omwami Ham Mukasa, and this was the forerunner of other contributions from African members. It was printed in the original Luganda with an English translation with the title 'Some Notes on the Reign of Mutesa' a subject on which the writer, having been born in the reign of that Kabaka, was well qualified to speak. The Society owed a debt of gratitude to the Uganda Government for allowing these first two numbers, which comprised Volume 1 of the Journal, to be printed at the Government Press, and to Mr. J. Coates, the Government Printer, for the pains taken in producing them in so attractive a form.

Sir Albert Cook was the first President of the revived Society. His fame as doctor and missionary is well known. Here one need only speak of his services to the Society. His contributions to the Journal included personal reminiscences of the very early days of the Protectorate. Perhaps the best remembered of these is one on 'An Early Newspaper in Uganda . . . and the News contained therein', which he had delivered as a lecture in March 1936, and which was published in *Uganda J.*, 4 (1936-7). The audience greatly enjoyed his extracts from *Mengo Notes*, which had come out in the first years of the present century. The lecture drew attention to the fact that little was being done at that date to preserve the files of Uganda newspapers, whether old or recent, in such a manner as to make them readily accessible in the future. One result of the lecture was a decision to publish serially extracts from *Mengo Notes* derived from copies, kindly supplied by Sir Albert. These duly appeared after the War in eight parts in Volumes 10 to 13 (1946 to 1949).

At a Special General Meeting held on 27 February 1935, the original title of the Society was changed to its present style of 'The Uganda Society'. A new constitution was at the same time adopted. For the drafting of this the Society was greatly beholden to Mr. (afterwards Sir Mark) Wilson, one of the most devoted of the Journal's early sponsors.

The first number of Volume 2, dated July 1934, appeared from the press of the Uganda Printing and Publishing Company Ltd., which continued to print succeeding numbers until in 1942 publication was suspended owing to the exigencies of war time. This number informs us that at the close of its first year the membership of the Society was over 320. By the time the fourth number of Volume 2 came out in April 1935, the 500 mark had been passed. The Journal continued to appear quarterly until the end of Volume 7 in April 1940.

An article of great historical interest in volume 2, No. 1 was 'Ernest Linant de Bellefonds and Stanley's letter to the *Daily Telegraph*' by H. B. Thomas, which adduced evidence incisively destroying the legend (begotten of the fertile brain of Sir Harry Johnston) that Stanley's letter was recovered from the jackboot, which Linant was wearing when killed in a skirmish with the Bari. The following issue contained another article in Luganda from the pen of Yekonia K. Lubugo, 'Empisa ezokuzika mu Busoga,' which was translated into English by Miss Laight as 'Basoga Death and Burial Rites'. Two entertaining items in this number may also be mentioned. One was Dr. H. L. Duke's 'An Interesting Hybrid'. It gives a brief biography of a certain Alexander, who had for parents one Susan, a *sitatunga*, and "a reprobate

father, a fine young bushbuck with a roving eye and no scruples". A second note prints an unintentionally amusing letter sent in 1890 by that *hochwohlgebornen* Hauptmann Adolf von Tiedemann to Mr. F. J. Jackson of the Imperial British East Africa Company explaining why he was unable to challenge him to a duel. The recipient of the letter afterwards became Sir Frederick Jackson and Governor of Uganda. These items give some notion of the varied fare provided in the first volumes of the Journal.

As a result of the increase in the membership of the Society, the Editor of the Journal felt justified, in Volume 2, No. 3, in embarking on a number of improvements. Most notable was the insertion of coloured plates. The first article so illustrated was by E. F. (now Lord) Twining on 'Uganda Medals and Decorations', a subject on which he is now a world-known authority. Coloured plates accompanied George Hancock's 'The Major Pests of the Cotton Plant in Uganda' in Volume 3, No. 1. In the same volume began an ambitious series, 'A Guide to the Snakes of Uganda' by Captain C. R. S. Pitman, one of the Journal's most enthusiastic and versatile supporters. This was completed in eleven parts with 23 very beautiful coloured plates. The whole was published in book form by the Society in 1938 and is still a standard work of reference. One of the War's calamities was that the colour blocks while lying at the printers' premises in London were destroyed by bombing—an irreplaceable loss. Pitman's 'Snakes' was the forerunner of many authoritative natural history articles. To mind come Watson on 'The Wild Mammals of Teso and Karamoja'; Temple-Perkins on 'Crocodiles' and 'Elephants'; Weekes on 'The Birds of Ruwenzori'; van Someren on 'The Birds of Bwamba', a supplement of 111 pages to Volume 13 (1949); Eggeling on 'Ringed Birds recovered in Uganda'; Perry on 'The growth and reproduction of Elephants'; Greenwood on 'The Fishes of Uganda', finalized in book form in 1958; Cott on 'The Status of the Nile Crocodile'; and Donisthorpe on 'The Mountain Gorilla'. Hopkins on 'Lice' and 'Fleas' may not be everyone's choice, but typically these are scientific contributions of high quality and permanent value.

Resuming our survey of early Journals, by the time Volume 2, No. 4, came out in April 1935 the Editorship had been taken over by John Sykes of Makerere, one of the original stalwarts of the re-constituted Society to whom much is owed for conscientious service of a high order during the Journal's formative years. In this number R. M. Bere gave his personal experiences of 'An Ascent of Mount Mikeno'. It may not be out of place to mention that one of the papers read to the old Society at Entebbe was 'My Recent Ascent of Ruwenzori' by G. N. Humphreys, then a member of the Land and Survey Department, who was the first European to explore the higher summits since the Duke of the Abruzzi's expedition in 1906. Over the years the Journal has published a number of important articles and notes on Uganda's mountains—Ruwenzori, Bufumbiro, Elgon, and the west Nile hills; Bere's comprehensive account of 'Exploration of the Ruwenzori' in volume 19 (1955) comes particularly to mind.

The first of a series of articles in Runyoro appeared in Volume 3 (1935-6). This with an English translation was in response to an appeal for information

from Dr. J. M. Derscheid of the Colonial University of Belgium in Brussels. The title was 'Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara'. It is a history of Bunyoro-Kitara by a pseudonymous author, K. W. It is an open secret that he has since become a distinguished Honorary Vice-President of the Society and that his personal knowledge of that country dates back to the days when Kabarega ruled the land.

In the Editorial for the fourth number of Volume 3 (April 1936) it is said of the Journal that "its reputation is now well-established. To judge from enquiries there are few parts of the civilized world to which copies have not penetrated. One of the latest was from a gentleman in Moscow". Among contributions to this issue was one from Mrs. R. Pentreath on 'Superstitions in North Kavirondo', the first by a lady to be published in the Journal. Another lady contributor to the same number was Mrs. Persse, who drew charming illustrations for an article by her husband, E. M. Persse, on 'The Bagwe. Ethnological Notes and some Folk-Tales'. As the Editor remarked, the reproduction of fables current in an African tribe is to be especially commended since "tribal folk-lore may be doomed to early oblivion unless speedy action is taken by those interested in research". Another article providing an example of a paralld line of enquiry was a collection by C. S. Nason of 'Proverbs of the Baganda'. The aggregate over the years of the Journal's contributions in the field of legend, folk-lore and proverbs can well claim substantially to have broadened appreciation of African ways of thought in the Equatorial Lake Region.

Volume 4, No. 2 contains 'Music of Africa' by Y. Bansisa. This had been the subject of a lecture by the Rev. J. M. Duncan in 1935 of which there is a note in Volume 3. Dr. Wachsmann's 'An Approach to African Music' (Volume 6) analyses an expert musicologist's researches into indigenous music in Uganda. In the same issue of Volume 4 is 'The Black Forest Pigmies', the substance of a letter written by the now almost legendary white-hunter, Pete Pearson, who had accompanied the Prince of Wales on his first Uganda safari. This was published posthumously, and in Pete's own inimitable style forms a unique record of the ways of life of a little-known people. Another posthumous item was 'Mwanga—the Man and his Times' by T. B. Fletcher, who had reached Uganda in 1893. He had stayed on long after his contemporaries had quit the field and, at the time of his death in 1936, was still in light harness.

Volume 4, No. 4 came out in May 1937 as a Coronation Number in commemoration of the crowning of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. It contained articles on accession ceremonies in Buganda (by R. A. Snoxall), Bunyoro-Kitara (by K. W.), Ankole and Koki (by F. Lukyn Williams), and Lango (by Erimayo Olyech). The joint Editors were now Twining and Snoxall. The former who was pre-eminently qualified to speak on such a subject, gave a most informative lecture to the Society on the coronation ceremony at Westminster.

A notable event at the end of 1937 was the Government's offer to the Society for its headquarters of part of the premises in Nakasero Road, Kampala, which, from the fact that they had at one time been the quarters of

officers of the Indian contingent of the King's African Rifles, were generally known as Sikh Barracks. Until this time the Society had no place of its own in which to meet and to house its growing library and early records. Hitherto lectures and meetings had been held in the Kampala Club, by the courtesy of the Club's Committee. The new rooms were occupied in the course of the following year and, thanks to the great generosity of Mr. Norman Godinho, were soon handsomely furnished.

Volume 5, No. 2 (October 1937) with four succeeding numbers appeared under the sole editorship of Snoxall. In multifarious capacities, as officer and contributor he was for many years an indefatigable worker on behalf of the Society and the Journal.

At the beginning of 1938 it was recorded that "there had been a most satisfactory increase in the membership as a result of Mr. E. F. Twining's 'drive', but the small number of African members is still most noticeable". Twining's massive contribution to the vitality of the Society and its Journal continued until in 1939 he left Uganda to take up an appointment in Mauritius. As already said it was due to him and to E. J. Wayland that the moribund Uganda Literary and Scientific Society was revived and the Journal launched. He was later to return to East Africa as Governor of Tanganyika. Yet amid the manifold duties of his office he never failed to show that he had the cause of African studies at heart. He gave to the Tanganyika Society and *Tanganyika Notes and Records* every encouragement and support, and he continues to be a member of our Society.

A valuable article by F. H. Rogers on 'The Stamps of Uganda' appeared in Volume 5 (1937-38). During the war years Rogers did much valuable work particularly in connection with the Society's library to which he eventually presented his extensive collection of books on Uganda.

On 20 April 1938 a lecture on African Art was given by a future President, Mrs. Margaret Trowell, and an article based thereon 'From Negro Sculpture to Modern Painting' appeared a year later in Volume 6, No. 4. As is said in the Journal, readers "will not be surprised to find that she has formed such an appreciation of African Art and has done so much by her keenness and voluntary labour to stimulate it", and the hope was expressed that she "will for long be able to foster, encourage and advise our local artists and craftsmen". Mrs. Trowell's subsequent activities in the encouragement of art education in Uganda have won world-wide recognition and, as a permanent contribution to an appreciation of the indigenous cultures of Africa are of incalculable value. Other important articles by her are 'Some Royal Craftsmen of Buganda' (Vol. 8 (1940), 47) and 'Clues to African Tribal History' (Vol. 10 (1946), 54).

Even before the outbreak of World War II misfortunes began to befall the Society. At the end of 1938 Snoxall met with a serious accident. He had hurriedly to proceed on sick leave and at short notice R. S. Shackell acted as Editor for Volume 6, No. 3. Shackell should be remembered as having formulated what is perhaps the most intimate and practical guide to the rules and play of the Board Game, *mwesö*, in print. These will be found in Volumes 2 and 3 of the Journal.

Shortly after the outbreak of war Volume 7, No 2 (once more under Snoxall's editorship) had to record the sudden death of Alan Lush. His article on 'Kiganda Drums' in Volume 3 is an authoritative account of this most interesting subject. He had done much to popularize the Journal amongst all sections of the community with whom his touring duties as an Officer of the Education Department brought him into contact.

At length with the appearance of Volume 8, No. 1 (September 1940) the decision had to be taken to publish the Journal only twice a year. But with undaunted optimism the Editor expressed the hope that "even though the number of issues has to be curtailed, the amount of reading matter will not be greatly affected and there is no occasion as yet to be apprehensive about stocks of paper". In this number of the Journal had also to be recorded the departure from Uganda on retirement of two of its most faithful contributors. One was E. J. Wayland, whose sterling work as a founder of the old Society has already been noticed. His many lectures were greatly appreciated at the time and his authoritative articles and notes in the Journal are still constantly referred to. Another was H. B. Thomas, whose services to the Society were recognized in 1939 by his election as an Honorary Vice-President. As was recorded in the Committee's report at the time, "The Editor feels his departure acutely for his papers on Uganda history have been amongst the most valuable contributions to the Journal; his wise counsel on the affairs of the Society will be greatly missed."

At the same time it was reported that the Trustees of the King George V Memorial Fund had granted £300 to the Society's library and had promised an annual grant of £50 for the same purpose. This far-sighted benefaction enabled the Society during the worst of war years to secure copies of rare Africana which would today cost many times the prices then paid.

In 1942 Omwami Serwano Kulubya became President of the Society, being the first African to be elected to that office. His presidential address on 'Some Aspects of Baganda Customs' appeared in Volume 9, No. 2 (May 1942).

But this was to be the last Journal to be printed for nearly four years. In the Editor's words, "The blow has descended." Stocks of paper held for the Journal had come to an end and it was next to impossible to get blocks made, while the printers were busy on war work. It was hoped to publish occasional papers on news-print "but publication of the Journal in anything like its present form must be suspended".

After a considerable interval a slim green pamphlet printed on news-sheet appeared in December 1943 as Bulletin No. 1 and four more bulletins appeared to the end of 1945, these last four being produced in an improved format by the courtesy of Mr. George Bell, the Government Printer.

These Bulletins played an important part in keeping the Uganda Society alive during those difficult days. Articles maintained the same high standard as in pre-war years and a real debt is owed to the loyal contributors who rallied to the support of this 'holding operation'. They included Mrs. Trowell, Miss M. E. Head, R. M. Bere, Lukyn Williams, Snoxall and T. R. F. Cox with, last but not least, the veteran Ham Mukasa. Others were working

devotedly behind the scenes—Temple-Perkins, Dr. K. A. Davies, G. H. E. Hopkins, E. M. Persse, F. H. Rogers and Mrs. Saben come to mind as also E. B. Haddon. Ernest Haddon had already retired from Uganda when the Journal was launched and was the Society's first 'Representative in Great Britain'. Circumstances found him in Uganda during the war and for five years he undertook special duties for the Government. A constant friend and contributor to the Journal he is also one of the Society's most generous benefactors.

But special mention must be made of Dr. A. W. Williams, who was Honorary Secretary for most of this period and was particularly active in arranging for lectures. The members' undiminished faith in their Society could not be more practically demonstrated than by discussions which took place in 1944. A report of these 'Plans for Development of the Society's Activities', which is printed in Bulletin No. 3 shows remarkable courage and foresight which it is interesting to compare with the Society's present achievement. This unequivocally re-affirmed that the guiding principles of the Society should be those of a learned society.

The end of the war found the society in good heart. The Journal, under the energetic editorship of W. S. Eggeling, re-appeared in March 1946. From then onwards it was decided to publish twice yearly in March and September. Volume 10, No. 1, the first of the revived series, adopted a new format. An innovation in this issue was the inclusion (with an English translation) of 'Two Lusoga Fables' by E. Gumba and E. Kafuho. This is one of the few examples in print of Lusoga, a language with some curious phonetics which is largely falling into disuse.

Volume 10, No. 2, also printed by the Government Press, was a reprint, with some minor revisions and added illustrations, of those articles which had appeared in the Bulletins and were considered of lasting interest. With it was an Index to Volumes 1 to 10. The production of this bulky volume, in all of over 200 pages, owed much to Mr. S. Foote, the Government Printer, who saw all through the press in the absence of one of the Honorary Editors.

*The Uganda Journal* has been better endowed with indexes than many similar journals. An index to articles only, of Volumes 1 to 8 had been printed in 1941. The index to Volumes 1 to 10 embraced also a subject index. Later Lukyn Williams set the seal upon his already great services to the Journal by compiling a very much fuller index to Volumes 1 to 20, which was printed as a special supplement to Volume 22 (1958). The value of the Journal to African scholarship has been immensely augmented by the existence of this admirable index.

During this year of reconstruction, 1946-47, the Society had the good fortune to have its first lady President in Mrs. Trowell. It became clear that the Journal could no longer trespass on the goodwill of the Uganda Government and its overburdened press. Arrangements were accordingly made for future numbers commencing with Volume 11 (March 1947) to be published in England under the imprimatur of the Oxford University Press. From the very first number the printing was in fact done at the press of Messrs. Headley Brothers Ltd., Ashford, Kent. Later the mediation of the O.U.P. was

dispensed with and from Volume 14 (September 1950) the Journal has been handled directly between the Editors and the printers at Ashford.

Many of the architects of the first volume of the Journal are happily still with us. But the revered first President of the Society, Sir Albert Cook, having run a full course, died in 1951; and in 1956 Sir Mark Wilson, Chief Justice of the Gold Coast, died, still in harness, at Accra. He continued as a subscriber to the end and a few months before his death he wrote, "It was pleasant to see the Society celebrate in such flourishing condition its 21st birthday. As one who was present at the birth in 1934 in Twining's bungalow in 'Mayfair', Kampala, I almost felt the glow of parenthood."

In 1960 the Society moved its headquarters from the Sikh Barracks to the premises of the National Cultural Centre in Kampala. In order to qualify as a constituent member the Society had to provide £1,500. This sum would never have been forthcoming but for the substantial and generous aid given by the late Dr. H. H. Hunter (President in 1935-36) and Messrs. E. B. Haddon (an Honorary Vice-President) and G. C. Turner (formerly Principal of Makerere College). On 16 March 1960 these new rooms were formally opened by the Society's Patron His Excellency the Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, and here is now housed the Society's Library which Sir Frederick described as "a comprehensive library on the history, sociology, natural history, travel and other kindred subjects concerning East Africa, a library which of its kind is the best in Uganda".

If in my account of the Journal's history since World War II I have not gone into any great detail about its contents it is not because I fail to realize or appreciate their value; but it would be invidious to mention only a few and to exclude others equally deserving of mention. I will content myself with quoting a passage from Sir Frederick Crawford's opening speech:

The Journal has maintained a consistently high standard. Published twice yearly it has provided a wealth of information, scholarly and yet readable, on all aspects of life in Uganda and has earned for itself a very considerable reputation in academic circles in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

The credit for this reputation is due to a large extent to the work of its contributors, but had it not been for the well-directed energies of the Editors and many others behind the scenes the Journal's high standard could never have been maintained over the years. Once again I feel it would be invidious to single out individual workers, but I believe that there are many who would wish to put on record, as did Sir Frederick at the opening of the Society's new headquarters, the great debt owed to H. B. Thomas.

Sixteen volumes, Nos. 10 to 25, have appeared since the war. During these years something like twenty members, some for prolonged but a number for only brief periods, have shared the burdens of Editorship in Uganda. But for the past fourteen volumes since 1948 the scripts of every issue, and the subsequent correction of proofs, have passed through H. B. Thomas's hands in England on their way to the printers. The continuity of treatment thus achieved has stamped its pages with a consistency and coherence which is difficult of attainment in a journal so dependent on voluntary effort as is *The*

*Uganda Journal*. As Miss Margery Perham has said in acknowledging his assistance in the publication of *The Diaries of Lord Lugard* "his knowledge of the country is in a very exact sense encyclopaedic, while at the same time it is wide and humane"; and more than one contributor to the Journal will say with her that "the altruistic presence of Mr. Thomas in the background has given a great sense of security".

The following passage appears in the Editorial in Volume 2, No. 4:

It has been the experience in many countries that a publication like this flourishes for a few years and then is forced to reduce itself owing to apathy or lack of support. There should be no reason for such a falling off in Uganda. Our knowledge of the country, though constantly growing, is still comparatively small, and this Journal should prove a useful medium for dissemination of such knowledge.

These words are as true now as when they were written over a quarter of a century ago. As I turn over the pages of my well-thumbed twenty-five volumes it is pleasant to reflect that, thanks to the devoted labours of a multitude of those who have known and loved Uganda, the Editor's early fears have proved to be groundless. This is an encouraging augury for the future.

\* \* \*

#### EDITORIAL POSTSCRIPT

Sir John Gray's *aperçu* is defective in one particular—that he fails to refer to his own part in the formation of the traditions of historical and scientific integrity which have sustained, and will it may be hoped continue to sustain, *The Uganda Journal*.

Gray came to Uganda in 1920 with some experience of historical research. No competent historian had at this time turned his attention to Uganda or indeed to East Africa. Into this largely unexplored field Gray brought for the first time a trained historical sense. Stationed for some years in outposts he was able to get very close to the living heart of the country. He soon acquired a knowledge of Luganda and was thus the first to evaluate the vernacular works of Sir Apolo Kagwa and others, and to collate all with French and German sources.

Gray left Uganda for the Gambia before the first number of the Journal appeared. But he had already distilled his findings into three articles, which are printed in volumes 1 and 2, 'Mutesa of Buganda', 'Early History of Buganda' and 'The Riddle of Biggo'. These are seminal contributions of first importance and are among the foundation stones upon which succeeding schools of East African history, all non-existent thirty years ago, have been reared.

In 1943 he returned to East Africa as Chief Justice of Zanzibar, and at once renewed active association with the whole field of East African history. His explorations among the Zanzibar Consular Archives and of Arab, Portuguese and U.S.A. sources, have shed light on many opaque passages of history and have yielded a rich harvest of discoveries which he has shared

with impartial generosity between *Tanganyika Notes and Records* and *The Uganda Journal*.

His ripe contributions—among outstanding studies which come to mind are, 'The Year of the Three Kings in Buganda', 'Acholi History 1860-1901' and 'Kibuka'—have immensely enhanced the standing of our Journal in the world of scholarship; and his unswerving devotion to 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth' provides a precept for emulation by those upon whom will fall responsibility for the direction of the future policy of *The Uganda Journal*.

## LWOO MIGRATIONS<sup>1</sup>

By FATHER J. P. CRAZZOLARA

IN my book *The Lwoo*, in addition to my own field work and particularly as regards most of the evidence relating to the Lake Kingdoms, I placed reliance primarily on the work of Père, later Bishop, J. Gorju, *Entre le Victoria, l' Albert et l' Edouard* published in 1920. In this work he summarized the field notes, which he had begun as early as 1896, into a comprehensive and continuous narrative. Previous to this, from his thorough knowledge of the languages and peoples, he had published occasional articles in *Munno*; but finally he was charged by his Bishop, Monsignor Streicher, to complete his study and publish it as a monograph. For this purpose he was given all the facilities of the Mission, was enabled to consult all published material and to visit all parts of the country for his enquiries, which were made without need of interpreters for he had a perfect knowledge of the languages concerned. Everywhere he conferred personally with competent and authoritative individuals, mostly his old acquaintances. The experience and records of all his brother missionaries were placed at his disposal. Hence he was in a position to produce a work of lasting interest and value at a critical time, when competent elders could still be found in their original surroundings, and when local traditions were still largely unaffected by imported foreign theories. I am afraid that by now conditions have essentially changed and worsened. Old men who are competent to speak with authority on native tradition have largely disappeared; but their place has been taken by a bevy of new informants, even more eager to talk than their fathers; but who, often ignorant of old tradition and in any case incapable of adding anything more significant to it, mould and modernize it uncritically according to any new theories which have come to their knowledge and which seem to support their own tribal, national or racial aspirations. Gorju's work deserves to be republished in English and to be studied in detail by any serious student of the lake area. The latter, if he has digested Gorju's records thoroughly, will be saved the trouble of raising the same old questions time and again, thereby wasting his own energies and causing added confusion, and making no progress towards a definitive understanding of the historical situation. Gorju's work contains precious material; details from it can only be discarded after careful and prolonged study of such new material as is discovered.

With regard to the Bacwezi legend, and in particular the connection between the Bacwezi and the Jo-Cwaa, and the relationship between the Jo-Cwaa and the Babiito the following facts appear to be accepted:

<sup>1</sup> This article was originally prepared in September 1952 after the publication of Mr. A. C. A. Wright's review of *The Lwoo*, Part I *Lwoo Migrations*, *Uganda J.* 16 (1952) 82-8. Fr. Crazzolara's spelling of Lwoo words has been retained; these frequently differ from the standard orthography.

- (a) The short period of Bacwezi dominance in the Bunyoro area.
- (b) The dynastic relationship between the last of the Bacwezi and the first of the Babiito.
- (c) The Lwoo origin of the Bacwezi and the Bahima.

I propose to deal with some points referring to this matter in general. The Bacwezi-Babiito dynastic connection implies to my mind direct tribal relationship i.e. that since the Babiito are unmistakably Lwoo, so also were the Bacwezi.

One line of argument derives from the radical similarity of clan names and the coherence of the pattern of tradition in the areas concerned. To demonstrate this it is necessary to recapitulate briefly part of the historical narrative contained in my book. It is known that the Jo-Lwoo came from the Anywaah area in the Sudan, where the Jo-wat-Cwaa are still today the 'royal' clans, beside whom are found among others the Jo-wat-Bitho or Jo-wat-Yuaa. Today, among the Anywaah, the Jo-wat-Cwaa are much more numerous than the Jo-wat-Bitho. The contrary is apparently the case in Bunyoro where the Jo-wat-Bitho (or Babiito) outnumber the Jo-wat-Cwaa (or Bacwa). One may infer from this that, in the movement of the Jo-Lwoo from Anywaah to the south, a minority of Jo-wat-Cwaa and a majority of Jo-wat-Bitho were concerned. The Jo-wat-Bitho of Anywaah according to Professor E. Evans Pritchard (see *The Political System of the Anuak of the Egyptian Sudan*, and *Further Observations on the Political System of the Anuak*, S.N.&R. vol. 28 1947) separated from the main group of the Lwoo at Wipari and retraced their steps. They were the last to return to Anywaah.

Tradition indicates clearly that the Jo-Lwoo who marched south from Wipari divided into two sections when they reached the area of what is now the Bari District. One party, led by the Jo-wat-Cwaa, proceeded on the west bank of the Nile and thereby eventually reached Pubungu and thence Bunyoro. The other party, led by the Jo-wat-Bitho, proceeded east of the Nile, passing through Pa-Jook (Farajok) into the southern Agoora lands immediately to the south of the Agoro Mountain massif, where they halted for a while. We may note that in Pa-Jook the Jo-Ywaaya—a modified form of the name Jo-wat-Yuaa, which is the alternative to Jo-wat-Bitho—are the royal clan. Moreover one of the groups associated with the Jo-Ywaaya is the Jo-Biti, which I take to be merely a local modification of the form Jo-Bitho or Jo-wat-Bitho.

The western party, who pushed on fast, soon reached the ancient Nile ferry points and crossed into Bunyoro where the head of the Jo-wat-Cwaa became the ruler of the country with the title of Mukama. The Lwoo name Cwaa soon became bantuized into Bacwezi, as we know Pa-Wii changed to Foweira and we suspect Bura into Bwera. After some time, perhaps a generation, the Jo-wat-Cwaa (Bacwezi) who controlled the Bunyoro area, hearing that a much larger party of Lwoo led by the Jo-wat-Bitho, were approaching from the north, preferred voluntarily to 'vanish' rather than to fight with their own kinsmen for the control of the kingdom. This 'vanishing' we may take to have been no more than the withdrawal of the family actually holding the kingship and their migration elsewhere to avoid trouble. Meanwhile their relatives remained behind to welcome the new Lwoo immigrants. The

Jo-Cwaa of Pa-Wiir (of the Jo-pa-Lwoo) a large clan group still resident in the northern borders of Bunyoro, positively assert that their ancestors were driven from the throne of the Bakama by the Babiito. Furthermore they assert the identity of the names Jo-wat-Cwaa of Bacwa and Bacwezi all of which they say are terms used to indicate a single Lwoo clan group from which they themselves derive their identity (see *The Lwoo*, pp. 108 et seq.). It was, in my opinion, at the period of this Babiito invasion that parties of Jo-Lwoo emigrated from Bunyoro north-eastwards into Pajule (where there were Jo-Cwaa people) and westwards across Lake Albert. This explanation of the beginning and end of the Bacwezi dynasty seems to me to have the merit of greater simplicity and probability, as it is based on local tradition, than an explanation which involves such items as the introduction of a completely extraneous word like the Ethiopic term *chewa* 'soldier' which has been produced to explain the meaning of the name. I leave it to readers to judge, but would remind them that, so far as can be seen, clan names are the most permanent heritable expressions both among the Jii people and the Bantu. Hence it is no light argument that the Jo-Cwaa (or Bacwa) of Pa-Wiir positively claim that Bacwezi is Pa-Cwaa and that they themselves are descendants of the Bacwezi (see *The Lwoo*, pp. 108 et seq.).

A strong argument in favour of this interpretation of the name 'Cwaa' is to be found in the behaviour of both of the royal houses of Bunyoro and Buganda towards this name. Both in Bunyoro and Buganda the name Cwa (Cwaa or Cuaa) occurs twice as a king's name among rulers of the country. It appears that in Buganda there are three 'royal' families, one of which accepts the name of Cwa as their patronymic. This cannot but be an indication of historic antiquity. Thus we see that the families who were actually connected with Bacwezi preserved the name exactly, while the surrounding Bantu modified it as a general nickname for the invaders of the country. It would be too much to expect that rulers of these areas should openly connect themselves with the Jo-Cwa of the Jo-pa-Lwoo in Pa-Wiir or with the dispersed Ba-Cwa among the Bantu; the name taken by the rulers is a significant indication of their original relations. There are, it may be said in passing, other instances elsewhere among the Lwoo of dethroned families who continued to be considered as quasi-royal (*lokaal*) clans even after they had been ejected from power, and who continued to live with the 'commoners' alongside the more recent occupant of the throne.

The Bacwezi subsequently became important figures in local religious cults, and, hence it is not surprising that later detachments of the old Jo-wat-Cwaa (Pa-Wiir), who eventually became bantuzized, should remain as 'Ba-Cwa' thereby producing a linguistic distinction between the ordinary clan name in daily use and the community of ancestral individuals who had undergone a form of apotheosis.

Importance has been attached to the fact that the *mpako* (or *pak*) praise-names, which are of undoubted Lwoo linguistic origin, are not used by the pure aristocratic Bahima of Ankole. Gorju (op. cit., p. 56) refers to this custom as a peculiarity of Bunyoro, of the great Bacwezi personages and their descendants. Maddox shows that these names are also used in Toro and that

they numbered twelve. I do not know how much further this custom extends, but does it matter very much? The important points are; first, that stated by Gorju (op. cit., p. 50 et seq.) that the Bacwezi were Bahima leaders and are revered as such by modern Bahima; second that the *mpako* praise-names are closely associated with Bacwezi tradition; third, that the *mpako* names are all Lwoo. The inference from the conjunction of these three points is that the Bahima are Lwoo.

It may be, I agree, a fact of some importance that the *mpako* names are not found in Ankole, where the largest aggregation of Bahima folk are resident today; but it is equally important and significant that these names are not found among the greater part of the Acholi, who are undoubtedly no less Lwoo, though—as I have recorded—the names are found again among the related Shilluk. The reason is not readily explained; it suggests the possibility of some distinct layer of migration or of some group distinction within the Lwoo community. The *pak* names do not occur among those Lwoo groups who came south as elements of the original party led by the Jo-Cwaa (as the Jo-Okoro of Aluur, and the Acooli of Patiko and Aleero), nor are they found among those clans who later emigrated from Bunyoro towards Pajule at the time of the Babiito invasion of Bunyoro, and who later dispersed from there over eastern Acooliland. These latter are the Liira-pa-Lwoo, the Pa-Yiira etc., who are generically known as having originally come from 'pa-Cwa' (of Pa-Wiir) and who eventually gave the geographical name of 'Chua' to that area. I would add a small point of personal observation, that when staying at Agooro and Madi Opei it struck me how much the physical features of the people there resembled those of the Pa-Wiir and Bunyoro peasantry.

There is another point of similarity in social structure, which would suggest a common Lwoo custom. As I have mentioned before, cases of dethronement are by no means unknown in other Lwoo communities. Where this has occurred, the retiring family has usually taken over, or has been given, the right to look after the protecting spirits of the country. In other words they have been charged with the priestly duties in the community. Wherever I have noticed this situation among the Lwoo, the respective dethroned group is up to this day carrying out its priestly duties with great regularity and strict observance and I have often wondered whether this duty was to be regarded as a privilege or as a punishment, or a mixture of both, so as to 'tie down' the family concerned to a restricted range of operation. This would appear to be the function of the charge of a *barheth* for royal wives in the Shilluk country, an example of what might be called in English slang "being kicked upstairs".

In a similar way, I suggest, the Bacwezi royal family, having been ousted from the kingship by the Babiito, was granted a status which involved widespread and growing prestige in the whole dependent Bantu area to the south. The Bacwezi attained divine status among the Bahima just as Nyikaango attained it among the Shilluk. Both are now the objects of extensive religious cults.

It should at this stage be clear that the Bahima or Bahuma are the descendants of the people who came under the leadership of the Jo-Cwaa and the

Jo-Bitho to occupy Bunyoro. While the Jo-Cuaa became priests and divine persons, the Jo-Bitho were installed as chiefs and kings and have remained so ever since. Gorju speaks (op. cit., p. 50 et seq.) "of conflicts of interest which have lasted for centuries between the Banyoro and the Bahima". This is a significant statement, for, from extant tradition, the Banyoro were the dominant tribe of the country at a period prior to the Lwoo invasion. They were ruled by the *Abatembuzi* dynasty, a name which suggests the same Ma'di origin which extant tradition also supports. *Nyoro* is in fact not a Lwoo name but a Madi one, which occurs in the forms *Nyoro*, *Nyori* or *Nyore* in several places among the Madi east of the Nile, as Bari. The Madi group name *Madi-Ndri* is repeated in translation in the Aluur name *Madi-Dyel* and again in the Bantu name *Abatembuzi* (literally Abaita-mbuzi, 'who slaughter goats'). The collective name *Madi-Ndri* is still used today to indicate those Madi who live in West Nile District between the Logbara and the Aluur with their headquarters at Okollo and Olepi. It is probable that the name at a period prior to the Lwoo invasion comprised also the Aluur extending to the south up to Lake Albert and across the Nile into Bunyoro where the cognomen was bantuized and turned into a nickname in accordance with the Bantu grammar.

Bu-Nyoro, Bu-Gaya, Toro, Ba-Jao, Bu-Cope, Bu-Dongo, Bwera, Bu-Ganda, Bu-Ruli are similarly all names of Madi linguistic origin which suggest a protracted Madi occupation of the country. As regards this, old Acooli tradition says plainly: Munyoro Madi i.e. Bunyoro was Madi country. In support it may be noted that the praise name of the Bahuma in Runyoro and Toro is *bara* (or *bala* in Bantu speech), which derives direct from *Baar* the alternative tribal name of the Madi. The *bara* praise-name was probably given to the Bahuma by the Madi-Nyoro people in imitation of the Lwoo custom, which they learnt from Bacwezi-Bahima conquerors, but with the intention of recognizing and stressing the antagonism between them. This antagonism is very far from any suggestion that the Bacwezi invasion was a voluntary occupation. (Gorju, op. cit., p. 46 et seq.)

One of the most important Bahima clans, according to Gorju (op. cit., p. 33), is that of the Bashambo of Ankole and Mpororo. This group is also well known further north in Aluur country where they are referred to as the *Jo-Kicambo* or *Jo-Kisambo*. Small fractions of them are still resident in Parabok, Aleero, while among the *Jo-Naam* of West Nile District they are universally recognized as having been the 'royal clan' of the area, before they were ousted by the Koc-Ragem clan (of Wadelai). As to their origin it is probably Madi (compare the name La-Tsam found among the Boori/Madi in the Sudan and elsewhere). These Bashambo, with the Bahima clans, the rulers of Ankole who claim a direct descent from the first Bacwezi invaders, together form a most important part of the community now known as Bahima in Ankole. The constitutional balance between these two groups and their various allies and cadet clans is a very significant one. The late Nuwa Mbaguta with the post of Enganzi wielded very nearly as much power as did Kahaya, the Omugabe himself. There is no need to labour this particular point any further; it will be more useful to provide a brief reconstruc-

tion of the outline of historical conditions in the region north of the lakes starting about the year A.D. 1,000.

I would stress that I do not agree with the school of ethnology which prefers to use artificial and, in my opinion, meaningless terms such as 'Nilotic', 'Nilo-Hamitic', 'Sudanic' etc. as labels for groups of tribes with linguistic and cultural affinities. Here at any rate we are dealing with clearly distinct racial political communities, and it is both more accurate and more convenient to use the group names by which they have been known to one another for centuries, that is to say 'Lwoo', 'Lango' and 'Madi' (Baar).

The area with which I wish to deal lies approximately between latitude  $5^{\circ} 3' 6''$  and  $2^{\circ}$  N., and longitude  $30^{\circ}$  and  $36^{\circ}$  E., and I would term it the Agooro Section. At the period in question the Agooro Section so far as can be established was inhabited by two large races, the Madi and the Lango. The boundary line between these two peoples extended roughly from the region of Paari/Lepfool (Lafon Hill on the maps) through PaJook (Farajok) to Wadelai. To the west of this line lived the Madi (Baar), to the east the Lango. There may have been small pockets of people of different races on isolated hill features such as the Didinga (Nangeya); but generally speaking these two large races with their numerous subdivisions were the occupants of this large territory. The Madi universally called their eastern neighbours 'Lango', while the latter normally referred to the Madi by preference as 'Baar'. The Lango do not appear ever to have used a common collective name for themselves, though *Kumi* or *Kume* seems to have been fairly widely used. On the other hand the Madi and more recently the Madi/Lwoo mixture (i.e. the present Aluur and Acooli) have always and everywhere called them 'Lango'. Travellers in these regions fifty to sixty years ago often mention this name. The Jopa-Lwoo (Pa-Wiir), the Aluur, the Acooli as far as Fa-Jook (Farajok) all speak of their north-eastern and eastern neighbours generally as 'Lango'. The Jo-Lwoo (Jaluo) in Kisumu use the same expression for the Masai to the east. To this generic name, qualifying adjectives such as 'Dyang', 'Omiru' etc. are added to give specific indication of a particular group.

The term 'Lango' thus comprises the Lotuko, Topotha, Turkana, Karamojong etc., the Nandi, Masai, Kipsigis etc. and, by inference as being part of the same tribal community, the Bari and the Lowi (Kakoa or Kakwa).

By contrast 'Madi' was and is the collective name for a group of tribes comprising the Meru, Avokaya, Keliko, Lango, Lugbara, Lolubo as well as the Madi tribes as so recognized in West Nile District today. This is the generic name they have always used for themselves which is everywhere known and used beside the specific divisional names. In Acooli tradition, people who are obviously of Madi descent will, speaking of themselves, repeat the phrase *Wa au Baar* (we came from Baar) without the people as a rule being aware that it means Madi. The name *Baar* is the old name by which the Lango knew them and, as the Madi gradually infiltrated into Lango country apparently by friendly settlement without fighting, they became accustomed to the name which the Lango gave them and preserved it in their traditions. In some cases however the name *Baar* became the specific name of certain regional groups of the same descent and has remained so up to date. In particular the name *Baar* became in

the first place attached to the country around Rejaf and has remained so in spite of the occupation of that territory by invading Lango. Old residents used it to refer to the district and not as their tribal name. Modern *Bari* declare that *Bari* was not their name originally. The Madi/Lango mixture which occurred slightly further south was later infiltrated by Lwoo elements, so that the present tribe is neither one nor the other but an amalgamation of all three elements known as 'Acooli'. The names *Baar*, *Jo-Baar*, *Bari* are found among the Acooli, the Jo-Lwoo of Kisumu, the Madi of West Nile District, the Lugbara and even Anywaah. The Aluur are called *Bari* by the Lugbara as well as *Aluur*; by the Madi-Ndri *Bori*. The Banyoro, as I have already mentioned retained the praise-name *Bala* as a reminder of their origin. The Didinga still call the Acooli *Pari* or *Vari* as the country which the Acooli occupy today was formerly Madi country and ruled by them. The Didinga call the Paari/Lepfool people (of Lafon Hill in Lotuka District) by the name *Nyoro* thus preserving some old recollection of the apparent connection between the Pugeru (the first Madi-inhabitants of Lepfool hill) with the Nyoro-Madi group of old. The very name *Paari* used for the Lepfool people is probably connected with the same root *Baar* which we are discussing.

About the year A.D. 1,000 (it cannot have been much later in view of the subsequent prolonged tribal movements which took place), there started a widespread invasion by the Lango of *Baar* (i.e. the Nile Valley region occupied by the Madi). Little by little the Lango occupied or dominated the whole country and those Madi who were able, or so wished, started moving out from their old homeland in almost every direction except directly east. It is to this period that we may possibly attribute the formation of the nucleus of the Lwoo group. Parties of Madi with perhaps some Lango intermixed moved north-north-west along the Nile and eventually came to settle in what is now the modern Atwot Country. Here the Madi party, possibly with some Lango, joined up with other (?Lwoo) parties and thus came to form the Lwoo part of the Jii-speaking groups along with the Naadh and the Jaang tribes, between which powerful peoples this relatively small mixed community was confined. The possibility must be admitted that among these Madi (and Lango) moving from Rejaf northwards, there were *Cwaa* groups also. What their origin was we do not know. I personally believe that the name *Cwaa* was in origin derivable from the Ethiopian *Shoa* as *Baar* was from *Borana*. Similarly I suspect the transformation of *Cwaa* and *Cwezi* into *Cwazi* and *Swazi* further south in Africa.

The tribal name *Boor* found near Rafil on the Sue river is Madi to all appearances and, among the Boor and the adjacent Jo-Lwoo of Wau, a good number of other Madi names are to be found, even a clan known as Fi-Madi. These facts all point in the same direction supporting the hypothesis of migration which I have outlined above.

In consequence of these epoch-making events in what is now northern Uganda and south-eastern Sudan the whole territory between, say, the Atwot area and Lake Albert became an area of violent political instability, which condition probably persisted for several centuries thus presenting an exceedingly difficult and dangerous area for any travellers to try and cross.

This newly formed community, the Lwoo, eventually found conditions too hazardous for them in this area. They had to clear out and run for their lives. The traditions and geographical situation of several small independent Luuo groups, such as the 'Manangeer' (known as 'Bari' by the Naadh), who live north and west of the important Jo-Luuo groups at Au, is an indication of this event, as is the presence of numerous small independent families of 'Jo-Loh', who are said by the Jikany Naadh on the Bahr el Ghazal to have originated and to have come from the Atwot region to the south, and thence to have settled in dispersed groups among the Naadh (Nuer) to the north and probably elsewhere. The tradition relating to these 'splinter sections' is eloquent witness to the catastrophe which fell upon the main Lwoo group in the area where originally their tribal nucleus had been formed.

At this period the Atura-Pukwac-Nimule triangle, together with territories as far north-east as the Agooro Mountains, as far west as the present Aluur and Lugbara areas, and as far south as Bunyoro, had come under Madi domination. This was the period when Bunyoro acquired its Madi name 'Nyoro' under the rule of the Batembuzi dynasty. In passing we may note that *Ngira* is another Madi (not Bantu) tribal name which might be the derivation of the Luganda word *Balangira*.

As regards place-names I doubt whether many of Lwoo origin are really to be found anywhere in Bunyoro. In general the Lwoo have introduced their language—as among the Acooli and Aluur, but names of places, areas, rivers, and tribal groups have everywhere been taken over intact by them from the Madi who were already resident in these territories, Bunyoro included. The Madi occupation had been a prolonged and thorough one. Lango names are met with in smaller numbers.

There is no need to recapitulate here the tradition of the northward march of the Lwoo from the Atwot region, their settlement in Shilluk country and their movement south through Anywaah into what is now Acooliland. There is however a point which requires some further consideration: it is the question of comparison of societies by the pattern of their social structure. I think if we are considering tribal groups of common origin, the idea of drawing a parallel between them comes naturally; but it is easier to suggest than to carry out, and I have always felt sceptical of such comparisons, if they are made for the purpose of drawing far-reaching historical conclusions. In the present case when we are considering the relationship of the Hima and the Lwoo it is questionable whether the points of comparison are sufficiently plain for any conclusions to be drawn. The Hima (or Huma) are a large people comprising many different clans. By tribal custom a Hima youth may only marry a Hima girl of pure stock but unrelated clan. This we learn is a sacred principle of marriage from the earliest times among the Bahima of Ankole, Karagwe etc. Any cross-breed ceases to be regarded as a Muhima. In this way the Hima community may well be able to preserve its original physical features from one generation to another. No instance of any kind of such 'racial policy' is known to occur amongst any of the Jii speaking tribes including the Lwoo; nor has it been recorded among the Madi or Lango. No racial exclusiveness, has been observed even among the lordly Shilluk where the Rheth (Ret) may

not marry a Kwaa-rheth or descendants of the royal family, but may take any other Shilluk girl as his wife even from the *bangarhel* or serfs, or from the Jaang, Naadh or Anywaah tribes. All the Sudan Lwoo divisions, such as the Paai, Anywaah, Jo-Luuo of Wau and the Boor of Rafil have assimilated numbers of non-Lwoo clans by marriage and this is equally true of the Shilluk. The result of this policy is that all the descendants speak a form of Lwoo speech, but physical features cease to show any marked difference which can be associated with distinction of rank.

The outcome of such free cross-breeding is likely to produce a 'levelling out' of types, whereby distinct elements are absorbed and blended, so that within a single community a mean physical type is produced. This 'mean physical type' naturally tends to differ in different areas. The same process of blending and assimilation occurs also in customary behaviours and cultural techniques. Thus Shilluk and Anywaah have both absorbed elements of Jaang and Naadh peoples and culture; the Anywaah rather more from the Naadhi; the Shilluk rather more from the Jaang and various other small heterogeneous groups. The Jo-Luuo of Wau have assimilated both Naadh and Jaang families together with other heterogeneous elements. The Paari community is probably composed of a greater percentage of Lwoo clans and less of others (Madi and Lango), and hence their members should today be closer than most of other Lwoo speaking groups to the original Lwoo physical type. As regards the Lwoo of Uganda and Kenya they have travelled still further away from their original homeland and have absorbed en route a still wider range of heterogeneous tribal elements. Hence they may be expected to conform even less to the original Lwoo human types which existed at the time when the general character of the Lwoo language and character was established. Possibly the Jo-pa-Lwoo of Pa-Wiir, who to some extent have been isolated, remain in a slightly purer condition than most of the other Lwoo component groups.

Even the groups who exercise tribal chieftainship in the Lwoo areas are rarely of homogeneous Lwoo origin. Normally chieftainship is limited to the actual ruling family, the *lokaal*; but in some cases Madi ruling families have succeeded in maintaining themselves in power, i.e. as *lokaal* and have even in a few cases been joined by Lwoo as their dependants (*lwak*). An example is Cwaa-Bura. The Liira-pa-Lwoo group comprises a few Lwoo clans, and in Chua District there are a few more, connected with the Pajule-Lwoo migration. Conversely there are some kinship groups such as Pa-Labek, P' Adibe, Atyak, where the Lwoo racial element is completely absent and the Madi ruling family remains dominant; but in spite of this they are today all Lwoo speaking and hence are fairly described as Lwoo. This applies both to the Acooli and the Aluur. The Jo-pa-Adhola of Tororo and Jo-p'Owiny of Nyanza Province are in no better position as regards the percentage of Lwoo blood in their veins, which is certainly no more and possibly less than it is with the Acooli and Aluur. This being the state of affairs it is clearly unreasonable to draw parallels between the Acooli and the Bahima and to conclude from these parallels that the Bahima are not Lwoo. It would be far truer to say that the Bahima are Lwoo, while the Acooli etc. are not.

The Bahima have been compared with the Shilluk 'aristocracy'. But what is

meant here by 'aristocracy' is just what the Acooli would call *lokaal* or royal/ruling clan group i.e. a single consanguineous clan. By contrast the Bahima represent a whole people with many clan and tribal groups. The *Kwaa-rheth*, or royal clan among the Shilluk, are in exactly the same physical situation as any other Shilluk of Lwoo extraction. All the Shilluk, not only the royal clan, are as proud and scornful of foreigners as are the Bahima. They have their Nyikaango cult as the Bahima have their Bacwezi cult. But the Shilluk do not adopt an exclusive attitude to other African tribesmen, only to foreigners of different race, such as Arabs, Turks and Europeans. I consider it an exaggeration to speak of a material culture or social organization which has a distinctive tribal identity and has been brought from one area to another. Distinctive geographical, climatic and political conditions in the various areas where the Lwoo settled provide the answer in general to the differences now found in culture and organization. Of course it is accepted that various Lwoo groups who left their homeland of Atwot must have had some material culture and some social organization which they brought with them to the new areas of settlement, but to speak of a particular high culture characteristic of the Bacwezi/Bahima community which has been brought to it entirely from some other region is absurd and is ridiculed by Gorju (op. cit., p. 29). All the fuss about it must be due to European enthusiasts of 50 to 60 years ago, who were keen to enhance the importance and interest of the tribes whom they had discovered and among whom they worked. As regards the difference in political structure, the Shilluk finding themselves surrounded by mighty enemies, the Arabs, Jaang (Dinka) and Naadh (Nuer), with whom they had to fight strenuously for survival, could not possibly afford to indulge in the luxury of internecine wars as the Bahima have repeatedly done. At all cost they had to keep a united front under a single ruler, and, though individual *Jagi* or chiefs of sections might struggle for their favourite princes at the time of the election of a new Rheth, they would never go so far as to divide the country. Generally speaking there are few particular points of cultural resemblance or contact between the Shilluk aristocracy and the Bahima which are of interest.

A reminder of an interesting tribal interrelation is the Pa-Nyikaango group, who are resident west of Lake Albert in the Belgian Congo. (Compare also the Kaango group of Okooro in the West Nile District.) This group declares that they came from Bunyoro and that they are related to the ruling family there. To find a place called Pa-Nyikaango on Lake Albert is indeed something extraordinary; for not only is Nyikaango the legendary ruler of the Shilluk; but Pa-Nyikaango is the name of a very large district of Lwak, the south-western part of the Podhi Collo or Shilluk Kingdom. In Nyi-Lwak, the south-western part of the Shilluk district of Pa-Nyikaango, there is situated the large village of Obang. The family group of the Jago there claim to be the descendants of a single member of the Cwaa group, who, so they state, was put in charge of the village 'commoners' when the bulk of the Kwaa-Cwaa emigrated along with the Kwaa-Ciilo to Anywaah, where a considerable party of the Cwaa people remained when the majority emigrated towards Bunyoro. Such is definite history. Are we then to regard the Shilluk as being more closely related to the Bahima?

With regard to the matter of pedigrees, in Bunyoro, alas, the question of the royal pedigree is anything but plain. In 1912 Mrs. A. B. Fisher recorded 13/15 Bakama, in 1920 Gorju recorded 18, and in 1936 the Omukama T. Winyi recorded 26. This latest record cannot carry conviction in view of the fact that competent elders in 1912 only knew of 15 names after a thorough inquiry had been made. Shortly afterwards a new and quite independent investigation was made and the figure reached 18. Finally fifteen years later after all the really competent old men were dead the list has been increased to 26 with a difference of names at nearly every stage. The reason is not far to seek. The Baganda had 33 Basekabaka (Kings) in their dynasty and, since it was well known that the two dynasties had been founded contemporaneously, every effort was made to bring the Bunyoro total up to the same figure. The method is that usually known as 'by hook or by crook'. In Ankole the competent elders who were consulted in 1920 insisted that there had been only 13 Bagabe and Gorju (op. cit., p. 146) remarked that if the Baganda had been as critical in composing their list of Basekabaka a more modest but more dependable pedigree would have resulted. Yet in 1947 J. Nyakatura added to the list of 13 Bagabe twelve others who had been expressly excluded as rivals and claimants by the competent elders thirty years before!

The law of succession which operates among the Shilluk explains and vouches for the authenticity of a list of 26 rulers (see *The Lwoo* pp. 135 et seq.<sup>2</sup>), though some students count as many as 30 or more. A very much more detailed social and political study than any I am aware of would be required to satisfy a serious student of the accuracy of the extant list of Basekabaka whose dynasty is well known to have been established at the same time as the Bakama of Bunyoro and not earlier than that of the Rheth of the Shilluk.

It is easy to explain how lists of traditional kings often differ in detail. Even if we exclude the confusion caused by incompetent informants, there is always the fact that with the best intention in world the knowledge of a responsible elder as regards his tribal tradition is limited owing to the fallibility of human memory. Hence, even competent elders dislike to be questioned alone and prefer to have three or four responsible persons together when a traditional record is required. If a group of this sort is formed they will give their opinions and discuss and settle their decisions to the best of their ability which the investigator may then record. It is prudent on any important matter not to rely on the evidence of any single witness, even if he has written the record down himself. Doubtless discrepancies are avoided in this latter case for the time being but, after a few years, another informant will make himself heard—probably with a slightly longer and consequently 'more authoritative' list. The result is that the record changes every few years and no one knows what the truth is. It may be noted incidentally that it is an obvious fallacy to suppose that a ruling chief is necessarily qualified to provide a more authoritative record of his predecessors than any other reliable person acquainted with the facts. In most cases the chief is less qualified because, owing to his power and reputation, contemporary Africans, who may well be more knowledgeable than

<sup>2</sup> By a printer's error in *The Lwoo*, p. 138 Rheth No. 23, Ayokeer, is shown as the son of Kwathkeer (Rheth 17) instead of the son of Yoor (Rheth 20).

he is as to the facts, will fear to criticize or amend his statement. All such records must be studied and compared and much of the credence that future students will give to any particular pedigree will depend upon the degree of care which field workers have given to testing and checking the trustworthiness of witnesses and their sources of information.

One of the causes of confusion even among serious informants arises from the nature of the succession to chieftainship, which in many places has been the subject of dispute. There are marked differences of custom in this matter in different tribes which have to be taken into account. Thus among the Acooli the succession was usually peaceful as the successor was normally chosen while the ruler was still alive and the latter's opinion counted a lot in the decision made. Among the Aluur and the Jo-Naam (Okooro and Rageem) the matter was more difficult, and the Rageem in particular were torn by wars twice at least during the last hundred years. In Ankole and Bunyoro the disputes over the succession were even more serious. Shilluk history records rivalries, disputes, individual and clan fights, but owing—as explained above—to the constant menace of foreign invasion, major political divisions have generally been avoided, for whenever there was risk of this, there was sufficient pressure of public opinion to enforce the claims of one candidate or another. At worst a fight took place between the supporters of the respective candidates, in which the majority of the tribe would remain neutral and the defeated candidate would be forced to retire from the scene. Occasionally with two strong stubborn and equally balanced candidates each might be 'installed' in his own area and claim to be Rheth, but it would not be long before one or the other found that he lacked public support and was compelled to emigrate. In such a situation it is obvious that the unsuccessful candidate may sometimes be listed as a ruler, and particularly by those who claim descent from him or even perhaps out of ignorance or misunderstanding. Again in the Shilluk country it has happened that a prince of the royal family who was beloved and obeyed by the people of his own local area, came to be treated by the people as Rheth and greeted with the salute (or *pak*), *Woo*, as though he was in fact Rheth. If such a prince was unambitious and remained quietly at home the Rheth of Fa-Coodo (Fashoda), the real Shilluk King, would often tolerate these practices. Such individuals have sometimes figured wrongly in certain king-lists. It has been said that graves, relics (jaw-bones) of kings were kept in evidence so that the number of rulers could always be ascertained, but the same attentions were also paid to princes and sometimes even to the heads of major clans. I have taken down many pedigrees, but have never attached much importance to a number of the first names contained in long lists. Illiterate Africans unless they have had the lists written down for them, tend to change the number, order and even nomenclature of the persons appearing in such lists each time they repeat them, and this in spite of graves, jaw-bones and so on. A list of names may on one occasion be reported as a series of brothers (side by side) and on the next as a series of successive rulers (one below the other). The Shilluk king-list has been recorded many times during the last fifty years and I have myself taken down many different versions of it. The present list referred to above was consolidated after having checked *all* the names from

appeared on the scene and for some two years Bunyoro was given over to internecine fighting. The claimants included Kamurasi's son, Kabarega, and two of his kinsfolk, Mpuhuka and Ruyonga, both of whom had been unsuccessful claimants at the time of Kamurasi's own succession and both of whom are referred to by Emin in his diary. Eventually, after Kabugumire, his brother and most formidable rival, had been killed in battle, Kabarega triumphed and was acclaimed Mukama of Bunyoro. As previously, in Kamurasi's time, Mpuhuka and Ruyonga fled across the Somerset Nile and took refuge in the Lango Country.

Though his decisive victories over his rivals resulted in his accession to the throne by popular acclamation, Kabarega was throughout his reign troubled by sporadic attempts on the part of certain of his fugitive rivals to seize his throne. These rivals were from time to time assisted not only by the neighbouring rulers of Ankole and Buganda, but also by members of the Nilotic tribes living across the Nile to the north of Bunyoro and the Dongolese slave traders operating in those regions.

In 1869 Ismail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, had appointed Sir Samuel Baker as Governor-General of Equatoria. In 1872 Baker arrived in Bunyoro, very shortly after the final defeat and death of Kabarega's brother, Kabugumire. On 14 May 1872, acting in reliance on the instructions contained in a firman issued to him in 1869, Baker proclaimed the formal annexation of Bunyoro to Egypt. Friction ensued and culminated on 8 June in actual fighting between Baker's troops and the Banyoro. Thereafter Baker set fire to Kabarega's capital at Masindi, burnt his own stores, and withdrew, fighting a rear-guard action, across the Nile into the Acholi country. In the course of his retreat Baker proclaimed Kabarega's deposition and appointed his rival and cousin Ruyonga as ruler in his place. But it takes something more than a proclamation to overturn a throne and in the heart of Bunyoro Kabarega still maintained his power.

Baker's term of office expired in 1873 and in the following year he was succeeded by Colonel Charles George Gordon. As the result of Baker's experiences Gordon regarded Kabarega as a hostile and thoroughly unworthy person, whom, in the words of one of his letters to his sister, it was his duty to 'quell'. But none of his operations enabled him to achieve this object. He was able to force Kabarega to flee into the southern part of his dominions and he established a bridgehead across the Nile and military posts at Kirota, Kisuga and Londu, but he could not force the fugitive into submission. He also decided that Ruyonga was not the man to back against Kabarega and that Anfina (Mupena), the brother of the former claimant Mpuhuka, had stronger and better claims to the throne than either Ruyonga or Kabarega. But Anfina proved no more likely to supplant Kabarega than Ruyonga. Eventually in early 1877 Gordon came to the conclusion that it would be better policy to send an officer to try and get into touch with Kabarega, and if possible, bring about an amicable settlement of outstanding difficulties. He accordingly detailed Emin for the task.

Emin's diary sets out in detail how he carried out his mission. There was a certain amount of danger attaching to the task. In his own words, Emin

decided to proceed to Kabarega's headquarters *en petit comité*. Apart from two servants and a few porters, only two soldiers accompanied him, one of whom fell out by the way. His sole weapon of defence was his revolver, which Kabarega coveted but did not succeed in obtaining. Perhaps it was the very fact that he arrived without a formidable military escort which at once created a favourable impression in the mind of the young Mukama. Added to this, there was of course Emin's extremely tactful handling of his host. Alone of all the Europeans who ever stayed at Kabarega's court, Emin was able to find favour in his sight. He succeeded in persuading Kabarega to send an embassy to Gordon.

It is quite impossible to say what might have been achieved if Emin's plans had not been interfered with. There is, however, no doubt that the subsequent officious interference of Nur Aga completely upset all that Emin had been at such pains to arrange. When Nur Aga issued orders to the garrison under his command to go foraging in Kabarega's territory, hopes of a peaceful settlement of outstanding difficulties came to an end. Nur Aga was clearly profoundly jealous of Emin. He could not forget that only a year before this bespectacled civilian had succeeded in extricating the troops under his command without casualties from the very precarious situation in Buganda in which his own blundering had placed them. It was clearly pique, and not just short-sighted militarism, which led him to write letters and to issue orders which resulted in the complete undoing of Emin's careful preparations.

As portrayed in Emin's diary, Kabarega's picture is very different from that of almost every other European who crossed his path. As Emin was well aware, the ruler of Bunyoro had many failings, but, taken by and large, Emin depicts a very likeable person. In contrast with his contemporary Mutesa, he was no stickler for ceremonial. None the less, he had many kingly instincts. As the diary shows, not the least of these was a keen sense of justice and a strong desire to do right to all manner of men without fear or favour, affection, hatred or ill-will.

Emin described this visit to Bunyoro in a long journal article printed in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1879. This, considerably rearranged, was translated in English and appears in *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 1888. Some parts of this last, which serve to amplify or clarify Emin's Diary, have been incorporated in the following Extracts.

*Extracts from Emin's Diaries*

May 11, 1877. . . . I was called by the Pasha (sc. Colonel C. G. Gordon) and asked if I would undertake a second journey to Mutesa so as to settle matters with him. As I gathered, he wanted permission for me to travel to Karagwe and thence to the S.W. and S.S.W.; also to make an excursion to Stanley's Alexandra Lake<sup>1</sup> and Mufumbiro<sup>2</sup> and to return thence by a route of my own choice. A visit to Kabarega was completely out of the question. I must make my own preparations, but must delay all this, because the Pasha's urgent business makes me indispensable to him. Several strenuous days were spent on the subject.

May 31. (Left Khartoum.)

July 8. (At Bedden.) . . . I find here Colonel Mason,<sup>3</sup> who has completed in five days (Steamer *Nyanza*) his navigation of Albert Nyanza, and has found the

southern end, as Gessi said, to be  $1^{\circ} 10'$  north and its most westerly point  $30^{\circ} 30'$  east. There is only a slight variation from this. At the southern end the Muzizi flows into the lake. There is no outflow to the west. The natives in the south are very friendly.

July 15. (Reached Dufile.)

July 19. To the west of Dufile the Madi extend to Makraka and on the west of the river to Wadelai, where Madi and Magungo are spoken. From there to the Lake dwell (always on the west bank) the Alur whom Kabarega has subdued and who speak Magungo.

To the east of Dufile dwell first of all the Madi, then the Lango and Umiro<sup>4</sup> and finally the Galla. The easterly Lango are very black as are the Galla. To the south on the east bank of the river are the Madi as far as Bora and then Acholi and Magungo.

July 23. (Set sail from Dufile and reached Bora at 9 p.m.)

July 24. (Took on wood at Bora in exchange for beads. Chief Mota came on board. Paramount chief Looja lives a little way from the river. Sailed past Wadelai at night.)

July 25. (Reached Magungo.)

July 29. Negroes from Patiko are on a visit to Kabarega. What equipment must they take for the journey? As for ourselves we have a thousand things to take with us.

July 30. . . . The arrows of the Magungo are made of cane, in which the iron point (smooth and without hooks or barbs, shaped like a needle, and spreading out at the upper end into the shape of a small paddle) is fixed and fastened by bast fibre and strips of skin. They are all spread over with black poison. The bows are usually small.

August 2. (Reply received from Kirota.)

August 3. (Reached Kirota.)

August 5. On the way we met a number of Lango, easily recognizable by their peculiar wig head-dresses, which are richly adorned with cowries and glass beads. They have tall muscular figures with a European profile of not very brown tinted colour. They have come over the rapids at Karuma and Atada. The Lango belong to the large tribe of Omiro. Their fear of the crowd which accompanied us was remarkable . . .

August 5. (Reached the newly established station of Masindi.) A picturesque confusion of huts and fences, enclosed by a strong Zeriba of tree trunks. (Five hours from Londu and former headquarters of Kabarega's Banassura. A garrison of one officer and 30 men.) In addition there is Anfina<sup>5</sup> the negro chief whom we met last year, a stately, well-dressed man, whose light skin, rounded head, orthognatic figure, well developed ears show that he belongs to the race of Wahuma, the well-known light-skinned cattle-folk. Thanks to our steady advances, he has by reason of the overthrow of a number of Kabarega's Batongole (chiefs) become a small overlord, surrounded by a host of people. He was wanting in a certain amount of tact. After he had received a present (kaftan, belt and tarbush), he told me a number of Lango dwelling on the other side of the river had submitted to him, and promised me that in the event of a journey thither to supply me with men and porters because the Lango would be unwilling to do so.

August 6. (Reached Londu.)

August 8. Towards midday a post came back from Kisuga and with it a Mutongole of Kabarega's named Kiza, who had just come back from Patiko, where he had been staying with the Mudir along with two others, in order to come

to an agreement with him. When he was brought to me, I commissioned him to tell Kabarega to allow me to be taken to him, as I wished to see him. He promised me to do all he could, telling me that Kabarega wanted peace and would certainly send people (to me). He only asked for a present so that he could show it to his overlord and prove that he had actually been with me.

August 9. Kabarega's Mutongole came quite early to bid farewell. He received a kaftan, tarbush, looking-glass and some fine beads as a present and also the necessary flour for the journey, which will last two days. Early on the third day he will come into his own land, which is called Abuhaia (?Bugahya) and is not far from Magungo. I repeated my commission to him and he promised to do his best to arrange the matter, and so he bade farewell. I allowed him to be escorted for one hour by the soldiers so that he could be protected from Anfina's people . . . The people, who went from Kabarega to Patiko, took ship to Alur, crossed the river to Wadelai and then went to the east.

August 10. (Yuzbashi Abdallah Aga and Ali Grenati arrived from Mruli.)

August 13. Early today I sent again to Masindi to obtain porters.

August 14. At about 10 a.m. I received a very silly letter from Kuku Aga and have consequently given up the journey to Kabarega. Perhaps it may be possible to go to Kabarega from Mutesa's with Mutesa's people on my return from Mruli. In the meantime I have asked for porters from Masindi and, *Inshallah*, I will go early in the morning to Kisuga and thence to Mruli so that I may possibly go to Mutesa.

August 15. (Reached Kisuga.)

August 16. I have received a remarkable curio—the dish-plate of Kabarega's mother.

August 18. (Reached Mruli. Letter sent to Mutesa.)

August 20. Ruyonga<sup>6</sup> informed me that Mutesa, frightened by a threatening letter from Mohammed Effendi Ibrahim, had allied with Kabarega and would no longer receive any Egyptian.

August 22. Fresh differences with the jealous Kuku Aga.

August 23. In order to put an end to the deliberately endless correspondence with Kuku Aga, I went to him and after I had explained to him his injustice and convinced him that he would get nothing out of the unseemly language and intrigues contained in his letters, he agreed that he would permit Kabarega's people to come here and would write to that effect to Londu.

August 25. The station at Mruli, which in former years was, partly for reasons of health, sited ten minutes inland to the S.W., lies in a wide plain, which is thickly planted with trees. In that plain lies the water drainage channel Chor Kafu, which is recognizable by a row of trees and takes a course from W.S.W. to N. The roads to Kisuga and Foweira are at its mouth. The river, which is close to the old station and almost completely choked by growths of vegetation (*Papyrus ranunculus*, *nymphaea*, *pistia sysimbrium*, *vallisneria*, *ottelia*) enlarges into an expanse of open water and becomes a very papyrus-choked but wide channel of about one kilometre leading up to the main stream (sc. the Nile), which at this point flows from S.E. to N.W. Its current is fairly swift, whilst Chor Kafu with its deep and marshy banks appears to have little or no current. The north bank of this rather broad river (sc. the Nile) is about five or six metres high and is thickly covered with grass and mimosa trees and extends far to the east over a flat plain.

Mruli is important as a departure point for more distant stations leading to the lake (sc. Victoria). The station is kept very beautifully clean and airy, well laid out

and very tidy. The surrounding plots of *durrah* (grain), maize, *arachis*, and bananas make a very pleasant prospect.

August 26. Late yesterday evening the Batongole of Kabarega came with the gifts sent for me . . . (Ali Grenati, a blood brother of Kabarega, is to be sent to him).

August 27. The soldiers have gone to Lango wanting to procure provisions. They made their crossing in small canoes over a period of twelve hours.

September 5. About noon Ruyonga's people, whom I had sent with my letter to Mutesa, came back, that is, one of them came. On the way they were attacked by Kabarega's people. My letter was taken from them and the greater part of them were sent as prisoners to Kabarega.

September 7. After we had arranged everything for Halil Effendi's departure (sc. to Bunyoro) and all our letters had been written, an *onbaschi* (lance-corporal) arrived at midday with the news that the soldiers had been attacked in the Lango country, that Kuku Aga and Abdul Chor Aga were dead as well as many of the soldiers, and that much ammunition, many weapons etc. had been lost. Soon afterwards two canoes arrived, bringing the wounded people with many penetrating wounds caused by spears. It is remarkable that many women had been wounded, most of whom were already dead. Immediately this news spread through the zeriba, it caused dismay and it was thought that an attack would be made on the zeriba itself with the ammunition and weapons which had been lost. Halil Effendi's departure is postponed because there are no porters ready. Some of Ruyonga's people are likewise dead.

September 8. (Emin was busy attending to the twelve casualties which had arrived the previous day. They included one officer and five other ranks, two male civilians and four women. They had received their injuries four days previously and their condition was aggravated by high temperatures.)

September 9. . . . At two o'clock in the afternoon people arrived from Kisuga (sc. in Bunyoro) and almost at the same time the people returned from the raid into the Lango country, having cowardly left behind them their provisions and cattle as well as their equipment. Thus this large expedition (200 men) has become a miserable defeat for us. Kuku Aga with his two servants and three personal servants and thirty soldiers dead, ten to fifteen wounded, about thirty women and children killed, fifty blacks (twenty of Mahongi's men and thirty of Ruyonga's) killed, about thirty weapons and the carriage for the rockets (*lafetta*) lost and not a dishful of provisions secured.

September 10. Today the avenging force (*Rachekorps*) set out.<sup>7</sup>

September 11. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon came a dragoman from Ali, whom I had sent to Kabarega, and a mutongole of his, named Kapempe, with one of their dragomen and thirty persons . . . Ali informed me that he thought Kabarega was well disposed. I have made up my mind. Halil, who is very frightened, remains behind with the bulk of the goods at Mruli, and I go.

September 13. This time I am *en petit comité*: my porters, two soldiers (one to look after the horse), my two servants (boys), Ali's dragoman and my dragoman with wife and servants. The last three are very frightened.

(Halted at midday under some trees near some pools of water.) Kapempe entertained me by mimicking in a most amusing way the gestures of the porters who found their burdens too heavy. These people express astonishment in a way quite new to me . . . a rapid raising of the closed fists to the crown of the head, from which they are drawn energetically to the forehead. The rumbling of thunder in the distance and dark clouds overhead warned us to start, but we were hardly on our way, when the rain poured down in torrents. Every moment a porter would stop to

cover himself with a banana leaf, or to take off the ox-hide which serves him for a dress, in order to protect it from the rain, which renders it hard. In this way the whole column was brought to a standstill; a very pleasant episode in such rain as this, which poured in at one's collar and out at one's boots! Then, in great haste, we again started forward, through bananas and whorled eriodendrons, till, after a march of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hours, we reached Kisuga.<sup>8</sup>

September 14. (Remained all day at Kisuga in order to dry baggage.)

September 15. When at last we were ready to start, one of the soldiers who accompanied me was taken ill, I expect, from fear of the danger he apprehended on the journey. I had, therefore, but one soldier left to take charge of my horse, and my two servants, boys between ten and twelve years of age—an imposing escort! Being put on my guard by Baker's account of Kabarega's talent for begging, I left everything that was not absolutely indispensable, even my gun, in Kisuga; and then we started in the direction of Londu, along the road we had previously trodden, through tall grass and numerous banana groves, in which reddish-yellow passion-flowers threw their tendrils across our path. The porters marched in total silence, a contrast to the noisy Baganda; no drum was carried with us. Our halts became frequent, and the porters seemed to be very hungry, as on every possible opportunity they picked up some bananas or a sweet potato. Towards midday we reached our former station, Londu;<sup>9</sup> the defenceless stockade of which, with many a spot charred black by fire, produced a very painful impression. The zeriba had not been occupied by the Negroes, as a sort of superstitious fear prevents them from dwelling in houses previously occupied by us. Small herds of bullocks and goats and a few solitary inhabitants were visible in the vicinity.

After having settled ourselves for the night as best we could, we sent to the chief of the district, who lived near, to request porters for the morrow, as Kabarega had promised them. I should have preferred my own porters from Mruli, as I could then have been more independent in my movements, but Ruyonga's people absolutely refused to follow me into the land of their deadly enemy, and thus I had to rely upon Kabarega's people. Biabo, the Mutongole who had charge of this place, a corpulent young man with slightly prognathous features, paid me a visit in company with five or six of his men. They were reddish-brown in colour, except one who was deep black—a man from the district of Jopaluo which lies near the rapids of Tada. The colour of the people throughout this country is very variable, and graduates from black to yellow; yet, for the most part, the fundamental colour is red. The people are clothed in soft ox-hides from which the hair has been removed except at the borders, where a strip of hair of two fingers'-breadth has been left as an ornament; their costume is completed by arm-rings and anklets made of brass and necklets composed of roots. The head is not shaved—shaving is a sign of mourning—indeed you often see very elegant cork-screw-like curls. A small present of beads procured me in return several baskets full of sweet potatoes, and as I had brought a bullock with me from Kisuga and presented it to my porters, song and revelry lasted far into the night.

September 16. (Detained at Londu by torrential rain.)

September 17. A very cloudy sky did not promise well for our further journey; nevertheless we broke up camp in good time (6.15 a.m.) in order to reach our distant quarters at the appointed hour . . . We did not escape the rain; and as only grass and forest lay before us, and neither huts nor plantations were to be seen, we were compelled to press vigorously forwards, until, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we reached a small group of miserable huts, where we were obliged to remain for the night. The inhabitants had fled at our approach, but we found fires still burning

in the huts. Mutongole Bikamba, the chief of the village,<sup>10</sup> did not keep us long waiting, for we had hardly placed our things under cover when he, accompanied by two sub-chiefs and several of his people, put in an appearance, to pay his respects to me and to present me with a goat and two sheep—quite a luxury. The people impressed me favourable; they were modest and unpretentious, and satisfied with anything that was given them. If they were allowed to choose between glass beads and cloth, they preferred the latter. This place was called Kimanya.

The Banyoro appear to be very much afraid of dew and rain; at any rate they will never get up early in the morning; and if, when on the march, they come upon grass wet with dew, they lay down their loads and quickly tie before them either a large banana-leaf or a bunch of dry leaves in order to protect themselves. A woman who was travelling with us was so completely covered with dead leaves that she looked exactly like a wandering withered bush.

September 18. We started very early, but after ten minutes march, we came to a halt near an extensive plantation of bananas and sweet potatoes, in order to change our porters. Mutongole Bikamba had the best intentions; but much palaver and some blows were required before he was able to convince the people that they must go on; and when, after a quarter of an hour's halt, we were again on the move, he followed us, with one of his sub-chiefs, gesticulating and shouting in such an energetic manner that I expected every minute a fight would ensue. At last, however, the dispute was settled, as usual by a friendly *kirungi* (good), and soon after Bikamba turned back to his village.

We then proceeded upon our way, stopping, however, at every group of huts to try and press porters into our service . . . Arrived at clearings where bananas, sweet potatoes, and lubias intermingled, and here and there the green stalks of maize were seen, or the broad leaves of Virginian tobacco. Compounds containing three or four huts lay scattered throughout the cultivated land. They were hemispherical and their grass roofs stretched down to the ground all round, except where a porch was formed over the door. The frames were made of light reed wicker-work and supported by numerous poles. Inside, the huts were not exactly inviting; they were divided into two compartments, the floors of which were covered with hay, and infested by innumerable mice, cockroaches, crickets, and fleas. Household utensils were not numerous, for their inhabitants had fled before us, taking all their treasures with them.

We halted at Kitongoli, in one of these clearings, where I was fortunate enough to obtain three huts for myself, my people and my belongings. Here I had the pleasure of a visit from the village chief, a good-looking young man, whose father is Kabarega's confidant. He made quite an imposing figure, being clad in thin white skins, over which a reddish-brown *mbugo* hung like a toga; his servant bore after him a double-barrelled sporting-gun. The usual presents having been exchanged, he sent a messenger to Kabarega to apprise him of my approach, for the next day we expected to reach our destination. If, however, I understand African ceremonials rightly, many a day will still pass before I reach Kabarega's, although we are quite near to his residence. It is always uncomfortable to travel during the rainy season, because you are never master of the situation, which, indeed, leaving the rain out of the question, is rarely the case. From midnight the thunder rolled on all sides, thick fog enveloped the country, and it rained as if it were absolutely necessary for the clouds to rid themselves of their whole contents that day. Of course, it was no good thinking of further progress in such weather; and to make matters worse, my hut was not water-tight. I had seen none of my people that day, for, on account of the rain, and possibly also of hunger—for meat

does not satisfy them, and corn could not be obtained—they were having a long sleep.

(The porters refused to continue the journey when the sun came out.)

September 19. At midnight the horns were blown—the drum serves only as a war signal—to assemble the porters; yet at six in the morning not ten persons had turned up; and when, after half an hour's bargaining and palaver, a few more negroes appeared, no one seemed to know the road, although Kabarega's capital could not have been more than five or six hours distant. I was therefore compelled to send two men to Kabarega to beg him to send me a guide, knowing all the while that this ignorance was a mere pretence. Fortunately I had been able to procure a sheep and a few fowls, as well as some sesame (*sesamum orientale*) for my people in exchange, for a few beads, so that they at least did not starve. There were several heavy storms of rain again.

September 21. We started. The horns had been blowing for hours, and my people had urged me to march. As however, I had heard the beating of a big drum for about half an hour, I concluded that Kabarega was sending one of his chiefs to meet me; and so it turned out, for soon after, Mukungu (big chief) Bikamba<sup>10</sup> appeared, accompanied by a drummer, a gun-boy, and some five or six other people, to greet me and to escort me at once to Kabarega. Everything was now arranged like magic, and off we marched, our luggage in advance . . . At last the mountains opened out, and before us lay Mpara-Nyamoga, Kabarega's headquarters, Bunyoro's capital.

The huts destined for my use are situated at one side of the town, about fifteen minutes away from the large block of huts which forms the king's residence, and together with another block of huts, standing apart from the former, constitutes the village. Our road lies uphill. Reports of guns salute us. Ali appears in full dress and is most happy to greet me. The hemispherical huts (one being still in the course of construction) are ready for reception, and we have scarcely stored away our things in them when a thunderstorm begins and rain falls in torrents.

The evening was spent in chatting with the Mutongole. It was not until late that the Katikiro (first minister) came to greet me and to tell me that the King had intended to receive me but that the rain had prevented this. For the same reason the oxen intended for me were not to hand, which he hoped that I would excuse. I simply told him that I was very grateful to his ruler, but that I had not exactly come for the purpose of asking for oxen, and that if Kabarega had no oxen, I was quite content to be without them. Then the Mutongole Bikamba, whom I had sent to announce my arrival to Kabarega came and brought me his compliments. Ali is hopeful that I shall succeed in making a treaty with Kabarega.

September 22. Much noise of voices and lowing of cattle from Kabarega's zeriba. First of all I must make ready the presents for him. Surely he has never before seen so many pretty things. (Here Emin enumerates the articles in detail.) All are enclosed in a case. They are certainly more than he deserves.

Today the two fat oxen promised yesterday arrived and were chased in the grass for over half an hour before the men succeeded in securing them. (Striped and spotted oxen and cows are not eaten by Ruyonga's people.)<sup>11</sup> Soon afterwards the Katikiro appeared, bringing me a pound of fine white salt, three pounds of leebun (*eleusine coracana*), and two pounds of the same grain as a present from the king, who was to receive me later on.

Shortly before 11 a.m. my guide appeared, accoutred on this occasion in kaftan and tarbush, in order to announce that Kabarega was ready to receive me. I quickly donned my uniform and our cortege set out. The three Batongole were in front,

Kapempe, Bikamba and the dragoman Kapimpani, then came my old dragoman Kiza (one of Ruyonga's men) and the bearers carrying the presents intended for Kabarega, then myself on horseback, my soldier and Ali . . .

We passed on our left a very large zeriba with high huts being the cattle zeriba of the chief, who appears to own very large herds. A few more paces brought us over an open, muddy area to a moderately large circular hall, with high doorways front and back, and strewed inside with green fronds of papyrus. This is Kabarega's throne and reception room. In the middle of the room His Majesty King Kabarega was seated on a raised platform of beaten earth, between two posts which supported the roof of the hall, on which a rough and wide arm-chair had been placed. He was in national dress, namely, he was wrapped up to the chest in a piece of fine salmon-coloured bark-cloth, from which, at times his feet protruded. From the chest upwards he was naked. Above the wrist of his right arm he wore a thin bracelet of iron and above the right elbow an amulet of roots, which so tightly encircled the arm as to be embedded in the flesh. Over his left shoulder he wore, in the manner of a plaid, another piece of pretty bark-cloth of a somewhat darker colour. He had a necklace made from the hairs of a giraffe's tail with a single large glass bead in the centre. His head was completely uncovered and was closely shaved. There were no scars on his face except two brand marks on his temples, which are a charm against headache. The four lower incisors and two eye-teeth had been extracted, the upper teeth were slightly protruding, but not to any marked degree, and they were well kept. His hands were small and neat and the nails were well trimmed. Kabarega has a remarkably light complexion. Many Baggara Arabs and Dongolese are just as dark as he is. The signs of Hima blood in his veins are very marked.

There were sitting around him about fifty persons, including his brother and several gun-bearers with heavy percussion guns and one Remington rifle. Except my followers, who were dressed in textile cloth, all those present wore clothes of skin or bark-cloth. People were continually coming and going through the back-door. Outside the hall a crowd of some 400 or 500 people had gathered and were squatting on the ground at a distance of about twenty yards away. If they ventured further forward, they were unmercifully beaten by one of the batongole.

My iron chair was placed near the throne, which was covered with the skins of antelopes and reed rats (*aulacodes*). I seated myself. After we had taken stock of each other, I presented my credentials as representative of His Excellency the Pasha. After these had been opened, I was requested to read them. I was requested to read the letter as none of his people can read or write . . . After this we mutually expressed our pleasure at seeing each other.

Kabarega assured me that he entertained the most friendly sentiments towards our government and that he was ready to agree to all our proposals. He also expressed regret at the occurrence in the Lango district (the defeat of our soldiers) and declared that henceforth he intended to till his land living in peace with us, and that he would cause his people to live in the neighbourhood of our zeribas.

I then handed him the rich presents which I had brought. The people went into loud raptures over them. He himself condescended to handle a silk brocade shawl, but seemed to be chiefly interested in a few pieces of scented soap. He repeatedly smelt and inspected them and at once understood that they were intended for the face and hands. The money, thirty dollars, was counted twice. He then expressed his thanks for the many gifts.

My horse was then brought in for inspection from all points of view. Kabarega asked whether the mane grew all along the back down to the tail and how many

kinds of horses we possessed. He also asked whether I knew the zebra and whether it could be caught and tamed. He asked whether the camel resembled the horse or the giraffe. (The giraffe does not seem to exist here and the much valued tails come from the Lango.)

After this the small revolver which my servant carried in his belt came in for inspection. I myself was unarmed. Kabarega at once understood its mechanism and asked me to take it to pieces. Thereafter he himself put it together again. He then asked me to show how it was fired and how far one could shoot with it. There was a tree at a distance of about fifty paces which afforded a convenient target. Five shots were fired and it was hit. After once more examining it, Kabarega handed the revolver back to me.

There then followed a conversation in Magungo. It was carried on by means of an interpreter, who sat at Kabarega's feet and spoke Sudanese Arabic very well. In fact nearly all the people understand Arabic. Kabarega himself speaks it well, but in public prefers his own language and the aid of a dragoman.

I was asked if I was the person who had gone last year alone to Buganda and Busoga and if I intended going there again this year. I thought I could recognize in all these questions some *arrière pensée* and therefore declared that I did not care about going to Buganda provided that I could arrange matters with him. He again expressed his assent to everything and that perhaps it might be possible to go from here direct to Karagwe without passing through Buganda.

Finally, Kabarega said "Rain threatens; I am going home; and do you go home too; I shall see you again". Accordingly I took my leave and returned home in the same order of procession as before, after an audience which had lasted about two and a half hours.

As Kabarega was seated all the time and never rose, I am unable to say anything as to his figure except that he appeared to be a tall man. The naked chest showed a strong development of muscle and fat. The small head together with the light complexioned face bore witness to the purity of his race. He gives one an exceedingly favourable impression. He is lively, laughs a great deal, often shaking with mirth. He is very talkative and appears to submit to ceremonial with a certain measure of constraint. He greatly differs in this respect from the self-conscious ruler of Buganda. If matters continue thus, I shall be well content.

Immediately after I had returned home, Kabarega's dragoman and three of his companions came to ask for presents. At the same moment the rain came down in torrents, accompanied by a gale from the east. In a few moments every hut was flooded. I therefore put off the men and sent them home after buying some pretty little brass and copper ornaments.

Under Kabarega's feet there was spread a rather ragged mat or rug, upon which he frequently spat. This is the only bad habit I noticed in him.

September 23. Towards noon the Katikiro came to tell me that Kabarega was waiting to see me. I went to him at once . . . He was seated in the same high-back chair as yesterday, which was covered with the same skins and with the same ragged mat at his feet. The lower part of his body, and also his feet, were hidden by a piece of brick-red bark-cloth up to the chest. Over his shoulder he wore a piece of cloth of the same colour. Round his neck he had a necklace of large blue and red glass beads and on his arm a different bracelet, together with the same amulet as yesterday on the upper arm. The only hair on his face was a short beard on his chin and a few hairs on the upper lip. In addition to six men armed with guns (amongst which I saw a Remington and a Snider), he had around him about twelve persons, including his brother, who is very black.

There soon began a lively and merry conversation. Some of those sitting around were chewing coffee beans. They took part in the conversation with the greatest *sans-gêne* and vivacity. Taken by and large, they do not observe here the same strict ceremonial as in Buganda. The people either squat or stretch themselves on the ground leaning on one elbow. Their ruler laughs and jokes with them. Even those people who come on business will at the most kneel in front of the hut and state their business from a distance, or else stand in a half inclined position, leaning on their long knobbed sticks, which are carried by all the people here.

First of all the conversation was confined to a number of jokes with Ali. Kabarega owns two donkeys which he offered to exchange with Ali for two pretty girls. Kabarega then turned to me. After having at my request dismissed all those present except the gun-bearers and a few confidential persons, I was compelled to listen to a long recital of the doings of the Dongolese, Ruyonga, Anfin and his deceased brother Fovoka (Mpuhuka).<sup>12</sup> The sum and substance of it all was that he had been continually attacked by them, although he was the occupant of the throne and was entitled to rule over them. I then told him that I quite understood this, but that others had made friends with the Government, whereas he had always remained hostile. He replied very plausibly that these others had made friends with the Government because they were compelled to do so for their own safety. As for his own hostile acts, it was true that he had killed some Dongolese and had fought with Baker Pasha, but this was only in self-defence. He now begged me to tell him what were the Government's desires, as he wished to live in peace with us. "You do not know me. Far away from here you say to each other 'Kabarega is a robber and a murderer'. Has one of you ever come to me? Has anybody ever satisfied himself as to whether these statements are true or false? Why do Anfin and Ruyonga decline to make peace with me or to come to me? Are they not men of Bunyoro like myself? Are not Ruyonga's two sons, with their families, living here with me and have I killed or ill-treated them?"

I then gave him to understand that the Government greatly desired to see all the land which he formerly possessed settled and cultivated by him. If he wished for an annual grant of money or for presents, he should tell me and I would guarantee that he should have them. If he wished to send men to Cairo, I would secure a safe-conduct for them. If he wished to go there himself, it would be so much the better and I would remain here as a hostage in his country until he returned. As for Anfin and Ruyonga, I was convinced that they ought to return to their islands. I could not promise to bring them to him, but if I again returned here, I should do all that I could to reconcile them.

All this seemed to please him. He thought that I was at any rate the most reasonable man of all whom he had seen. I ought now to have a rest and then go to Mruli and Khartoum and he would send men to accompany me there. When I told him to choose men who understood Arabic, in order that they might hear what I told the Pasha, lest I might say something different from what I had said here, he took me by the hand—I was sitting next to him—and said "We are brothers".

This having been settled, there remains the question of obtaining Bulondoganyi and of the journey from here to Rumanyika, whom he described to me today as being a great prince.

He then asked me to show him my watch and to explain how it worked and what it indicated. He wanted to know whether it was identical with the compass. Finally he asked me to send him a large watch from Khartoum. He also wanted

a sword and a revolver and also powder. I emphatically declined to procure the latter, but promised him the sword. He then asked me to write a letter so that the things might be sent from Mruli. I told him that could not be done, as everything was locked up in cases and I had the keys here. He appeared to be greatly amused at this and more especially so when I handed him the keys on a ring. He played with them and then returned them to me. He asked me, if I went to Mruli, to send him a tin box so that he could keep the new things safe from rain and damp. I promised him this also.

I then asked him to send his ivory for sale or barter to Kisuga or Mruli. This he promised to do, but added "Will you sell me guns?" I was of course obliged to refuse this and we both had a good laugh over the matter.

September 24. Kabarega wanted silver money before I arrived. Ali has given him thirty reals<sup>13</sup> and has received a slave girl for this. To-day Kabarega has sent to him for the second time a person who demands ten reals or the corresponding value in cloth or clothing as a premium. A good pupil of the Dongolese.

Towards evening the Katikiro came to see me and told me that Baker had given two slaves, whom Kabarega had sent to him, to his servants and that Kabarega had presumed therefrom that white men did not accept slaves. The Katikiro has been three times to Gondokoro and was Baker's companion on his first journey.

Later in the evening I was told that the day before yesterday the wooden chest which was sent to him was no good, and that Kabarega wanted the already mentioned steel trunk from me. I simply replied, *Inshallah!* Ruanda is well known to Kabarega's people. Its people must often come here from there. Unfortunately there are none of them here at present. There is a direct road from here to Karagwe, which is often used and does not pass through Mutesa's territory. The people will not talk with me on the subject of this road or any other geographical information.

Melindwa's (? Muliwandwa's)<sup>14</sup> son has come from Kitongoli on a visit. He and his father are pleasant, peaceful people . . .

September 25. . . . Yesterday three or four dragomen came here from Magungo and at once Kabarega gave them an ox. He gave me to understand that he would see the people and then let me see them. I at once replied that I wished him to send them to me according to the instructions given to me. Up to now no reply has been received. It is raining and Kabarega therefore keeps to his house.

September 26. Since midnight it has rained without ceasing . . . Kabarega does not come out of his private house and so it is impossible to do anything. We are here in the middle of the country like prisoners on our hill . . . I sent Kabarega a zinc trunk, which was sent back to me in evening because it had no key and the trunk was rusty. At the same time Kabarega sent me two loads of meal and two loads of lubia as a present.

Throughout all Bunyoro robbery is punished by confiscation of the pick of the cattle and women. If one black man kills another, the relatives of the murdered man have the right to seize him and kill him, with a spear, and in addition to receive a cow from the family of the murderer. If they cannot get hold of the murderer they go to the chief of the tribe and must give him nine head of cattle and three sheep as his fee. Execution is performed with a spear.

September 27. Kabarega sent early to greet me and to say that he could not meet me yesterday because of the rain. He asked me to send a large trunk to him from Mruli for his things. Today I saw a curious instance of administration of justice. My dragoman Kiza, being angry with his wife, tied a rope round her

neck and fastened her to a tree. After a short time he set her free. As the reason for his action, he told me she had deserted him.

September 28. (Kabarega sent some food.) He asked for a red lining for his mantle. Unfortunately I have none. The people are modest enough. He asks me to send to Mruli for a still to make gin (arak) of which he has already learnt from the Dongolese . . .

September 29. In the forenoon Melindwa came on a visit and brought me a piece of fresh butter and told me that his wife Kijihango was a Muhuma from Buganda, and sent me the butter as a present . . .

With regard to my wish to visit him, Kabarega sent Msige to Mruli to fetch me, but he had misunderstood his instructions and brought Ali instead of me. Ali had previously caused trouble between Kabarega and Baker and for this reason he did not trust him.<sup>15</sup> He wished to deal only with me. All this sounds plausible, as if he wished to separate Ali from me, so that he can control both of us. I know quite well how much I have obtained from Ali. He is quite a good man, but nevertheless puts his commercial interests before those of the Government. I have brought more and finer presents. He hopes for more presents from me when I return to Mruli.

September 30. At 1 p.m., just as I was at lunch, some of the people came to call me to Kabarega who, having caught a glimpse of the sun, had come to his divan. I found him there. Today he was wearing a string of blue glass beads round his neck and had wrapped round his body a piece of light coloured bark-cloth, which was ornamented in regular stripes with small black lines, thus giving the whole a very pretty appearance. I have often seen specimens of this cloth in Buganda. It is exclusively reserved for the use of the rulers. The common people are not allowed to wear it.

Today an unusually large assembly was gathered round him. Among them were two figures of a striking reddish-brown complexion, who were clothed in dirty shirts. Their free manners at once attracted my attention as even more did their peculiarly hard and marked pronunciation of the local dialect, which in other respects they spoke fluently. Kabarega shortly afterwards introduced them to me as merchants from Karagwe, who had brought powder, arms, lead and textile fabrics, which they bartered freely in exchange for salt, ivory and female slaves. I asked Kabarega to allow them to come to me so that I might question them about their country, their language and the road. I was told in reply that he knew all these things just as well as they did and that, if I desired to question them, I need only come to the divan and question them in his presence. Nothing more was said about this matter today.

My geographical knowledge of his country and of that situated further to the south excited general admiration and delight. When I told him that I had a sketch (by Speke) of his father in full divan and finally mentioned his father's dwarf Kimenya, his surprise and laughter knew no bounds. Immediately two very short men were produced. One of them was very hunch-backed and formed the butt of the whole assembly. Hunch-backs are said to be common here.

The conversation then turned upon white and coloured people. I was informed that some very light complexioned people could be found here. By way of an example, a tall young man, who I afterwards learnt was Kabarega's nephew, then appeared. He stood out in marked contrast to all the reddish-brown people owing to his yellowish complexion. Jokingly, Kabarega asked me whether I would like to take him with me. When I told him that he was taller than myself and not suitable, to me, he laughed heartily . . .

I then turned the conversation again to countries, rivers etc. and learnt that the river flowing from the east to the south and discharging itself into the Mwutan-Nzige (Lake Albert) is called Muzizi. Baker's Kaigiri is not known by that name. The river which forms the Kiriamboga waterfall is called Wambabia.

It was emphatically denied that any people of my complexion were present in Buganda or Karagwe.<sup>19</sup> It would therefore appear that the Englishmen have not gone there from Zanzibar. On the other hand mention was made of a white man who attempted to get to Ruanda by water. This is presumably Stanley. They do not know where he is now. One of Kabarega's men, who has just returned from Buganda and who had a most terrible squint, was then brought in. I asked him if he had seen any white people in Buganda. He said he had not, but at the same time told me that he had seen my old friend Hamadi (Ahmed bin Ibrahim) there.

I could not obtain any geographical information because Kabarega monopolized the conversation, thus spoiling everything. I therefore relinquished all inquiries for the present and only asked for permission to look about the country and inspect the market and the huts. This was granted. I soon afterwards withdrew.

A short time before I left, the men from Magungo appeared, namely a sergeant, a soldier and a dragoman. Kabarega told me I might take them home with me, because they were leaving next morning and that perhaps I might have letters for them. At the same time people were placed at my disposal to take letters to Mruli. The soldiers from Magungo came here by a new direct route, of course with many delays, in seven days. As usual, they could not name any village, stream or mountain which they had passed, or give any general information about their route. They each received from Kabarega a female slave and two oxen as presents. I entrusted them with letters to His Excellency the Pasha, Consul Hansal<sup>16</sup> and Murjan Aga at Magungo. After which they took their leave.

October 1. The soldiers have left for Magungo. I have prepared my mail to Halil Effendi and asked for two porters.

October 4. (Katikiro and Kitakara, chief of Masindi district<sup>17</sup> report that Anfina, accompanied by soldiers from Kirota, has raided the latter's district and carried off six women.)

October 5. . . . It is five days since Kabarega saw me. Every day there is the excuse of bad weather . . . At 12.30 in the afternoon Kabarega sent to me . . . I received a detailed account of all the events that happened during Baker's visit, a curiously different account from that which is given in *Ismailia*.<sup>18</sup> He said to me in precise Khartoum Arabic "I do not know what I ought to say to thee. Thou art so different from all others who have so far come to me that I fully understand why the Pasha prefers thee to others and sends thee forthwith to me. If Baker had been as thou art, the things which befell him would never have happened." The conversation turned upon a hundred different topics. As the sky was again overclouded, I retired after a four hours' conversation, and had scarcely time to reach home before the storm broke over us.

October 6. . . . Kabarega has populated the Masindi-Londu district with people from Alur (Madundi) who still practise circumcision. Today the district is called Bugahya. Further south is Bugangadzi. The whole country is divided into large districts, which Kabarega places in charge of a person called a Mukungu . . . There are often appeals from these chiefs. The person aggrieved stands before Kabarega's hut at a distance of ten paces and makes his complaint. Kabarega then decides the case, but does not do so always in favour of the Mukungu. For the maintenance of himself, his slaves and women folk, the chief has a tract of land in the district to which he is appointed and some slaves and cattle. If he does his

duty properly he remains at his post. If not, one night a party is sent to levy execution, surrounds the house, and confiscates everything inside for the benefit of the sovereign. Another Mukungu is then appointed and installed in his place. Every Mukungu is from time to time sent for to Kabarega's court and stays sometimes a long time and sometimes not so long. Each Mukungu has a number of Batongole, each of whom rules a portion of the whole district, and a number of villages are included in his division . . .

October 8. Kabarega again sent me supplies. I called to thank him and was taken to his private house, where I for the first time found him clothed in Arabic dress, and I conversed with him in Arabic. The fat women whom I saw on this occasion came up in all respects to the descriptions of Speke and Grant, those reliable and conscientious travellers, who saw similar fat women in Karagwe. Such a custom as this fattening of the king's wives says more than everything else for the original unity of these countries, or at the least goes to prove that the rulers are of the same origin. Notwithstanding his pedigree the ruler of Buganda is only a usurper and a *parvenu*.

There exists here a singular custom amongst the women. There are in Kabarega's house, as immediate slaves, a number of girls, whose duty by day is to give their services to Kabarega's wives, but enjoy unrestricted liberty at night. They are usually good dancers or else possess bodily attractions. They are called *Muranga* and *Baranga*. At night they go out, and, if they are accosted by a man with the word *akamanzo*, they go with him and often stay with him four or five days if he so wishes. They often accost a man, whom they meet, with a formal *vakatu* and stay with him or go to the house of some Mutongole and stay with him. Their wishes are always obeyed, with regard to food etc. Their reward consists of cowrie shells, cowskins, skins fashioned as cloths, cattle and even slaves. If their reward is not forthcoming or is insufficient, appeal is made to Kabarega, who always decides in their favour, although he gets no profit from it. All that these women obtain belongs to them and, if they are lucky enough to amass a lot, they establish themselves in a house near their master's zeriba, and sometimes marry a slave of his. If one of them becomes pregnant, the child belongs to Kabarega. If the child is a boy, he will be enrolled in the ranks of the pages (*barupapura*), and go later into the lifeguards (*barusura*),<sup>20</sup> but he always remains a slave. There is no stigma cast upon him because of the irregularity of his birth. If the child is a girl, she joins her mother's profession, naturally remaining a slave of Kabarega, who personally never comes in contact with them, except when he sees them dancing. This institution appears to be a very old one. The Dongolese found it here ten years ago. Kabarega himself does not know its origin, but thinks that the first Baranga belonged to another tribe.<sup>21</sup>

October 9. In celebration of the feast of Ramadan-Bairam (*Id ezzurair*) Kabarega sent a present of an ox.

(Emin's diary records that at this time Kabarega was preoccupied with preparations for the new-moon ceremony and the celebrations which followed on the sighting of the moon. Emin supplies a few details, but apparently was not allowed to be present at the celebrations. The ceremonies are described in Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, pp. 107-10. They extend over nine days.)

October 10 A band of people from Buganda has arrived with goods and will camp quite close to us . . . At 12 o'clock noon the Mutongole Mbyasi of Buganda came and told me that when Mutesa heard of my coming, he sent people to Mruli to fetch me but only myself alone.

October 11. Amusing effort by Ali to make me promise to take him with me to Buganda.

Letters which I received today from Mruli confirmed the arrival there of one hundred and fifty Baganda, but as I was not there they had returned to Buganda. At the same time I also received English and Arabic letters from Mutesa inviting me to come to him, but "to bring no soldiers with me". I was also told that some of the things which I had intended to present to Kabarega had been dispatched, but had been taken from the porters at Khor Kyai by Kabarega's people. I, of course, demanded them back, but Kabarega sent me word that I need not trouble about them, because he himself was the aggrieved party and would immediately take steps to recover them.

There is hunger at Mruli. The avenging force has come back without fulfilling its task. They have set out again leaving only five men behind to wait for me and bring me porters. As usual Mohammed Effendi has given them nothing to eat. The things sent by Halil Effendi—a gilt sabre, a sunshade, a musical box—were taken from my people not far from Khor Kyai by Kabarega's people. At Mruli Abdul-Chore Aga has died of his wound. May he rest in peace. He was one of the best in this band.

October 12. The Baganda say two men and a white woman have come to their country. The last named can sew very well. The others know how to make weapons. They have come from Karagwe. I am curious to know if this is true and who they are. My old friend Hamedi (Ahmed bin Ibrahim) the merchant from Zanzibar is not there.

October 13. It is now a week since I saw Kabarega.

The messengers whom Kabarega had sent to recover the presents returned and laid the unopened bundle at my feet. According to their information, all the inhabitants of the village had fled and had deposited the goods in the house of a neighbouring chief, who had delivered them up to them. I at once sent to Kabarega to thank him and at the same time to request an audience, when I intend to ask for permission to depart.

October 15. (Audience with Kabarega.) My official business was brought to an end to our mutual satisfaction. I cannot refrain from again recording the friendly treatment accorded to me by Kabarega. It was never disturbed by a single unfriendly word even up to the last moment. I shall always remember with pleasure the days that I have spent here. As a parting present I gave Kabarega a richly gilded sabre, which very much delighted him. I can therefore anticipate starting upon my return journey in a week, if no unforeseen delays occur. Kabarega gave me his 'dead' watch to be repaired in Khartoum. He also asked me to send him an Arab clerk.

October 17. The Katikiro has been sent by Kabarega on a raid to the southwest. For the embassy to Khartoum there has been named Kasabe, an important Mutongole, who formerly accompanied Baker, and has already been to Gondokoro.

October 19. Yesterday I sent my Mutongole to tell Kabarega that I wish to and must depart. Today comes the answer. When I asked the Mutongole, why he had not brought an answer yesterday, he said very significantly, "A hungry man's next thought is eating". This now is Kabarega's answer. He fully knows that people like me will not stay, if they have so said they must depart. He will at once collect the necessary porters.

. . . The people from Buganda have now been here nine days and have not yet been officially received, but to judge by the sound of the their drums the Baganda

have now actually been received at court. This seemed to be the day for paying tribute. At any rate the number of packages and bales lying in front of Kabarega's divan, as well as piles of new bark-cloth, and the number of people who had gathered together proved that a great reception was taking place. The King sent me some loads of meal for our journey.

October 20. (Emin is presented by Bikamba with two girl slaves from Dussekera, Mwenge, aged 7 and 8 years.)

October 22. I was again called to Kabarega. He was carrying on a lively conversation with a number of people, amongst whom I noticed the Baganda; but when I arrived, the whole party was dismissed and I was in the first place requested to show him my revolver. After he had examined it, he asked me to send him some like it. A very animated conversation then followed upon the most varied subjects and was prolonged until near evening, when pouring rain commenced and compelled me to return home. My real business here was at an end.

(Kabarega sent Emin six oxen this day. He also gave the Baganda an audience.)

October 23. I had my farewell audience and can state with satisfaction that the wish on both sides to meet again was very cordial. The people who were to go to Khartoum were still away settling their houses in order. The king informed me they would overtake me at Mruli.

October 24. The porters who had been promised me for today, of course, did not appear, although Msige, who was to accompany me, was early on the spot.

At 11 o'clock in the morning came Kajibarra, the dragoman, who had accompanied Rukara<sup>22</sup> on his journey to Patiko and Lado. He brought me and Kabarega letters from Nur Aga<sup>23</sup> who has reached Magungo and writes to me that he wants me to come there and I must write to him. Kabarega asked me what I wanted to do. Murdjan Aga of Magungo is on the way and coming here. Hammam Aga has treated the people badly. I told Kabarega I must go early in the morning to Magungo, see Murjan Aga and Nur Aga and then wait for his people at Mruli . . . As for the rest, I do not think Nur Aga is the man to place with (*imponieren*) Kabarega.

In consequence of this I almost decided to go to Magungo, but soon relinquished the idea, for, on account of the constant rain, the distance would have been too great for my people.

October 25. Manyara came to give me the following news from Kabarega: Nur Aga had told Kajibarra to tell Kabarega that he should "pay no attention to my words; I am his subordinate and he is my chief, and I came to Kabarega without his permission. If he had given me ivory, Kabarega must take it back, until he came and arranges matters with me." I abstained from commenting on this clear falsehood. I told Kabarega that I had brought a letter to him from His Excellency the Pasha and he could see whether Nur Aga brought a like letter. If he did, he could learn therefrom who was right; if he did not, it was quite clear which person came from the Pasha.

Having received two elephants' tusks as a parting gift from Kabarega, we began the return march by the same road as had brought us here. A volley of guns was fired from Kabarega's headquarters on account of the parting guest.

(Rain during most of the march. Reached Bulindi.)

October 26. We reached Kitongoli, somewhat below the place where we had previously passed the night. We sheltered in some huts, dried ourselves by a blazing fire, and could not think of continuing our journey until midday. An unpleasant incident happened to me here. I discovered that unluckily I had lost my note book during the rain; but after the rain was over, a woman returned it to me uninjured.

Another occurrence took place shortly before starting. Msige wanted to take a jar full of lubias from a woman, but she, taking the joke ill, struck him over the head with the jar and wounded him badly. A fearful disturbance arose. At first they wanted to kill the woman. Eventually, after I had energetically protested, they contented themselves with carrying off a young ox and some bark-cloths and skins from her hut. The district here belongs to my acquaintance Mukiwandwa, who was unlikely to approve of this summary kind of justice. Msige's head was bandaged as well as could be and we then resumed our march. After wading through much mud and water, we got back to the old road and reached Kimanya late in the afternoon. The huts which we had previously occupied had been burnt down by the inhabitants because I, a white man, had slept in them. Nevertheless I received a friendly welcome from Bikamba and was also able to obtain a goat. We also obtained by barter a beautiful skin of the *tragelaphus scriptus*, which is very common in Bunyoro.

October 27. Kabarega had sent Mutongole Matabere to look after my porters and my comfort, but he took little trouble about these matters. It was already nine o'clock and not a single porter was to be seen I therefore sent for him, but received neither answer nor porters. So I gave the order to start and left him behind with all my belongings, for which I held him responsible to his master.

Continual struggle with thorns and grasses had thoroughly tired us out, so we were very thankful soon after to reach a few miserable huts, where we could take shelter from the torrential rain which began to pour down upon us. Only the most useless of my loads had yet arrived, while my bedding and cooking apparatus remained behind, so I was obliged to go to bed supperless, while the leaky hut, with its mosquitoes and water pouring in on all sides, proved no paradise, and I preferred sleeping on a bullock's hide in the open air. But in the morning it grew desperately cold, and when the sun rose we were all ready to start at once, although our things were only arriving in dribbles. This place was called Butobe and was inhabited by only one family, consisting of one man, eight women, two children and a dog.

October 28. A short journey through tall grass brought us to Londu, which we left a little to one side, to halt half an hour's march beyond it, in Kijibeka, where some good huts were at once placed at our disposal, and where we were given some sweet potatoes, which we relished much after our thirty-six hours' fast. The Madundi, who inhabit this district, are of a very dark colour, and speak a language quite different from that of the Banyoro. It strikes one particularly by its humming tones and jerky syllabification. These people are said to have originally come from beyond the Albert Lake, and they still practise circumcision. Their houses differ from the hemispherical 'bee-hives' of Bunyoro, in the construction of their reed walls and high porches. Some of the children are pot-bellied, a result of irregular nourishment—today a great deal, tomorrow nothing. The women wear the pretty striped aprons of bark-cloth noticed by Baker. All smoke pipes with enormously long reed stems.

October 29. A clear sky promised a fine day, and our station of Kisuga lay quite near, where we could hope to rest. Matabere appeared just before we started, and with him the greater part of my baggage. Wanted loads were still lacking, including the whole of my store of butter. He now began to make all kinds of excuses, and depreciated and cursed the people, etc., while extolling his own virtues; but as my acquaintance, Biabo, the chief of this district, most kindly offered me men, I was able to continue the march at once. Some delay was occasioned by the arrival of messengers from Kabarega, who in his name ordered

Msige to return the things he had taken on the way as compensation for his broken head, and said that on his return he might make complaint and seek redress.

From eight to ten o'clock a.m. we fought our way through grass and reeds, rested a little in a banana grove, and at last, tired and exhausted, arrived at two o'clock at our station, Kisuga.

October 30. (Emin made his way across a flooded countryside to Mruli, where eventually his missing baggage arrived intact and in good condition.)

November 3. I was informed that Nur Aga had written from Kirota and demands from here twenty soldiers for his journey to Kabarega. For what I managed with one man, he needs twenty and I have done very well not to stay at Kabarega's for Nur Aga's arrival, which would have cost me another 20 days. What Nur Aga really wants, I fail to comprehend. He with his 20 and Murdjan Aga with 15 soldiers. Whence will be forthcoming the necessary provisions for all these people?

November 9. Halil Effendi has gone . . . He goes to Foweira by water and thence by land . . . With him go Kabarega's people.

Kabarega's land borders on the south on Mpororo and Ankole, which is ruled by a ruler named Ntale, who also appears to administer parts of Ruanda. The most southerly province of Kabarega is Mwenge.

November 14. Towards evening a post came from Kisuga and with it the surprising news that Nur Aga, whom I believed to be on the way to Kabarega, has arrived at Kisuga without having yet been to Kabarega. There must be something else besides this . . . Why he has not gone to Kabarega is not clear to me.

November 17. At 4.30 in the afternoon Abdulla Aga comes here by himself. Nur Aga with his bag and baggage is with Rukara; and Kajibarra and his porters are at Kisuga. The people say they do not know the way. He has sent his Acholi dragoman to Kabarega's capital to obtain a guide and has himself come to Kisuga. At the same time Abdulla Aga said it was quite probable that Nur Aga would come here to morrow.

November 21. At nine o'clock in the morning came Mutongole Kasabe whom Kabarega is sending to the Pasha to negotiate for his submission. He has been kept back by Nur Aga. I now send him to Foweira. Perhaps he will overtake Halil Effendi at Lado. He complains about our soldiers. I think on good grounds. I have written to Feraj Aga at Lado to give him further assistance.

Nur Aga, who travelled with a banner and thirty soldiers, has returned from Kabarega's he writes me a humble and melancholy letter.

November 23. Nur Aga has, after making his report, issued a station order for provisioning himself in Kabarega's territory. So all my labours are in vain.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Stanley was misled by native information into the creating of a non-existing lake, which he called the Alexandra Nyanza.

<sup>2</sup> Mount Mufumbiro was at this date known only from distant views of it obtained by Speke in 1864 and Stanley in 1876. The exact position of the Mufumbiro Range was first plotted by the Anglo-German-Belgian Boundary Commission in 1911.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander McComb Mason served in the Confederate Navy during the American Civil War of 1861-65. He entered the service of the Egyptian Government in 1870. In 1876-7 he made a scientific reconnaissance of the Nile between Dufile and Lake Albert, and in 1877 proceeded to a thorough reconnaissance of Lake Albert itself and discovered the Semliki river. He steamed a very short distance up this river in the *Nyanza*. Reporting on his voyage he said that "on both sides of the lake the mountains diminish in altitude; and to the southward and at the foot of the lake between the two ranges was a large isolated mountain", doubtless the Ruwenzori massif, distant some sixty

miles from the mouth of the Semliki. Mason retired from the Egyptian service in 1885 and died in Washington D.C. in 1897. Accounts of his surveys of the Nile and Lake Albert are to be found in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 22 (1877-78), 225-9; and *P.R.G.S.* n.s. 12 (1890) 40-1, 170.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'Lango' or 'Lango-dyang' is misleading. When an Acholi uses either of these words, he refers to his Nilo-Hamitic neighbours to the east and north-east and not to the inhabitants of the modern Lango district, of whom he speaks as 'Omiru' (R. M. Bere, 'An Outline of Acholi History', *U.J.*, 11 (1947), 5 footnote).

<sup>5</sup> Anfina (Mupena) and his elder brother Mpuhuka were the sons of Kachope, chief of Kihukya county, who was himself the son of Kyebambe III Nyamutukura, Mukama of Bunyoro and great grand-father of Kabarega. Mpuhuka had been an unsuccessful claimant to the throne at the time of Kamurasi's accession. He was again unsuccessful in the assertion of his claim when Kabarega succeeded Kamurasi. Mpuhuka (called Fowooka in Baker's *Albert Nyanza*) died some time before 1876. On 3 February of that year Gordon informed his sister that "everyone says there is little doubt but that Kabarega's followers, when they see Masindi and Mruli taken, will bring the stool to Anfina's at Masindi. I shall leave it with Anfina for some time, for great importance is attached to it." (Birkbeck Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, p. 154.) The stool, however, never fell into Anfina's hands (K.W. 'The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara', *U.J.*, 5 (1937-8), 63-6) For the relations of Anfina with the Lango and the Acholi, see Driberg, *The Lango*, pp. 32-3. Anfina died in December 1886 or January 1887.

<sup>6</sup> Ruyonga was an unsuccessful claimant to the throne of Bunyoro at the time of Kamurasi's succession. He subsequently took refuge on an island in the Victoria Nile. After his rupture with Kabarega Baker proclaimed Ruyonga as ruler of Bunyoro, but Kabarega nevertheless remained *de facto* ruler of the country. Ruyonga died in 1881. He and Kabarega's father, Kamurasi, were cousins.

<sup>7</sup> An entry in Emin's diary on 11 October suggests that the avenging force met with no greater success than its predecessor. When R. W. Felkin visited Mruli on 1 June 1879, he was told that "some of the solders had been killed by the Lango, who live on the east bank of the Nile, and had to be avenged. The offenders were severely punished, eight hundred head of cattle had been taken from them, so that food was abundant now." This raid on the Lango had evidently taken place after Felkin's earlier call at Mruli on 27 January 1879. (*Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, i, 333; ii, 38-9.)

<sup>8</sup> The Egyptians had a small military post at Kisuga.

<sup>9</sup> Muhammad Wat el Mek, who had been instructed by Gordon to occupy Masindi, had reported to Gordon that he had in fact done so, whereas he had in fact only occupied Londu. Gordon's letters to his sister and earlier in Emin's diaries disclose the very critical position in which they were placed when they made their way in 1876 from Mruli to Baker's Masindi, only to find that there was no Egyptian garrison there. Londu appears thereafter to have been abandoned as a military post.

<sup>10</sup> According to K. W. op. cit. *U.J.*, 5 (1937-8), 67 Bikamba, the son of Kabale, of the Abaranzi clan, was county chief of Busindi.

<sup>11</sup> Striped and spotted cows are the totems of certain Banyoro clans and therefore cannot be eaten by members of those clans (Roscoe, *The Bakitara* pp. 7-9).

<sup>12</sup> Mpuhuka was an elder brother of Anfina (see Note (5)), whom he predeceased. He was county chief of Chope and, like Anfina, an unsuccessful claimant to the throne of Bunyoro.

<sup>13</sup> The real was the Maria Theresa dollar or German Crown. In 1864 this was declared in Zanzibar to be legal tender at the rate of 4.75 to the gold pound sterling (R. H. Crofton, *Zanzibar Affairs, 1914-1933*, p. 68).

<sup>14</sup> According to K. W. op. cit. 5 (1937-8), 67 Muliwandwa, son of Ogati, of the Agyasi clan, was county chief of Bulega, on the west side of Lake Albert.

<sup>15</sup> Ali Grenati (or, as Baker styles him, Genninar) was at one time in the service of Ibrahim, the leading slave trader in the Sudan. Baker commissioned him as a lieutenant in his irregular forces. After Baker's retreat from Masindi Ali had joined forces with Ruyonga and the Lango and attacked and defeated Kabarega, which had led Baker to assert in *Ismailia* p. 451 that "the country of Bunyoro was now completely in the grasp of Ali Genninar and Ruyonga". In fact Kabarega had taken refuge at Kibiro on Lake Albert and it was a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter*. Ruyonga never succeeded in holding for any appreciable length of time any part of Bunyoro.

<sup>16</sup> Martin Ludwig Hansal was Austrian Consul at Khartoum from 1862 until 1885, when he was killed in the general massacre following upon the capture of Khartoum by the Mahdi.

<sup>17</sup> Kitakara is more than once mentioned by Baker in *Ismailia*. The two met on

17 April 1872, when Baker described him as "a kind of prime minister to Kabarega" and as "the only gentleman I have seen in this country, and he never asks for presents". Nevertheless, though Baker described him as having been "our greatest friend", he was constrained to add that he "could never look me straight in the face, but always had his eyes cast on the ground when speaking or listening". After the final rupture at Masindi he approached Baker as a mediator between him and Kabarega, assuring him "that the outbreak was not the fault of Kabarega", but that the responsibility lay with those who had without orders killed two of Baker's messengers, but Baker decided that notwithstanding these protestations "it was impossible to credit one syllable in Bunyoro" and declined to come to terms with Kabarega. *Ismailia*, pp. 291-371).

<sup>18</sup> Baker's account of his dealings with Kabarega is to be found in *Ismailia*, Chapters XVII to XXII. Andereya Duhaga, a son and successor on the throne of Kabarega, supplied another version of the affair to Mrs. A. B. Fisher, who incorporated it in Chapter XII of *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda*. In 1920 Roscoe obtained a slightly different version of the affair from a man, who stated that he had acted as a messenger between Baker and Kabarega at the time of the former's visit to Bunyoro. This is given by Roscoe in *The Soul of Central Africa*, pp. 137-8. Before judgment can be passed as to the rights and wrongs in the events which led to the final rupture between the two protagonists, all these three accounts should be compared together. Examination will show that to a large extent, they are complementary, rather than contradictory, of each other. Reading between the lines of all three, one is driven to the conclusion that misunderstanding of each other's point of view, mutual suspicion and frayed nerves on both sides were mainly responsible for the final upshot.

<sup>19</sup> In actual fact Lieutenant Shergold Smith R.N. and the Rev. C. T. Wilson of the C.M.S. had reached Mutesa's capital on 30 June 1877, having sailed across Lake Victoria and not travelled overland through Karagwe. Smith had returned to the southern end of the Lake on 30 July but Wilson remained in Buganda. Stanley had finally left Karagwe en route for Lake Tanganyika on 30 March 1876. The information given to Emin on this occasion and the even more extraordinary information given to him on 12 October (vide post) gives some indication of how often the information supplied to Emin was unreliable. It was not until 1895 that the first European ladies arrived in Uganda as members of the C.M.S.

<sup>20</sup> The Barusura were members of a standing army first organized by Kabarega (K. W. op. cit. *U.J.*, 5 (1937-8), 66).

<sup>21</sup> "In the royal enclosure the king's wives had their servants and attendants. Of these there were three grades. The first two classes were permanent servants who lived in the enclosure, one set being the Bahuma maids whom the king and princes might take to wife, and the other daughters of peasants. The third class were servants, mostly from the agricultural class, who came in by the day and when they left the enclosure were free to do what they liked. It was this class that Emin Pasha came across and took to be prostitutes; many of them were indeed guilty of immorality, but it was pre-marriage and later they were married to the man." (Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, p. 154.)

<sup>22</sup> According to K.W. op. cit. *U.J.*, 5 (1937-8), 67, Rukara, son of Magigi, of the Baranzi clan, was country chief of Busongora (now forming part of the Kingdom of Toro). According to Baker (*Ismailia* p. 287) he was at the time of that writer's visit in 1872 Kabarega's generalissimo. He was driven out of Busongora in 1891 when Lugard reinstated Kasagama at Mukama of Toro (K. W. op. cit. *U.J.*, 5 (1937-8), pp. 64-5).

<sup>23</sup> Nur Aga was responsible for the fiasco which almost led to the loss of the Egyptian garrison which he endeavoured to establish in Buganda in 1876. It is clear that the fact that it was the civilian Emin, and not himself, who managed to extricate the troops without loss, that rankled with him. In a letter to Petermann Emin described Nur Aga as "a worthless, mendacious sneak". It seems perfectly clear that jealousy was the motive behind the steps which he took subsequently and which ruined all prospect of coming to amicable terms with Kabarega. The little one knows about him suggest that he was a typical example of the *miles gloriosus*.

## NYORO MORTUARY RITES<sup>1</sup>

By J. H. M. BEATTIE

LIKE other people, Banyoro fear death. In rural Bunyoro, as in most other simple peasant communities where western medical aid, though becoming increasingly available, is still exiguous, illness and death are a part of everybody's experience. People contract sudden illnesses and die, and the rate of infant and child mortality, especially, is high; there are few families which have not lost one or more children. Nyoro peasants do not believe that death comes by chance; it is almost always attributed to sorcerers, ghosts, or other malevolent non-human agents. Yet although these various forces may cause a man to die, the death<sup>2</sup> that they bring upon him is thought of as being a power in its own right. As in other cultures, death is figuratively represented as a real being, almost as a person. There are many sayings which represent it in this way, and, also, explicit or implicit references to the personalized notion of death enter into many Nyoro personal names.<sup>3</sup>

When a person dies, old people—usually old women of the household, or neighbours—close the eyes and mouth of the corpse, shave the hair and beard, trim the finger nails, and clean and wash the body. The limbs are straightened out in line with the body; it is said that if they are stiff they can be straightened by pouring water on them. The body remains in the house for a day or two with its face uncovered, so that relatives and neighbours may come and see it for the last time. During this period the women of the household weep and cry out loudly; men are not supposed to weep noisily.

When the deceased was the head of the household<sup>4</sup> a rite<sup>5</sup> used to be performed before the body was wrapped up, which symbolized the close attachment between the dead man and his dependants, an attachment now broken by death. Some grains of millet (the traditional staple of Bunyoro), mixed with simsim and fried cow-peas,<sup>6</sup> were placed in the dead man's right hand. This mixture, often eaten on ceremonial and other occasions, is called *ensigosigo*. Each of the dead man's children approached, took in his lips a small quantity of the mixture from the corpse's hand, and ate it. This signified the end of his fatherly care for them; in many contexts in Bunyoro close attachment between two people (parent and child, grandparent and grandchild, lovers, and others) is expressed by one taking from his own dish a small morsel of food, moulding it in his fingers, and putting it in the other's mouth.<sup>7</sup>

When neighbours and relatives have seen the body, it is tightly wrapped up in grave clothes in preparation for burial; formerly bark-cloth (now very expensive) was used, but nowadays blankets and sheets are more usual. If the deceased was a man, the body is wrapped by men; if a woman, by women. Formerly a rich man might be wrapped in five or six large bark-cloths. The cloths now used should be newly purchased from the shops, and they should be contributed by the friends of the deceased and, especially, by his sons-in-

law. Only if he lacked both friends and sons-in-law would money from his estate be used.

If the deceased was a household head, certain rites had to be performed by one of his sister's sons,<sup>8</sup> real or classificatory, as soon as possible after his death. All of these tasks symbolize the destruction of the household of which the deceased was the head and with which he was ritually identified. The sister's son has to wrench out the central pole of the house (this would only be possible in the old-fashioned beehive type of house, where there are several poles to support the roof), and he throws this in the middle of the courtyard. Also taken out is the dead man's eating basket,<sup>9</sup> his bowl, and the cooking stones from the hearth; like the household head, the fire which forms the centre of the home is extinguished. There will be no fire or cooking in the house until the first three or four days<sup>10</sup> of mourning have passed. A banana plant from the household's banana grove, with fruit on it, is also added to the heap. Then the sister's son should go to the well with the household water pots; he brings back some water in it, and he then breaks it in the middle of the courtyard, among the other things. These various things are broken or just scattered in the courtyard, though the sister's son has the right to take utensils or other articles that are of some use if he wants to. Traditionally, that house would not be lived in again, but a new one would be built nearby, the traditional Nyoro house being a compact, beehive-like structure which can be built in a day.

Other acts that the sister's son is expected to perform are likewise symbolic. He should catch and kill the cock which was master of the dead man's poultry; it would not do for the cock to crow, and thus act like the head of a household, when its master was dead. Even a male goat may be killed, and it is said that in former days when Banyoro had cattle the chief bull of the herd might be slaughtered. Such an animal would not be slaughtered until four days after the household head's death, but its testicles would be ligatured at once, to prevent it from engaging in any sexual activity during the time of first mourning. The meat of a fowl or animal so killed belongs to the sister's son, but it would be shared with others of the household. This killing of male animals, so that when the head of the household no longer rules no other creature in it shall do so either, is called *mugabuzi*. If there is no sister's son to carry out these tasks, some other person, not a member of the family, is selected to perform them.

The grave is dug soon after death, the next morning if the death took place at night. The dead man may have selected the site himself, perhaps in his banana grove; in any case it will be very near his home. The grave should not be dug by the deceased man's relatives, but by his friends and neighbours: only men may dig it. The person who begins the digging is called the grave-maker (*kihanga mbya*). One man digs at a time. These people come to dig because of their regard for the dead person, and also because they know that when they die or lose a relative others will help them: it may be difficult to find grave-diggers for an unpopular man, and this can be very awkward for his family. Banyoro express this obligation tersely in the phrase 'a dead person isn't meat'<sup>11</sup> The point is not unobscure, and shows the delicacy with which

Banyoro think of neighbourly relations; it is that one need feel no compunction in going to a burial, as one might in going at ordinary times to a house where meat was, for in the latter case the householder might have wished to keep it for himself or his cronies, or perhaps to dry and preserve it, in which case a visit would be an embarrassment to him.

The grave is long enough to accommodate the corpse at full length, and also for the two men who will stand in the grave to receive it. It is usually about 7 feet long, about 5 to 7 feet deep, and about 4 feet across. In traditional burial there is a narrower, coffin-like cavity along the bottom, about 18 inches deep, in which the body is laid.<sup>12</sup> When the digging is finished one of the diggers descends with a number of strong sticks about three to four feet long; these will be laid transversely across the lower cavity to prevent earth from falling or pressing on the body. (Fig 1.)

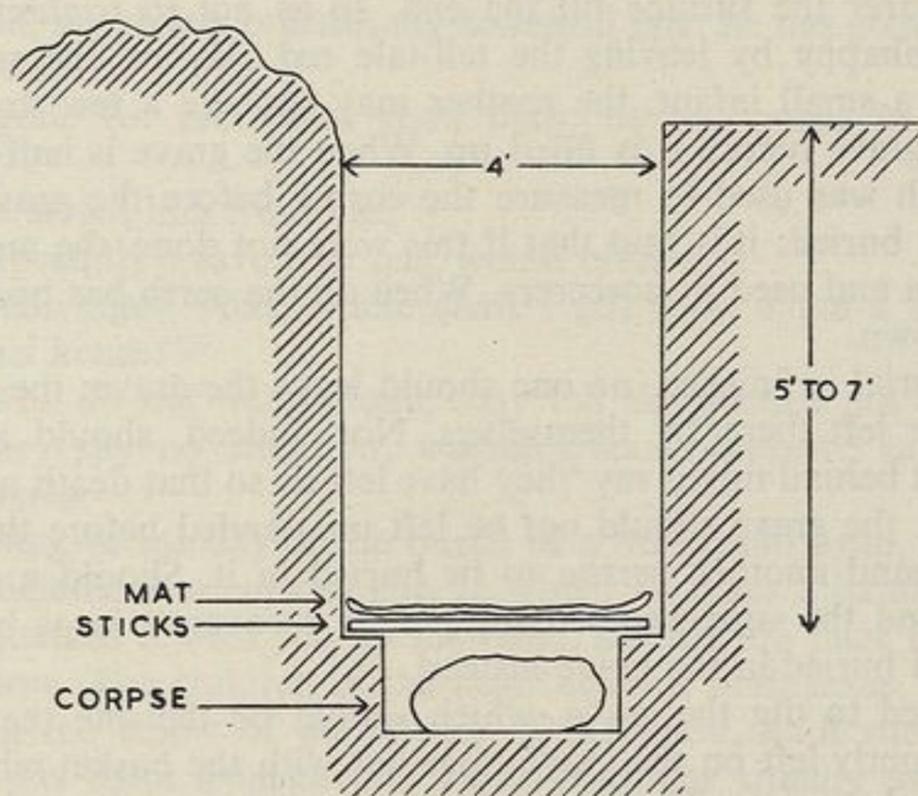


FIG. 1

Burial should take place in the morning or afternoon, not in the middle of the day, as it would be bad if the sun shone directly into the grave. When all is ready, the body is brought by some older men, who make sure that it has been properly wrapped. If the dead person was a man, the last cloth is secured at the front of the house, in the door-way; if a woman, in the inside room. At this time women are expected to moderate their weeping. The body is borne out through the gateway of the compound and taken to the grave. Everyone follows (except that a pregnant woman should not attend a burial; it might cause her to miscarry), and the group gathers round the grave. There is no weeping there. Two men get into the grave to receive the body, which may be let down with ropes.

The body of a man is laid on its right side; that of a woman, on its left; these are the proper positions for men and women to adopt when sleeping. The head

is placed towards the east. Then the sticks are laid, close together, across the bottom trench where the body now lies, a mat is laid on the sticks, and old clothes or bark-cloths on top of that. This prevents soil from falling on the body. The children of the deceased then sprinkle the first earth on the grave; they may scoop it up with their hands, but first they would, traditionally, brush a little in with their elbows, three times for a woman, four for a man. Males used their left elbows, females their right. The significance of this custom is that the survivors' hands are no longer of use to them, since they cannot now carry out their proper function of serving the deceased. Others may do likewise. This is an important act in showing good will towards the deceased and solidarity with his descendants; a person may curse<sup>13</sup> another by saying to him 'even if I die, you shall not sprinkle earth on me'<sup>14</sup> (*nobundifa otalinsensaho eitaka*), and such a curse is a very serious one. Care is taken to replace the red earth from the bottom of the grave first, leaving the darker earth from nearer the surface till the end, so as not to frighten people and make them unhappy by leaving the tell-tale red clay on the surface. If the deceased was a small infant, the mother may squeeze a few drops of breast milk into the grave before it is filled up. When the grave is half-full of earth, the stick which was used to measure the corpse before the grave was dug is thrown in and buried; it is said that if this were not done, the measuring stick might be taken and used by sorcerers. When all the earth has been put back it is trampled down.

Until the burial is finished, no one should leave the grave; the grave-diggers should not be left there by themselves. Nor, indeed, should anybody else. Anyone so left behind might say 'they have left us so that death may come and kill us'<sup>15</sup> Also, the grave should not be left unattended before the burial; if it is it may demand another person to be buried in it. Should a grave be dug prematurely and the supposedly dying person recover, a large banana stem<sup>16</sup> is brought and buried in the grave instead.

The hoe used to dig the grave, which should be the one the dead person used, was formerly left on the grave, together with the basket which was used for removing the earth. These should not be used again by the bereaved family but the hoe at least might be picked up and used by others: nowadays it may be sold, and the proceeds spent on beer for the grave-diggers. Other small personal effects of the deceased, such as his bowl or his drinking gourd, might also be left on the grave.

After the grave has been filled in, the grave-diggers are given water to wash themselves with; it is believed that if they were to walk through their fields with earth from the grave still adhering to their feet and legs, their food crops would rot. They also cut a small bit of their hair, back and front, and throw this on the grave. After they have drunk their beer the grave is left, but after a few days (four in the case of a man, three in the case of a woman) lumps of smelted iron<sup>17</sup> may be heaped on the grave, or sometimes just large stones. These are put there simply to mark the grave so that people will know that it is there and will not dig or build there. To do so might bring back the death, especially if a house should be built over a grave, when all the people of the house might sicken or die. Ghosts and evil spirits are thought to haunt burial

places, and they might make a person dream, perhaps demanding something very difficult to provide, like the sacrifice of a baby, if evil is to be averted.<sup>18</sup>

During the day of the burial nobody in the village does any agricultural work. For anyone to do so would suggest that he was a heartless person (and therefore very likely a sorcerer); also, it is said that crops planted or tended on such a day would not yield as they should.

Older informants say that formerly if a person died very ill-disposed towards someone in the family, the mouth and anus of the corpse might be stopped up with clay; it was supposed that this would prevent the ghost<sup>19</sup> from escaping and causing injury to the people against whom it had a grudge.

After the grave is filled in the party returns to the house, and the women's keening breaks out afresh. Everybody speaks of the goodness of the deceased, especially to his mother. The women cry out in various set phrases, of which the following are examples:

"He is dead, my strong buffalo, my beautiful one: he has gone; he shall not be forgotten."<sup>20</sup>

"He has gone for ever, that good man; he has gone: he shall not be forgotten."<sup>21</sup>

"Death has stolen him from me."<sup>22</sup>

And a wife, especially a favourite one, would often cry:

"Where shall I go? Alas, where shall I go? Now I am a beggar, like a dog, in this house."<sup>23</sup>

The men, who do not weep aloud, may tell the women not to mourn too loudly. But they pay no attention; women's tears, Banyoro say, are always nearer than men's.

On the evening of the day of the burial of a household head, the opener of the grave<sup>24</sup> officiates in a curious rite, in which he takes a handful of a juicy plant<sup>25</sup> and squeezes it with soot in his hand, so that the juice runs down his arm to his elbow. The children of the dead man, of both sexes, have to drink this juice from the elbow of the opener of the grave, as it runs down. This medicine protects them from certain kinds of illness ritually associated with the death. The shoot of a young tree growing from the root of a mature one is sometimes exposed when the grave is being dug, and this also may be used as a medicine for the children of the dead person: the symbolism here seems plain.

On the day of the burial of a household head, a log of firewood may be placed in the centre of the courtyard, and the children of the dead man seated on it in turn. The opener of the grave taps each of them on the side of the head with a large food basket,<sup>26</sup> and a small amount of hair from the part of the head thus tapped is cut and thrown away.

After the burial there is a period of full mourning, which lasts for four days for a man, three for a woman.<sup>27</sup> This period is called *ekiragura*, the time of darkness, or the 'black' mourning. During this time no cooking is done. To begin with, the grown-up mourners should fast, though neighbours would bring food for young children; after a day or two increasing quantities of food (but not meat) already cooked, and also beer, are brought by neighbours. Gifts of money, often quite substantial, are also made to the bereaved family, and

nowadays European commodities, such as sugar, tea and bread, may be brought. The mourners do not eat from proper vessels; they use leaves, and pieces of broken pots. The deceased's children tie dry banana stem fibres around their waist as a sign of mourning, and nobody in the household washes, shaves, changes his garments, or sleeps on a bed. They cut dry banana leaves<sup>28</sup> and sleep on these, usually spread around a fire made up in the courtyard. This is called *okugaragara*, and may be done by children, mother, clansfolk and wives of a dead household head (though nowadays mostly by men and boys); but married daughters or sisters' children who belong to other households need not do it. During these three or four days of deep mourning, friends and relatives may spend a good deal of time with the bereaved family, perhaps even spending the nights with them, so as to distract them, with conversation about other things, from thinking too much about the dead person and his ghost, which may, by this time, already be abroad.

At the end of these four (or three) days, the mourners go into the high grass a little way from the house, and wash with a decoction of a plant called *mubuza*,<sup>29</sup> shave one another's heads, pare their nails, and anoint themselves with oil. This shaving is called the 'black' shaving<sup>30</sup> They also change into clean clothes, perhaps leaving the old ones there. Some of the hair and nail clippings are collected and thrown on the grave, as also are the dry banana leaves on which the mourners have slept. After this they return to the house, led by the man who (if the deceased was the household head) will take charge of the installation of the heir. This man, who may be a brother or a close friend of the dead man, is called *mukuza*, which means guardian or sponsor; he carries the spear of the dead household head. On the way back to the house the party passes through a small, flimsy hut, with a front and a back entrance, which has been erected for this purpose. This symbolizes the 'leaving behind' of the death.

On that day the heir is formally installed, and there is a feast. The feast is called 'the emerging from death'.<sup>31</sup> A goat or fowl from the dead man's estate may be slaughtered for it, and neighbours and friends also bring contributions of cooked millet and other food, as well as beer. In particular, the deceased man's sons-in-law,<sup>32</sup> as also his sisters' husbands, should bring a pot of beer each. If they do not do this it is said that their wives may not be allowed to return home with them; the sponsor announces the name of each one who brings beer. Before the feast begins the heir is formally installed. He is probably the son of the dead man, and may be quite a young boy. A special kind of grass<sup>33</sup> is spread in front of the dead man's house, and the heir sits on the right side, the widow or widows on the left. Other herbs have also been spread in the courtyard; sweet-smelling lemon grass,<sup>34</sup> a species of yam,<sup>35</sup> and a small herb with a pretty white blossom, perhaps a celosia.<sup>36</sup> The heir is dressed in a bark-cloth. Another old man, probably another of the dead man's close friends, then takes a spear, and raising it as though he were about to strike the heir with it in the face, he approaches him and says :

"Now you are the heir to your father's stool;<sup>37</sup> be a man; the founder dies but a protector (of his line) remains. You should always welcome your

father's old friends.<sup>38</sup> Protect the daughters of the household and treat them fairly. Anything that you find too difficult you should discuss with us old men. Be strong in your father's place: if you refuse to welcome us, your father's friends who used to eat and drink with him, we shall never give you any help. Be a hero like him, and take care of all your clanspeople."<sup>39</sup>

The heir may also be addressed as *Rwolekeire* (from the verb *kwoleka*, 'to show', and the prefix *ru*, referring to death): the meaning is that death is being shown another, future, victim.

After this the sponsor brings the boy into the house, where the dead man's stool has been placed on a bark-cloth in its accustomed place, facing and to the right of the doorway, in the place called *rusika rwa nyineka* (the household head's partition, or room). He is seated on the stool. Then his father's spear, perhaps one or two of the tools he mostly used (such as an adze or an axe), and two sticks of a shrub<sup>40</sup> are handed to him. Coffee berries which have been cooked and dried, customarily handed round on polite formal occasions, are brought in, also *ensigosigo* (grains of finger millet and simsim). The sponsor picks up a pinch of this and sprinkles it on the ground, praying "may there be life, wealth and childbearing; men die, they leave others behind".<sup>41</sup> And the heir also sprinkles some of it before and behind him, and so do the other people present, some of them repeating the same prayer. But the heir does not speak; he has to remain completely silent throughout the ceremony. After this everybody is given coffee berries to chew, and a round basket is put in the middle of the floor for people to put small gifts<sup>42</sup> in for the heir, usually ten- or fifty-cent pieces, sometimes shillings. At this time, also, anybody who has a claim against the estate of the dead man introduces himself and explains about the debt he is claiming. Any claim not made now cannot be considered afterwards, except for very good reason, and only if the dead man's wives confirm it. After all this is finished, the heir leaves the stool and retires to remove his bark-cloth. Then he begins to dispense food and beer to all the guests. The beer is drunk outside; it is not brought into the house. When everybody has eaten and drunk and the beer is finished all the guests go home.

After this there is a further period, said formerly to have been two months but now more usually two weeks, during which the condition of ritual danger<sup>43</sup> consequent on the death persists, and certain ritual restrictions have to be observed. This period is called the white mourning,<sup>44</sup> in contradistinction to the 'black' mourning, which was, it will be remembered, the period of three or four days immediately after the death. During the time of white mourning the young men of the household may not sleep with women, even with their wives, and they may not even place their hands on the shoulders of any woman (an act which symbolizes sexual intercourse). The women of the household in particular, especially the wives of a deceased household head, are subject to a corresponding prohibition, but children who have left the household and married elsewhere are not. This period is also called the time of 'taking care of the *kigoye*'<sup>45</sup>. The *kigoye* is a short length of plaited rope of a special grass,<sup>46</sup> the ritual significance of which is referred to

below. 'Taking care of the *kigoye*' during the period of white mourning implies essentially a ritual obligation on the part of the widow or widows of a dead household head to abstain from sexual intercourse with anyone during this time. At the end of the white mourning everyone in the family should shave their heads again; this is called the 'white' shaving, to distinguish it from the earlier shaving, which was the 'black' shaving.<sup>47</sup>

At the end of the period of taking care of the *kigoye* there used to take place a rite called 'finishing the *kigoye*',<sup>48</sup> which has now, I think, fallen out of use. The children of the dead man, with their mother (the deceased's widow) seek out the home of a distant mother's brother<sup>49</sup> in order to 'leave the death' there. That is, they seek the home of some distant member of the child's mother's clan (in other words, of the clan from which the dead man obtained a wife); there need be no actual, or even presumed, genealogical relationship. But it must be a house where the bereaved family is not known; if they are known and news of the death has reached there, they will be refused entry, for they are bringing death to the house. If, by good luck, they find the house empty and the door open, they go in and, taking up some ashes from the hearth, they suck them and spit them out again. They also pick some grass from the roof or floor of the house, bite it, and twist it into a short, plaited cord. This they throw in the hearth, or elsewhere in the house. Then they drink some water from the household water pot, and go home. If they find people in the house, but are not recognized, they beg for a drink of water as though they were passing strangers, and surreptitiously pluck the piece of grass, twist it, and leave it there. If they are recognized all is lost, for if their intention is discovered the distant 'mother's brother' will be very angry, and may even accuse them in the chief's court. Or, worse still, he might use sorcery against them, or even return the *kigoye* to their home, which would lead to further deaths there.

The next day the widow and her children visit the home of their 'real' or nearest mother's brother (i.e. the widow's brother's or, if he is still alive, father's home). He receives them formally, seated on a bark-cloth, and asks them: 'Did you not spoil the *kigoye*?'<sup>50</sup> 'No' they reply. The widow would then, in former times, have been required to perform a further rite before she could enter her father's, or her brother's (her father's heir's) house. A plaited rope of grass (the *kigoye*) is laid across the threshold and she is required to step over this. She may also be required to pass through the long stem of a banana leaf<sup>51</sup>, split longitudinally, which is held up for her to step through. Before she does so she swears as follows:

"If I have done wrong with regard to the *kigoye* by sleeping with any man, may my *mahano* (magical potency) rise up and kill me this very moment."<sup>52</sup>

If she swears this oath and undergoes this ritual falsely, it is believed that not only will she die, but also she will bring death to her natal family and all her agnates. If it were already known that she had broken the rule of sexual abstinence, she would not be permitted to undergo the ritual or enter her father's house; when she visited there she would have to stay outside, and

food would be brought to her in the courtyard. This prohibition lasts as long as the father or his heir lives.

If all is well and the rite is successfully performed, the father or his heir formally seats his daughter and grandchildren on his lap, a rite which in Bunyoro signifies a very close and intimate attachment.<sup>53</sup> The widow may also be decorated with garlands of yam and (?) celosia,<sup>54</sup> and sprinkled with water from a gourd<sup>55</sup> as a sign of welcome and blessing. The guests are then given coffee berries and *ensigosigo*, and they pray in terms similar to those used at their inheritance ceremony: 'may there be increase, riches and child-bearing'<sup>56</sup> and 'people die, but they leave others behind'.<sup>57</sup> All who are present, including children, take pinches of the *ensigosigo* and sprinkle it behind and before. Then they are given food and beer, but they do not stay overnight.

On their way home, young men in the party should find a girl or woman—a stranger, with whom they will have no further contact—and place their hands on her shoulders. And the women should do likewise with some strange male. This gesture, symbolizing sexual intercourse, is the way of 'finishing off the death'.<sup>58</sup> It is essential that the 'victim' in each case should not know what is being done, for if he or she reciprocates, the 'death' is returned to the person who is trying to get rid of it. For this reason a small boy or girl is often chosen. It is thought to be a bad thing for the unsuspecting recipient, who may become ill and even die as a result. If the person to whom it is done knows or suspects what is happening, she (or he) may resist. In one case of which I was told an unsuspecting foreigner, a Lugbara, whom the niece of a dead person met in a shop when returning home, was, literally, pressed to sit down by means of this ritual 'laying on of hands'. In another, a young girl, who knew what was being done, struggled fiercely but ineffectually against a similar assault by a young man. Real sexual congress is, of course, no less effective, but again the victim must be unsuspecting; if a woman suspects that she is being 'used' in this way, she may return the death to her ravisher by seizing his sexual organs.

If any member of the deceased person's family 'spoils' the *kigoye* by sleeping with someone during the period when this is prohibited, he may thus bring death into the mother's brother's house. A sister's child who does this is guilty of a grave ritual offence against his mother's brother, and he is not allowed to enter the latter's house again.

After these ceremonies have been carried out, the mourning is finished, and members of the bereaved family return to normal status.

Except where it has been otherwise indicated, these ceremonies are also carried out when a woman of the household dies. The girl who is to be her heir is chosen, seated on a bark-cloth inside the house, and formally advised of her new duties and responsibilities by older women, friends or co-wives of her mother, who are present. These duties mainly relate to the necessity to be welcoming to guests, to cook well for them and so on.

Different funerary ceremonies are prescribed for the King (*Mukama*), and for twins of whom either or both die in infancy. I leave these for discussion in other contexts, adding here only a note on the method of disposing of the bodies of suicides. Suicide is not uncommon in Bunyoro, especially among

women. It is almost invariably carried out by hanging from a tree. The proper mode of burial is to dig a grave directly under the tree so that when the rope or cloth is cut the corpse falls directly into it. The tree has to be uprooted and completely burned; if this is not done it is believed that it may exercise an evil influence,<sup>59</sup> and other people will be drawn to hang themselves on it.

Incomplete and partial though the foregoing account is, it does suggest one or two points of comparative interest. Most of the symbolism involved is, of course, familiar from other cultures; the stress on the period of ritual and physical uncleanness, for example, the requirement of sexual abstinence, shaving as a rite of transition, and so on. But there are three features, in particular, which, although they may not be peculiar to Bunyoro, are especially expressive of Nyoro ideas and social values. The first is the stress on the importance of the household head, the second is the significant role played by the sister's son, and the third is the underlying antagonism between a man and his affines which is ritually expressed in the curious usage of 'finishing the *kigoye*'. I conclude with a few words on each of these three themes.

In Bunyoro the head of the family is a most important person. He is the owner<sup>60</sup> of everything the household contains, even the property of his adult sons; he is said to 'rule' the household<sup>61</sup> as the king rules the whole country, and everybody in it is expected to be respectful and obedient to him. In a sense he *is* the household, so when he dies it also ceases to exist. This is the reason for its symbolic dismemberment and destruction by the sister's son. It is consistent with this situation that the installation of the new heir is, as we have seen it to be, a very formal matter. For the son who inherits is not simply taking over the property of the dead man; he is assuming his status, and may almost be said to 'become' his father. In fact his father's son-in-law (who stand in a relationship of marked inferiority to their father-in-law's lineage) should henceforward address him and behave towards him as a father-in-law.<sup>62</sup> These important aspects of the household head's status are well brought out in the mortuary and inheritance rituals which have been described.

The relationships between sister's son and mother's brother is in Bunyoro an ambivalent one. The sister's son is a 'child' of his mother's clan and lineage, and yet at the same time he is a stranger in it. He is a 'man from outside';<sup>63</sup> the child of the 'outsider' to whom his mother's group have given a daughter or a sister. This ambivalence expresses itself in Bunyoro, as it does elsewhere, in a number of ritual prescriptions and prohibitions, and it is significant that if there is any breach of these it is the mother's brother not the sister's son who suffers. In this way the sister's son has power over and is said to 'rule' his mother's brother. These considerations make the sister's son the appropriate person to carry out the ritual destruction and scattering of effects which symbolize the end of the household head, and of the household which was identified with him. For these acts of violation are *mahano*; they are fearful and dangerous things to do, constituting, as they do, an assault on the principle of patriarchal authority, and no member of the deceased's family could possibly perform them. But the sister's son, who is not a member of the family but an 'outsider', can do them with impunity. And he is rewarded with the meat (traditionally the head) of any animal or animals killed in the *mugabuzi*

ceremony. It may also be suggested (on evidence from elsewhere; I have not put the hypothesis to Banyoro) that the sister's son is, for the group of his mother's brothers, an appropriate symbol of fertility, since he is living proof of their lineage's capacity to bear children. It is natural, then that on the occasion of death, which, as we saw, for Banyoro quite explicitly implies reference also to the idea of birth, death's opposite and complement, the sister's son should play an important role.

I now turn to the third theme and here I suspect that the rite of 'finishing the *kigoye*', is also to be understood in the context of inter-group affinal relations. The death which has destroyed the household head has, somehow, to be got rid of by taking it into the clan from which his wife and the mother of his children came, for it cannot be retained in the agnatic group of the dead man. The notion that death, like some other kinds of spiritual powers, is a real entity which may be disposed of by taking it somewhere else but which can never be wholly destroyed, is consistent with other Nyoro ideas about these matters. Some of the spirits which are employed by sorcerers, for example, cannot be destroyed, but may be induced to leave their victims, and can then be disposed of by being left in the bush or elsewhere, where they continue to exist, and may seize other people. But why should the death of the household head be got rid of by depositing it in the house of a distant clansman of his widow? I can only suggest, very tentatively, that the answer lies in the relationship of concealed and potential antagonism which, as Banyoro themselves acknowledge, underlies the formal relationship of good will which subsists between a man and the group of his wife's agnates. Whether, at the same time, the very fact that the household head's affines have 'given life' to him and to his agnates by providing him with a woman to bear him children, makes it appropriate (because of the identity-in-opposition of birth and death) to return the death to them, I have not the evidence to decide.<sup>64</sup> Such a view would certainly be consistent with the ideology of Nyoro descent grouping, for just as the agnatic group endures—or should endure—so, ideally, does the household head. In a sense the heir *becomes* his father, and so for the paternal lineage there is no death. Hence, perhaps, the need for its symbolic removal, and for its disposal among distant affines, members of the group which is most symbolic of mortality, and which, in Banyoro, is regarded as both enemy and friend.<sup>62</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> My fieldwork in Banyoro was carried out during 1951-53, and for a part of 1955, chiefly under the auspices of the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures, London. The following notes derive mostly from two informants, the late Mr. Perezi Mpuru, whose untimely death in 1953 deprived Banyoro of a native ethnographer of great potential ability, and Mr. Lameki Kikubebe.

<sup>2</sup> *Orufu*.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, for example, it is commonly said that 'Death is unknowable' (*orufu turumanyirwe*), that is, it is unpredictable, and also that 'Death is ignorant; it takes the young and leaves the old' (*orufu turumanya; rwita omuto, ruleka omukuru*). For some account of the part played by the concept of death in personal nomenclature, cf. J. H. M. Beattie 'Nyoro Personal Names', *Uganda J.*, 21 (1957), 101-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Nyineka*.

<sup>5</sup> Called *enteterwa*.

- 6 *Enkole nyamugobe.*
- 7 I am told that for hygienic reasons the ceremony of *enteterwa* is no longer performed.
- 8 *Baihwa.*
- 9 *Ndiro.*
- 10 Three for a woman, four for a man: see post.
- 11 *Omufu taba nyama.*
- 12 Nowadays this lower cavity is not made when a coffin is used (sometimes it is not made even when there is no coffin).
- 13 *Kyena.*
- 14 *Nobundifa otalinsensaho eitaka.*
- 15 *Batulekeire orufu ruleke rutuite.*
- 16 *Mugogo.*
- 17 *Butale*
- 18 Even today it is not uncommon for a family to move away altogether from a place where one or two of its members have died: 'this place is bad for us; it haunts us' (*kururuma*), they may say.
- 19 *Muzimu.*
- 20 *Afuire, mbogo yange, omurungi wange; atalyeba.*
- 21 *Ahezere omurungi agezere omurungi; atalyeba.*
- 22 *Rumunyagire orufu.*
- 23 *Ndagyaha nyowe male ngende nakaha; munaku wabu mbwa nyowe.*
- 24 *Kihanga mbya.*
- 25 Called *mugosora.*
- 26 *Kibali*
- 27 This constantly reiterated association of the number four with the male sex and three with the female occurs in many cultural contexts in Bunyoro. Its occurrence at death reflects a usage at birth; when a child is born the mother remains inside the house, by the fire place, for four days if the child is a boy, three if it is a girl, without going outside. The association through opposition of birth and death is expressed in the saying 'the happiness of birth is equal to the grief of burial' (*okusemererwa kw'okuzarwa kwingana n'okuganya kw'okuzika*).
- 28 *Isansa.*
- 29 The symbolism here seems to depend on a pun; the idea is 'to lose, get rid of, the death' (*okubuza orufu*).
- 30 *Ekiragura.* Nowadays, when many men have adopted a European-style haircut, it is often enough if a small lock of hair is cut from the front and back of the head. At a funeral in 1953, one of my informants attended the hair-cutting ceremony four days after the burial of a neighbour's infant boy. He merely had two small locks of hair cut in this way. The child's father wished to do likewise, and asked my informant to cut them for him. But the mother of the dead child intervened and insisted that he (the father) should have the whole of his head shaved in the traditional manner. If he did not, she said, she would 'do something to herself'—a threat of suicide. The father, a Christian, reluctantly agreed, saying "all right, I will follow the heathen custom *y'ekikafuiri*, but what good will it do? If I am shaved will it bring my child back to life?" In Bunyoro, as elsewhere, old is giving place to new, but not without interpersonal friction and strain in a very wide range of social situations.
- 31 *Kuturuka orufu.*
- 32 *Bako.*
- 33 *Ehunda, or ebihira bakazi.*
- 34 *Etete.*
- 35 *Rwihura.*
- 36 *Rweza*
- 37 *Kitebe.* This word, which literally means 'stool' or 'chair', symbolizes the whole of the father's familial authority. It is often loosely used, as a collective noun, to denote the local group of agnates subject to that authority.
- 38 *Abanywa b'emikago*, literally partners in the blood pact (*omukago*). This institution, formerly widely practised and still highly regarded, is now dying out, but the terms are still used to refer to any particularly close and intimate friendship.
- 39 The full text of this speech in Lunyoro is as follows: *Mpaho waba mugwetwa wekitebe kyaso, bamusaija, 'hafa katoma hasigara kalinzi,' noiriza abanywebemikago, nolinda abana bahara otalibatwara emikono enyuma, ekirakulemaga oyehanuzege abakuru nabanywani baso, bamanzi ha kitebe kyaso, obwolyanga kutuiriza itwe banywani baso abalyaga nawe nokunywa, titulikufaho nakamu, so yali musaija alya nabantu, naiwe bamanzi nkaso, nolinda bona aboruganda.*

- 40 Called *rusinga*.
- 41 *Obwomezi, okutunga, okuzara; abantu bafa basiga abandi.*
- 42 *Ebirabuko.*
- 43 *Mahano.*
- 44 *Ekyera.*
- 45 *Kulinda kigoye.*
- 46 Called *esojo*.
- 47 *Kumwa ekiragura.* The association of black with impurity, evil and danger, and of white with goodness and purity, occurs also in many other Nyoro cultural contexts.
- 48 *Kumara kigoye.*
- 49 *Nyinarumi.*
- 50 *Ekgoye mutakasise?*
- 51 *Kizingonyi.*
- 52 *Obundaba nasobeze ekigoye nabyama nomusaija, hati bunu nfe ntalya nakenfuka.*
- 53 This is called *kubukara*. It occurs, also, for example, at marriage, when the bride is seated on the laps of her parents before she leaves her home on her wedding-night, and, with her husband, on those of her parents-in-law when she reaches their house.
- 54 *Rweza and rwihura.*
- 55 *Ndembezi.*
- 56 *Okwomera, itungo, okuzara.*
- 57 *Abantu bafa, basiga abandi.*
- 58 *Okumara orufu.* The idea that a state of ritual danger (*mahano*) may be finished by a ritual act of intercourse occurs in other contexts also. For example, an initiate in the Nyoro spirit (*mbandwa*) possession cult may be required to copulate with one of the initiators, in order to finish off the *mahano* brought about by the secret and sometimes fearful proceedings of initiation, which include, *inter alia*, ceremonial enactments of death and rebirth.
- 59 *Kururuma.*
- 60 *Mukama.*
- 61 *Eka.*
- 62 *Isezara.*
- 63 *Muntu w'aheru.*
- 64 I owe this suggestion to Dr. Godfrey Lienhardt.
- 62 For an account of the ambivalence of affinal relationships in Bunyoro see J. M. H. Beattie 'Nyoro Marriage and Affinity', *Africa*, 28, No. 1, January, 1958.

## KASAGAMA OF TORO<sup>1</sup>

By O. W. FURLEY

THE kingdom of Toro in the Western Province of Uganda has seen some remarkable changes in its short history, and not least of these is the period following the restoration of the monarchy under Kasagama by Captain Lugard, acting for the Imperial British East Africa Company. What had been a puny, weak principality, which had splintered away from the kingdom of Bunyoro, now occupied a key position in the establishment of the British 'sphere of influence' in East Africa. At the same time, it became a model kingdom through which the principles of British colonial policy in this part of Africa could be exemplified, for here there was not one half of the political and religious complications which hampered administration in the neighbouring and better known kingdom of Buganda. Also, the restoration provided a splendid opportunity for leadership and the re-vitalizing of the Batoro people, which the youth Kasagama took with complete confidence, and used in such a way as to develop an unchallenged authority and a prestige among his people. It was typical of him that he was one of the very few African rulers to have left some account of his life, which enables the historian to gain a more realistic impression of his career than would otherwise be possible.<sup>1a</sup> If on occasions he fell short of the hope of his British mentors, these failings stand out sharply only because, for the most part, his reign was a success. What had been begun by the merest chance, when Lugard met Kasagama and promised to take him with him on his safari to the West, quickly developed in such a way as to make an understanding of Toro history essential for the study of Uganda as a whole.

There is a generally accepted version of the early history of Toro which places its separation from Bunyoro in the early nineteenth century, when Prince Kaboyo was sent by his father Kyebambe, Mukama of Bunyoro, into Toro to collect tribute. Instead, he rebelled and set up a rival kingdom there, founding a royal line which had some success until Bunyoro revived in power under its warrior king, Kabarega. In 1873 he invaded Toro and overran the country, and in the confused period which followed Mukama Nyaika, Kaboyo's son and successor, died in exile, leaving as heir his infant son Kasagama. He was taken by his mother to join his cousin Yafeti in Buganda, where they were hospitably received by Kabaka Mutesa. Yafeti appears to have held a minor office at Mutesa's court, but, when Mwanga succeeded, Yafeti and Kasagama retired into the country, where they had been granted an estate. Yafeti was an early follower of the Protestant missionaries then in Buganda, and it is probable that Kasagama was brought up in a home where some Christian influence was felt, which would account for his ready acceptance of the faith and zeal for its propagation when he became King. Mean-

while, Kabarega ruled Toro with an iron hand, exploiting the country, driving its inhabitants far afield, and setting up his own chiefs to rule there.

The great opportunity for Kasagama came when he heard that Lugard was setting out from Kampala to march west, in June 1891. Lugard, anxious to enlarge his small troop of Swahili soldiers into a force sufficient to keep the peace among the hostile politico-religious factions in Buganda, heard that Sudanese troops whom Emin Pasha had abandoned were still encamped near the western limits of the British sphere of influence. They were reported to be still under their native officers who, Lugard hoped, might be induced to enlist in the Company's service. If he could find them in time he hoped to forestall the Germans, who were reported to be trying to reach them. Also, Lugard was greatly taken with the prospect of opening up western Uganda for commerce. Lake Victoria and Lake Albert were to be connected by a trade route, Ankole and Toro were to be annexed in order to give access to the timber of the forests on the Congo border and, more especially, to the enormous herds of elephant there, which Lugard called 'the ivory reserve of the world'. He had also heard of the salt lake at Katwe, and wrote enthusiastically to his employers about the prospects.<sup>2</sup> Thus, by his march to the west, he hoped to achieve substantial economic and military advantages; and as he progressed he became even more convinced of the great commercial possibilities of the area, so much so that he considered that Buganda would become of secondary importance. At first, he had no plans for the political settlement of the area, beyond taking with him some of the standard treaty forms of the Company for chiefs to sign. The idea of reinstating the Toro royal line arose quite fortuitously when Yafeti and Kasagama came to see him before the journey began. Lugard's recently published diaries make it clear for the first time that the suggestion to reinstate Kasagama came from these two men, not from Lugard. Lugard was quick to appreciate the possibilities of such a plan, and based his agreement chiefly on a very favourable first impression of Kasagama's character. He tells how Zachariah, one of his men, "brought a young man of extremely prepossessing appearance. This young man, together with a older man named Yafeti, were, he said, close relations of Kabarega's and of the royal family of Bunyoro . . . These men now volunteer to accompany us. They say that the chief of Toro, the southern part of Bunyoro,—and the very part I wish to go to—is at Ntale's and that he will follow at their instance. They say that they can raise Toro to their standard, and that if they send on messengers there the people will not fly from us, but will join us against Kabarega whose tyrannies are detested."<sup>3</sup>

During the march Lugard chiefly consulted Yafeti, the older man, but his plan was to leave Yafeti at the fort he established at the salt lake (Fort George), and then take Kasagama with him into Toro proper; for Busongora, the area round the salt lake, was not then considered part of Toro. Forts were built at various strategic points to protect Toro and the salt lake from incursions by Kabarega, and Kasagama was to be installed in the central one. On 10 August they met the first group of Batoro and Lugard told them that Kasagama was now king, that Kabarega's men had been driven off, and that they could regard the British as their friends. They were delighted, and the

same story was repeated wherever Lugard went. Kabarega's men fled for the most part without giving battle, while the Batoro slowly and timidly emerged from hiding to join Kasagama, rejoicing at the prospect of better times to come. Lugard, still searching for the Sudanese, who were now reported to be considerably further north, left Kasagama at Fort Edward, and signed a treaty of protection with him which, in character with Lugard's somewhat casual methods, was written on the back of one of the Company's treaty forms. It states the plain fact that Kasagama was "made King of Toro by the British", then follows the usual pattern, to the effect that Kasagama places himself under the orders and instructions of the Company, and undertakes to prevent slave-raiding and arms-trading in his country. But, because Kasagama had to rely completely on Lugard's military protection against Kabarega, he was in no position to bargain about the very harsh clause which Lugard included appropriating all ivory in Toro to the Company and reserving the Company's exclusive right to kill elephants. Nor could he demur at the clause which provided that "so far as may be possible, and at the direction of the Company's Agent, the expenses of garrison etc. to which the Company may be put, for the safety and protection of the country, and expenses for its development and improvement, shall be defrayed out of the finances and resources of the country".<sup>4</sup>

Lugard knew that if, and when, he enlisted the Sudanese troops he would have no money to pay them, and that they would therefore have to 'live off the land' wherever they were stationed. He did not, apparently, realize that this would involve placing the protected areas under penalty of severe devastation and plunder. By mid-September he had contacted the Sudanese and enlisted them. He then installed a company of them in each of four forts facing east to guard Toro from Kabarega's attacks. Another European officer, de Winton, was left in charge of Toro, but he was given no power to issue orders to the Sudanese troops. These were to be directly under their native officers, who in their turn were personally responsible to Lugard.<sup>5</sup> Such an arrangement meant that Kasagama was protected, but at a very heavy price. Lugard has been criticized for this, especially by his missionary contemporary, the Rev. R. P. Ashe, who wrote feelingly of this and of the treaty signed by Kasagama, since the latter "was forced to promise the Company a monopoly of all ivory (elephants swarmed in the district), and in *all matters* to obey the Resident at Mengo. This treaty is quite a model instrument. Insistence on obedience in all matters—after giving up the most valuable item of revenue—might appear even to the most cynical to be going too far; while to those who advocate fair treatment for native chiefs, it will furnish a fresh argument against the system of chartered companies." De Winton had been given an impossible task, Ashe went on, of trying to maintain peace between the troops and the Batoro. "The boy chief, Kasagama, whom these wolves were placed to guard, very soon felt the sharpness of their fangs, while the unhappy people found to their cost that if Kabarega had scourged them with whips, these ruthless strangers scourged them with scorpions."<sup>6</sup> This charge contained some truth, but in fairness to Lugard it must be said that he fully realized what a menace the Sudanese troops were<sup>7</sup> and issued the strictest

orders to them that they might raid for food in Kabarega's country, but not in Toro. There were severe penalties for any soldier found dealing in slaves and all ranks were to treat Kasagama "with all the respect due to a sultan".<sup>8</sup> As for requisitioning all the ivory, Lugard soon relented and gave Kasagama permission to shoot elephants for a trial period of one year and to retain one third of the ivory shot.<sup>9</sup> He also strictly forbade the Sudanese to impose a suggested grain tax on the people and wrote to de Winton that the Sudanese were to cultivate for themselves. He realized that the troops urgently needed a European officer to supervise them, but there was simply no one to spare.<sup>10</sup>

Lugard soon left Toro to return to Kampala, but not before he had given pledges to the Batoro of considerable historical importance. It was fully realized that Kasagama's continued rule, and the newly won happiness of the oppressed Batoro, would last only as long as the British remained in Uganda, and as long as the chain of forts was manned by the Sudanese troops. The Batoro were risking their lives in acknowledging Kasagama: retribution would swiftly follow if Kabarega returned. Lugard pointed this out to the Administrator-General of the Company in a letter. The ivory and salt trade would prove valuable, so would the trade of Lake Albert, but, he wrote, "while obtaining these advantages very heavy responsibilities have been entered into, and the protection of the Company pledged to a helpless people (in Toro) who, on withdrawal of that protection, would be left to certain destruction."<sup>11</sup> He had assured all those Batoro whom he met that "the British flag would never go back", and if they doubted it "they could go and see the fort we had built on the Lake", of which he was most proud.<sup>12</sup> This was the position when Lugard left, and he allowed Kasagama to hoist the Union Jack at Fort Edward. Kasagama was to tour his kingdom with de Winton and establish his authority in all parts, setting up chiefs to represent him. His rule, however, was to be confined for the time being to Toro proper, which meant that Kitakwenda, Busongora, Butuku and Mboga were excluded. These districts were to remain directly under the Company's control, and chiefs were appointed in them. Kasagama disliked this arrangement and especially resented the appointment of Karakwanzi to Busongora, as Karakwanzi showed little respect to him and tended to be a rival. He demanded his dismissal, but Lugard shows in his diary what his plans for future settlement were: "I said that Kasagama had his hands very full at present to settle Toro proper and that until he had done so, he need not come to me with any questions or requests regarding Busongora. First I wanted to see his capacity for rule. If I found he *could* rule and settle his country, I would enlarge it, but first I wanted to see heads of districts appointed, officers of state, a law of the land, a court of justice, etc., throughout all the country from No. 1 stockade (Wavertree) on the North to Ruwenzori on the West, and No. 4 on the South here. When he had instituted law and order here, I would add Busongora and perhaps Butuku, also the country to west of Ruwenzori and to the boundary of British dominions, but first I must see his capacity for rule."<sup>13</sup> To this end, de Winton was left in Toro to help Kasagama and was instructed by Lugard to supervise the establishment of law and order. His task was extremely difficult: not only did he have little control over the Sudanese

garrisons, but also some of the more powerful chiefs were not ready to acknowledge Kasagama as their king. He achieved much however, and was soon sending reports to Lugard that Kasagama was doing very well, chiefs were being appointed, and thousands of Batoro were returning to their land.<sup>14</sup>

Even before he reached Kampala, Lugard received news that the Company was proposing to abandon Uganda as too great an expense. The story of his intense concern at this news, and of his subsequent publicity campaign in England, urging the British Government to take over protection of the country, is well known. Sir Gerald Portal was sent out by the Government to report whether such action was feasible, and when he arrived he had no hesitation in declaring a protectorate over Buganda, action which the Government later ratified. It is clear however that Portal disapproved of Lugard's activities in the West, and treated his work there as of little value. The Sudanese in the forts were reported as a curse on the land, and Portal discounted Lugard's claims for the commercial prospects of Toro and the Salt Lake. "The former ideas about its probable value would appear to have been founded on a misconception", he wrote,<sup>15</sup> and he did not consider that the British Government had any responsibility for arrangements made by the Company outside Buganda. He sent Major Owen and his own brother, Captain Raymond Portal, to withdraw the garrisons of the northernmost forts, No. 1 (Wavertree) and No. 2 (Lorne), guarding Toro, and establish new forts on a line facing north, to protect Buganda from invasion by Kabarega. "If Kasagama elects to remain near forts 1 and 2" Portal wrote to Owen, "as I gather from your letter that he does, he will remain there entirely at his own risk. I understand that he claims to have been promised 'British protection', by which I presume he means the protection of the Imperial British East Africa Company. While not admitting that such promises on the part of the Company, who have definitely abandoned all interference in the affairs of Uganda and the neighbouring countries, throws responsibility on H. M. Government, I am quite prepared, pending the final decision of the government on this question, to extend protection to Kasagama provided that he establishes himself in some place to be pointed out by yourself, protected by, and in the vicinity of, an English fort."<sup>16</sup> Portal in fact wanted to offer Kitakwenda as a suitable region where Kasagama might settle. "Remember that Toro in itself is an encumbrance, pure and simple," he told Owen.<sup>17</sup> The latter, seeing the situation on the spot, disapproved whole-heartedly of this cavalier treatment of Kasagama, and attempted to modify Portal's policy so far as to border on outright insubordination. He refused to abandon Forts 1 and 2, writing to Portal that his reasons for retaining them, at any rate temporarily, were "economical, strategical and philanthropical",<sup>18</sup> and one suspects that the last reason was the one which weighed most with him. He entirely agreed with Kasagama that to abandon the forts would be "like taking the lock and key from his front door", and he considered that to leave Kasagama, whose subjects now numbered 5,000, to the mercy of Kabarega, would be a crime against humanity.<sup>19</sup> Eventually he persuaded Portal to agree to abandon only the northernmost fort, and to build another, known as Fort Gerry (later Fort Portal), to protect Kasagama. Fifty soldiers were left at Fort Gerry, and

Kasagama was to supply them with food for six months.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, Kasagama was virtually the only source of food supply for most of the troops during Owen's evacuation, and this appeared to Owen to increase the moral obligation to help him. Kasagama was given the choice of leaving Toro to settle in a more secure area, or of fending for himself with the help of the reduced garrisons. Captain J. R. L. Macdonald, who temporarily succeeded Portal as Commissioner, offered him territory in Singo. Typically, Kasagama chose to stay and defend himself, and was given two hundred muskets for his defence, while Macdonald went one stage further than Portal and decided to withdraw the entire body of Sudanese troops into Buganda.<sup>21</sup> Kasagama in his diary confirms this story but adds the laconic comment that very few cartridges were supplied with the muskets.

Kabarega quickly perceived what the evacuation meant, and invaded Toro once more with such force that Kasagama and his men were put to rout and fled into the foothills of the Ruwenzori Mountains. In his diary, Kasagama vividly describes his life during the next few months as a fugitive king, hunted and hungry, with men round him dying from cold and exposure. His reflections concerning British protection might well have been bitter. But Macdonald had at least promised that an expedition against Kabarega would be sent within a few months, and this promise was kept. Kabarega, as the Rev. R. P. Ashe pointed out, did in fact have some justification for over-running Toro and claiming the territory as his, and for making some reprisal for the Sudanese raids into Bunyoro which Lugard had licensed.<sup>22</sup> Colonel Colvile, who replaced Macdonald as substantive Commissioner in November 1893, heard of the invasion of Toro in December, and decided that its re-occupation was necessary in view of his official instructions to protect British interests in the Nile Basin. The Khalifa's armies in the Sudan were the chief threat: these might join with the hostile Kabarega and even with the Muhammadan party in Buganda. Colvile's aim was, therefore not only to re-occupy Toro and resume defence of the forts, but also to invade Bunyoro and capture Kabarega.<sup>23</sup> He heard moreover that the Germans were said to be advancing towards the Salt Lake. If the defence of the Nile basin seemed rather a remote reason for turning his attention towards Toro, Colvile also had another reason: he took a different view from Portal and judged that the salt and ivory trade would be of substantial value.

Accordingly he set out with a considerable force against Kabarega, and when the advance was going reasonably well he despatched two officers, Owen and Villiers, with thirty-eight Sudanese and forty-seven Swahilis, to restore Kasagama's position in Toro, and to form a confederacy of friendly chiefs round him. By late February 1894 Colvile was able to report that Owen had been successful: Kasagama had been re-established in his capital by Fort Edward, and Fort George at the Salt Lake had been re-occupied. Kasagama was once more king of Toro proper and, furthermore, Owen had extended his authority over Busongora and Kitakwenda, while the lesser chiefs of Mwenge, and Kyaka also acknowledged his rule, thus somewhat enlarging his kingdom. On 3 March 1894, Owen and Kasagama signed a new treaty, which followed the usual form in allowing British subjects free access and the right to build

houses, possess property and conduct trade.<sup>24</sup> However, he also imposed for the benefit of H. M. Government monopoly of the trade of the country and this agreement, if rather more liberal than Lugard's, still deprived Kasagama of much of the natural resources of the land. All salt was to be the Government's, part of the proceeds being used to defray the expenses of the Fort George garrison, while, in return for British protection, Kasagama was burdened with a tax of forty frasilas of ivory per annum, equivalent to £800 at the Coast price.<sup>25</sup> In his diary, Kasagama states that at the time he was still illiterate and knew very little about frasilas. Certainly the tax was harsh, and two years later it was reduced from forty to ten frasilas, while Kasagama was allowed to take a proportion of the salt. He was helped, and the garrisons supervised, by a special officer, J. P. Wilson, whom Colvile sent to Toro in June. Colvile also sent a second expedition against Kabarega, which having all but succeeded in capturing him drove him into deeper hiding and secured an even greater measure of safety for Kasagama. The British Government, however, still tended to take Portal's view concerning territories outside Buganda, and the Earl of Kimberley wrote to Colvile from the Foreign Office that responsibilities of H. M. Government were primarily connected with the protectorate of Buganda, and that he should confine his actions elsewhere to such measures as might be necessary for military reasons in order to provide for the defence and security of the Protectorate.<sup>26</sup> Toro clearly was still of little value in the eyes of the government, although its position was now incomparably better than it had been under the protection of the Company. The unruly Sudanese had for the most part, gone; the forts were manned only by small garrisons, 'symbols of our friendship' as Colvile called them; they were under British command, and there was now a permanent British officer in the district. Moreover, Kabarega, though still at large, was no longer the danger that he had been. His military power had been broken.

Now that comparative peace was established, Kasagama was able to lead his people, with British help, towards a more advanced level of civilization. One very important step in Toro was the establishment of Protestant and Roman Catholic missions on a permanent basis. When Kasagama had first become king, Yafeti, who was his chief adviser, was already a Protestant follower, and he persuaded the Rev. R. P. Ashe in 1892 to translate the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments into Lutoro. Ashe printed a thousand copies, which he sent to Yafeti. They were torn up by the Sudanese troops, who at this stage formed a barrier against the spread of Christianity. Kasagama, however, sent messengers to Kampala asking for Christian teachers to be sent, and Bishop Tucker was anxious to respond to the request. Sir Gerald Portal was in Uganda at the time, and, seeing the confusion caused by Protestant and Catholic rivalries in Buganda, refused to allow both missions to begin work in Toro simultaneously. Accordingly, he tried to get both Bishop Tucker and Monsignor Hirth to agree that the former should extend his activities to the East only, and the latter to the North and West. Bishop Tucker, therefore agreed not to send missionaries to Toro 'for some months to come', or until he had received the decision of the C.M.S. Committee regarding this. Portal, however, hoped that such an agreement would

last for five or ten years.<sup>27</sup> In fact this was only a verbal agreement and, though much sympathy may be felt for Portal's effort to prevent the further spread of religious rivalry, there was a clear demand in Toro for both Protestant and Roman Catholic teaching, and teachers of both denominations found their way there. Four Protestant teachers had gone to Toro in 1894. Early in 1896, when Kasagama was called to Entebbe, he took religious instruction preparatory to his baptism at Kampala on 15 March by Bishop Tucker, taking the name of Daudi. Later Tucker also baptised the Namasole, Victoria, and the Queen, Damari. In addition to the Baganda evangelists working in Toro, Fisher and Lloyd went there in the same year, and Kasagama built a house for them. Bishop Tucker went with Fisher, and on his arrival at Kasagama's capital, Tucker held a service attended by five hundred worshippers. There were fifteen Baganda teachers at work in Toro, and soon all districts except Kitakwenda were under the rule of Christian chiefs.<sup>28</sup> What Portal had tried to prevent, had, however, already started. Father Achte of the White Fathers Mission had reached Kasagama's in November 1895 and was later joined by Father Varangot. Thus there was keen competition among the missionaries to gain the adherence of chiefs. Antagonism between them grew, so that Captain Sitwell, officer in charge of Toro in 1896-8, had the task of reconciling the two sides in order to put them even on speaking terms with each other, which he did by inviting them to share his hospitality.<sup>29</sup> But the situation was far from perfect, because Kasagama himself was intensely partisan in such matters, tending to favour only Protestants. Complaints were made to Entebbe of his persecution of Roman Catholics, and Sitwell did his best to stop Kasagama from forcing the Protestant faith on his chiefs.<sup>30</sup> Sitwell, however, put much of the blame on Achte and Fisher, and noted a marked improvement in Kasagama's attitude after the temporary departure of Fisher in February 1897.<sup>31</sup> Gradually the intensity of feeling diminished, though Father Roche complained frequently on behalf of the Catholics in 1899, and Bagge, officer in charge in that year, constantly urged Kasagama that he must be impartial in such matters, as Kasagama records in his diary. Bishop Tucker paid a second visit to Toro in July 1898, with Dr. Albert Cook, and found that most of Kasagama's ministers and chiefs were Protestants. Tucker was pleased with the progress made, and found that the missionaries Lloyd and Buckley now had a church to hold a thousand people at the capital, Kabarole, while twenty Baganda teachers and forty-five local teachers carried on work at twenty outstations. During the next few years he paid frequent visits to Toro, since he regarded it as a mission sphere which was not merely an outpost of the C.M.S. work in Buganda, but equally important in its own claims.<sup>32</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, coming to Toro to make the 1900 Agreement with Kasagama reported that Christianity had clearly made widespread progress in Toro, as it had done in Buganda, but that these were the only two areas where it had so far taken a real hold.<sup>33</sup> At the time of the Agreement, he made provision for land to be held by the missions, so that teachers could establish self-supporting plantations, with their small communities of followers round them. Maddox of the C.M.S. was responsible for another major advance when he substituted

a Lunyoro New Testament, Prayer Book and Hymn Book for the Luganda texts used previously. This was at the request of Kasagama and, according to Tucker, this change was greatly pleasing to 'nationalist sentiment'.<sup>34</sup>

As in other parts of Uganda, education in Toro was pioneered entirely by the missions, who fostered both general and technical education. The C.M.S. mission established a spinning and weaving school;<sup>35</sup> they also formed a syndicate with Kasagama and the principal chiefs to erect a power mill for Toro wheat, until it was taken over by the British East African Corporation Ltd.<sup>36</sup> Progress in building schools was slow, but before the outbreak of the Great War a fair beginning had been made, the White Fathers having built schools to accommodate 693 boys and 450 girls, the C.M.S. having two boarding schools for 60 and 40 pupils, and a large new day-school for younger children.<sup>37</sup>

The influence of these developments on Kasagama's character and his rule cannot be overestimated, and in many ways he proved to be a ruler of remarkable liberalism and enlightenment. With the encouragement of the C.M.S. missionaries he freed all those slaves who desired freedom; abolished the superstitious taboo on eating mutton by eating it himself and by inviting some of the Christian chiefs to the same meal; initiated vaccination against smallpox, and asked to be allowed to witness an operation with chloroform which he then saw with amazement, performed by Dr. Cook. He encouraged industrial training by sending people to the centre at Kampala, and bought tools from England, erected a shed close to his palace, and installed a youth as carpenter to the royal household, with twenty apprentices under him. By 1900 he was using a typewriter, and was engaged in writing a history of Toro, (perhaps the beginnings of the 'diary' mentioned above). He took to wearing spectacles, and learned to play tennis. On a more serious note, he gave constant encouragement to the spread of education and to the establishment of cash crops in Toro: he was one of the first to plant coffee, and was a founder director of the Toro Mills Limited in 1915. In that year also he drew up an ambitious, though much too premature, scheme for compulsory universal education in Toro.<sup>38</sup> In such ways did he fulfil the hopes of Lugard when the latter installed him as king, and if his reign saw the emergence and rapid development of Toro, it was due in no small measure to his own character.

It cannot be said, however, that his relations with the Protectorate Government, or with British administrators in Toro, were always easy; and from the Government's point of view he was neither a model nor a puppet king. Quarrels were frequent, and on several occasions Kasagama was summoned to Entebbe to be reprimanded by the Governor. The most serious crisis was the first, in 1895, when Captain Ashburnham was the officer in charge, and here it seems that, though Kasagama was at fault, Ashburnham dealt with him in an unnecessarily harsh manner. He accused Kasagama of stealing women, gun-running and trading in powder, contrary to the treaty he had signed. Clearly there was confusion after the fighting against Rabadongo, a warring chief, who surrendered seventy rifles, which Kasagama was accused of appropriating. Further, Ashburnham decided to arrest Kasagama for not paying his tribute of forty frasilas of ivory to the government, though earlier

he himself had admitted that the tax was too heavy, and ought to be reduced. However, he imprisoned Kasagama and put him to work in the chain-gang like a common criminal; he beat the Katikiro, and allowed the Sudanese troops to ransack Kasagama's palace in search of arms and powder.<sup>39</sup> He sent Kasagama under arrest to Entebbe, where Bishop Tucker interceded for him, after having written a strong letter of complaint to the Commissioner, Berkeley, about the treatment accorded to him. Kasagama was exonerated, his tribute was reduced to ten frasilas, and Ashburnham was shortly afterwards replaced by Captain Sitwell.<sup>40</sup> Kasagama understandably nursed a grudge over his treatment, but it seems probable that his own conduct left something to be desired. Sitwell also had trouble with him, and reported that he was 'above himself'. He continued to steal wives, and Sitwell was relieved when Kasagama's elder brother, previously a prisoner of Kabarega's arrived in 1896: "Now there is someone to whom one could give the country if Kasagama does not behave," he wrote.<sup>41</sup> Berkeley also at this time considered it likely that Kasagama would have to go if he did not improve as a ruler.<sup>42</sup> Later Sitwell was able to report that there had been very few complaints against Kasagama by his own people;<sup>43</sup> but early in 1899 he was again in trouble and was sent to Kampala where he was fined 10 frasilas of ivory and 10 cows. Bagge, who took over in 1899, was pleased with Kasagama and described his rule as praiseworthy, and he upheld him against further charges of intolerance by the Roman Catholic missionaries; he also placed entire confidence in him over his appointment and dismissal of chiefs, frequently pointing out that such matters were for Kasagama to decide.<sup>44</sup>

Such was the position when Sir Harry Johnston came to Uganda as Special Commissioner late in 1899, and after much negotiation effected the Uganda Agreement, 1900, providing the Administration with revenues from a hut tax, and with Crown lands for development. Johnston also wanted to do the same thing for Ankole and Toro, and wrote to Bagge that he was to prepare the Batoro for such steps, and as a first requirement Kasagama was to appoint chiefs to sub-districts capable of collecting a hut and gun tax, similar to that now imposed in Buganda.<sup>45</sup> Such an imposition, coming without any previous warning or explanation, naturally caused consternation in Toro. Kasagama records in his diary hostility primarily to the notion that the hut and gun tax would herald an agreement copied from the one Johnston had made in Buganda; while Bagge also doubted the feasibility of a hut tax in a country where few had any means of paying.<sup>46</sup> Johnston, however, intended to make a Toro Agreement on somewhat similar lines to the Buganda Agreement, and arrived in June to execute it, relying on his own powers of persuasion. These were great: he was greeted with warmth, and his speech on arrival was flattering and re-assuring. In an remarkably short time the Agreement was, with the aid of Maddox as interpreter, drawn up and signed. The chiefs raised few difficulties except the one mentioned above, that it was too like the Buganda Agreement. This was so, but it was a much simpler version.<sup>47</sup> The principles were the same: the ruler and his chiefs were acknowledged, they were given private estates and official holdings, and a percentage of the hut and gun taxes. Native law courts were set up. All land which was uncultivated

at the time was claimed by the Government. There were, however, some details which caused confusion later on. The idea of a 'Confederacy' of Toro, originally introduced by Owen, was retained, so that although Kasagama was acknowledged as 'Kabaka' of the whole, he was given the status of county chief as well, in his own division of Toro proper. For this he was entitled to 10% of the tax revenues of the division, just as the other chiefs were, quite apart from his 10% of the total tax revenue of the whole country. This in fact led to a diminishing of his authority over the other chiefs, who tended to look on him as in one sense their equal. Further, waste lands, forests, mines, minerals and salt deposits were to be in the hands of the Government, while the Kabaka and those chiefs named in the Agreement were to hold some land by virtue of their office and other land as private estates. None of these chiefs was to levy tribute or rent from tenants except by permission of the Government, but their reward was to be solely the percentage of tax revenue mentioned above. Such a land settlement caused difficulties which grew continuously until the end of Kasagama's reign. In the first place, the vast majority of lesser chiefs were not named in the Agreement and so received no official estates. They, therefore, continued to levy private tribute from their tenants, which often put them in a more advantageous position than the named chiefs, whose share in the tax revenue proved to be a small reward; and when they retired or were deposed, they had no means of support. There was much confusion as to which were official and which private estates, as these estates were not surveyed or marked out until many years later. By this time the amount of cultivated land had greatly increased, so that it was impossible to tell what had been uncultivated land at the time of the Agreement, and could therefore be claimed as Crown land. Johnston wrote to the Marquess of Salisbury reporting this settlement, but did not point out that all depended on a complete survey of the land being made in the near future. He cannot, of course, be blamed for the grave omission of the Government in not providing such a survey for many years, and he did try to make it clear (though not in the Agreement itself), that all land in the occupation of native owners at the time of the Agreement would be secure and undisturbed.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, while he remained in Uganda, he received reports giving every indication that the Agreement was to everybody's satisfaction. Baile, the officer in charge, now styled 'Collector', told him that the taxes were being paid without undue trouble and that though many Batoro had gone to the Belgian Congo to avoid payment, this situation was temporary only since the taxes there were much heavier and the emigrants would therefore soon return.<sup>49</sup> Two months after the Agreement Johnston wrote that the Toro chiefs were more loyal than any in Uganda.<sup>50</sup> In 1901 Kasagama was given the lease of the Salt Lake, which in effect meant a useful additional revenue, in return for which he was to pay the government a royalty of one rupee per 60 lb. load of salt.<sup>51</sup>

It was only to be expected, however, that in the continued absence of a land survey, doubts and fears would arise. Assurances had to be given by the Government that private lands held before the Agreement would not be taken away, and the chiefs wanted to know if sub-chiefs were to be allowed private

estates. Mounting uncertainty and dissatisfaction led finally to the crisis in 1906, when the so-called 1906 Agreement was drawn up, though in fact it was merely a number of amendments to the 1900 Agreement. The Kabaka and his assembly of chiefs, the *Lukiko*, wanted a large number of far-reaching changes, and proposed them in a long petition to the Commissioner. Knowles, Acting Sub-Commissioner for Western Province, went into the matter thoroughly, and reported on the situation to the recently appointed Commissioner, Hesketh Bell.<sup>52</sup> They stated that they did not fully comprehend the 1900 Agreement at the time they signed it, though Knowles points out that the petition in fact arose through the 'overruling influence' of Kasagama: the five chiefs of the sub-divisions were quiescent in the matter, except in so far as they wanted further provision in the land settlement. In the petition redress was sought in respect of a large number of grievances. A document was drawn up containing the substance of the amendments required,<sup>53</sup> and Knowles expressed sympathy with most of it. The administrative division of Toro Proper was to cease to exist, and was to be divided up into new areas, whose *saza* chiefs were to be officially recognized. Thus Kasagama would lose his percentage of revenue from 'Toro proper', but he was to gain a certain amount of additional private estate. The main advantage was that he would no longer be a *saza* chief; the notion of a confederacy would no longer exist, and his status as king would be greatly enhanced. Kasagama was to have the right to nominate his successor, but the succession was to be entailed in Kaboyo's line, and to be subject to the approval of the *Lukiko* and Government. In the same way, chiefs were already entitled to nominate their successors, but the *Lukiko* now sought power to approve their choice. Regarding the most important question, the land settlement, the *Lukiko* naturally wanted Crown lands to be taken not from land uncultivated "at the date of this Agreement", but "at the time when the government survey shall take place". Knowles approached the Commissioner on this point, and he agreed, "as it would be only fair to the natives not to claim their cultivated lands, and a great encouragement to the people to cultivate with this understanding". The chiefs were then to mark out and cultivate their private estates, and when the survey was made they could take it that their official estates, which were perquisites of office only and not hereditary, would be marked out of waste land.

The chiefs also made an entirely new demand for 3,000 square miles to be allotted to the sub-chiefs and *batongole*, (lesser chiefs) of whom there were eight hundred, who were not provided specifically by the Agreement with any land at all. Knowles thought this was a very high proportion of land to demand, as the whole of Toro was said to be only 6,000 square miles. Furthermore, the *Lukiko* wanted the *bakopi*, the peasant tenants, not mentioned in the Agreement, to be confirmed in their holdings, provided that a rent of two rupees or one month's labour per annum was allowed, payable to the *saza* chiefs. This they considered was a modest rent, which could not be labelled extortion. Finally they wanted better terms for working the Salt Lake; but Knowles thought Kasagama already made a reasonable profit. He did, however, suggest that they ought to be allowed access to iron ore deposits

sufficient for their needs. He would also inspect the districts of Mboga and Bwamba to see whether it was desirable to add them to the kingdom. Knowles in fact attached much importance to the Lukiko's demands which were not so much amendments as amplifications of the Agreement, and he thought the time was ripe for such clarifications to be made. "There is no doubt," he wrote, "that a spirit of unrest is germinated, which becomes more serious as years pass on; no definite settlement is made and there is little doubt that the delay in this matter is accountable for the tardy progress up to date made by Toro in comparison with the other countries under the Protectorate. I am glad to be able to report an undoubtedly forward movement has commenced this year in Toro, as evidenced by the hut tax revenue being practically double that of last year, and a more favourable opportunity than the present could not be chosen to encourage a steady progress."

Hesketh Bell, the Commissioner, drew up the final concessions to be granted to them in what is called the 1906 Agreement, on 13 July.<sup>54</sup> In it he wished to assure the Kabaka and Lukiko that the Government's promises would be fulfilled, and they would continue to receive protection and justice in return for loyalty and obedience. To clear up any doubts regarding the intentions of the Government, he declared the following "decisions and directions". First, Kasagama was recognized as king of the whole Toro Confederacy, including what had been Toro proper. (Unfortunately the word 'confederacy' was retained, though Knowles had strongly advocated the term 'kingdom'.) Toro proper was now divided up into four sazas, under saza chiefs who were to have the same privileges, estates and emoluments as those possessed by chiefs recognized in the Agreement. Secondly, Kasagama obtained the right to nominate his successor, "and when possible such successor will be a descendant of Kaboyo. His appointment shall, however, be subject to the approval of H. M. Commissioner." It was granted to the Lukiko to approve saza chiefs' nominations of successors. The Katikiro, not mentioned in the 1900 Agreement, was to be awarded official estates. Promise was made to consider other requests, and, in return for the benefits and concessions now granted, the hope was expressed that Kasagama and the chiefs would loyally observe the spirit of the Agreement.

This declaration marked a definite constitutional advance for the kingdom, and it met some of the Lukiko's demands fully. In fact it added little to what had already been promised regarding the land settlement, and for many years afterwards the Batoro had to be content with promises and the temporary issue of provisional titles to land until the survey took place between 1923 and 1928. Such was the weight of the Government's assurance, and such was the general satisfaction with the promises for the future, that no further major demands were put forward for the next twenty years, that is until the crisis of 1926 which provoked a special enquiry.<sup>55</sup> Then the grievances and uncertainties expressed were almost exactly the same as those in 1906; this was an extraordinary comment on the trust exhibited by the people, and their acquiescence in the slow rate of development. 1906 had indeed been a landmark when trust was renewed, confidence restored, and Kasagama's authority strengthened. Other agreements were signed, improving the administration of

the country, such as the Poll Tax Agreement of 1910, and the Judicial Agreement of 1912; but the formative, crucial years had now passed. Lugard's decision on the spur of the moment to take Kasagama with him to Toro had been the signal for a remarkable revival of the kingdom, which was to flourish as never before, and to become a permanent and valued constituent part of the Uganda Protectorate. Kasagama continued to rule until his death on 31 December 1928; the second half of his reign was one of administrative, economic and educational development, a different type of story from that related here, but all of which was built on the foundations laid between 1891 and 1906.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Read as a paper to the Uganda Branch of the Historical Association.
- <sup>1a</sup> I am indebted to the District Commissioner's office, Fort Portal, for allowing me to peruse this diary, which is headed 'Toro Notes', being notes made chiefly by Kasagama himself. My thanks are also due to Mr. A. Manyindo, a student at Makerere College, for translating it from Lutoro into English.
- <sup>2</sup> Report to the Imperial British East Africa Company, 13 August 1891, *Africa* No. 4 (1892), C.6555, pp. 114. 120.
- <sup>3</sup> *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, ed. M. Perham and M. Bull, London, 1958, 5 June 1891, ii. 201.
- <sup>4</sup> Treaty with Kasagama, 14 August 1891, F.O./6341/95, Inclosure No. 2.
- <sup>5</sup> Instructions to Mr. F. de Winton, Kivari, 27 November 1891, *Africa* No. 2 (1893), C. 6848.
- <sup>6</sup> R. P. Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*, London, 1894, pp. 184, 187-8.
- <sup>7</sup> See O. W. Furley, 'The Sudanese Troops in Uganda', *African Affairs*, 58 (1959), 311.
- <sup>8</sup> Orders for Sudanese, Kivari, 27 November 1891, *Africa* No. 2 (1893), C. 6848.
- <sup>9</sup> *Africa* No. 2 (1893), C. 6848.
- <sup>10</sup> F. D. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Edinburgh, 1893, ii, 402.
- <sup>11</sup> Lugard to the Administrator-General of the Imperial British East Africa Company, Mombasa, 5 January 1892, *Africa* No. 2 (1893), C. 6848.
- <sup>12</sup> *Africa* No. 2 (1893), C. 6848.
- <sup>13</sup> *The Diaries*, ii, 407-8.
- <sup>14</sup> F. D. Lugard, *op. cit.*, ii. 400-1.
- <sup>15</sup> Portal to the Earl of Rosebery, Port Alice, 24 May 1893, *Africa* No. 8 (1893), C. 7109.
- <sup>16</sup> Portal to Owen, Port Alice, 6 May 1893. Entebbe MSS Outward, A 3/1.
- <sup>17</sup> Portal to Owen, Kampala, 23 April 1893. Entebbe MSS Outward, A 3/1.
- <sup>18</sup> Owen to Portal, Port Alice, 25 August 1893. Zanzibar Residency MSS B. 27.
- <sup>19</sup> Owen to Portal, Fort 2, 23 April 1893. Entebbe MSS Inward, A 2/1.
- <sup>20</sup> Owen to Portal, Fort de Winton, 9 June 1893. Entebbe MSS Inward, A 2/1.
- <sup>21</sup> J. R. L. Macdonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*, London, 1897, pp. 296-9.
- <sup>22</sup> R. P. Ashe, *op. cit.*, pp. 459-60.
- <sup>23</sup> Colvile to the Consul-General, Zanzibar. Port Alice, 28 November 1893. Zanzibar Residency MSS B. 28.
- <sup>24</sup> *Africa* No. 7 (1895), C. 7708.
- <sup>25</sup> Owen to Colvile, Fort de Winton, 8 March 1894, *Africa* No. 7 (1895), C. 7708.
- <sup>26</sup> The Earl of Kimberley to Colvile, 23 November 1894, *Africa* No. 7 (1895), C. 7708.
- <sup>27</sup> Portal to the Earl of Rosebery, Kampala, 8 April 1893, *Africa* No. 8 (1893), C. 7109.
- <sup>28</sup> Bishop A. R. Tucker, *Toro Visits to Ruwenzori*, London, 1899, *passim*.
- <sup>29</sup> Sitwell, Report on Toro District for 1897-8. F.O.C.P. 7400/82.
- <sup>30</sup> Sitwell to Berkeley, 16 September 1896. Entebbe MSS Inward, A 4/5.
- <sup>31</sup> Sitwell, Report on Toro District for 1897-8. F.O.C.P. 7400/82.
- <sup>32</sup> Bishop A. R. Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- <sup>33</sup> Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, i, 272.
- <sup>34</sup> Bishop A. R. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, London, 1911, pp. 331-2; and R. B. Fisher, *On the Borders of Pigmy Land*, London, (1905), p. 95.
- <sup>35</sup> Cmd. 787, Annual Report and Blue Book, Uganda, 1912-13, pp. 14-5.

- <sup>36</sup> Entebbe 3314, Western Province Annual Report, 1912-13, p. 4.
- <sup>37</sup> Entebbe 3314B, Western Province Annual Report, 1914-15, p. 28.
- <sup>38</sup> Kasagama's diary: R. B. Fisher, op. cit., *passim*; Entebbe 3314B, Western Province Annual Report, 1914-15.
- <sup>39</sup> Ashburnham to Berkeley, 12, 13, 23 November, and 18 December 1895. Entebbe MSS Inward, A 4/3.
- <sup>40</sup> Tucker to Berkeley, 27 November 1895. Entebbe MSS Inward, A 6/1; and Berkeley to Sitwell, 25 April 1896. Entebbe MSS Outward, A 5/2.
- <sup>41</sup> Sitwell to Berkeley, 1 October, 13 November and 16 August 1896. Entebbe MSS Inward A 4/6, A4/5.
- <sup>41</sup> Sitwell to Berkeley, 1 October, 13 November and 16 August 1896. Entebbe MSS Inward A 4/6, A4/5.
- <sup>42</sup> Berkeley to Sitwell, 11 November 1896. Entebbe MSS Outward, A 5/2.
- <sup>43</sup> Sitwell, Report on Toro District for 1897-8. *Africa* No. 4 (1899), C.9232, p.2.
- <sup>44</sup> Bagge to Ternan, 20 August, 22 September 1899. Entebbe MSS Inward, A 4/20; A 4/21; Kasagama's diary.
- <sup>45</sup> Johnston to Bagge, 14 April 1900. Entebbe MSS Outward A 5/9.
- <sup>46</sup> Bagge, Monthly Report on Toro, 31 May 1900. Entebbe MSS Inward A 4/29.
- <sup>47</sup> The Toro Agreement, 26 June 1900. Government Printer, Entebbe.
- <sup>48</sup> Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury, 25 August 1900. F.O.C.P. 7689/28 (No. 191, Uganda).
- <sup>49</sup> Baile to Johnston, 29 November 1900. Entebbe MSS Inward A 14/1.
- <sup>50</sup> Johnston to Jackson, 26 August 1900. Entebbe MSS Inward A 4/1.
- <sup>51</sup> Wylde Monthly Report on Toro, 31 October 1901. Entebbe MSS Inward A 14/1.
- <sup>52</sup> Knowles to Bell, 21 January 1906. Entebbe MSS Inward A 14/3.
- <sup>53</sup> 'Substance of Amendments Relative to Petition of Toro Lukiko.' Entebbe MSS Inward A 14/3.
- <sup>54</sup> The Toro Agreement, 13 July 1906. Entebbe C. 2, Item 4.
- <sup>55</sup> *Enquiry into the Grievances of the Mukama and People of Toro*. Report of the Committee, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1926.

## ISMAIL PASHA AND SIR SAMUEL BAKER

By SIR JOHN GRAY

ON 10 December 1872, Mr. R. Beardsley, United States Consul-General at Cairo, introduced the United States Consul at Port Said to Ismail Pasha. On the following day he sent to the Secretary of State at Washington the following account of a conversation which he had with the Khedive on this occasion:

In the course of a very pleasant conversation His Highness informed me that he had just received bad news from the expedition of Sir Samuel Baker. The news was conveyed in a letter from an officer attached to the expedition and was somewhat indefinite as to dates and localities, but it seems that Sir Samuel had undertaken an expedition into the interior of the country with a force of 300 men, probably for the purpose of breaking up the slave trade in that province.

The particulars of the expedition are not known except that it was a disastrous failure, Sir Samuel having been attacked by the natives and so completely routed that he only reached the river and his boats again after a precipitate retreat, the destruction of all his ammunition and stores, and with a remnant of only 30 men. I asked His Highness if he knew Sir Samuel's object in making this expedition into the interior. His Highness touched his forehead, shrugged his shoulders and said that he did not, but that, whatever the object may have been, it was proof of want of judgment on Sir Samuel's part.

His Highness intimated that Sir Samuel had not confined himself to the letter or spirit of his instructions and that such expeditions as the one in question were foreign to the objects of his mission.

Evidently His Highness is much displeased with Sir Samuel and I presume that he is especially annoyed that commerce with the head waters of the Nile has been for the moment interrupted. He seems to think that Sir Samuel himself is to blame for many of the difficulties which he has encountered and he certainly does not appear to appreciate the embarrassments of Sir Samuel's position. It will not do to condemn Sir Samuel unheard. It cannot be denied that his mission is a most difficult one, full of dangers and delays, the fruits of which, even if successful, may not immediately be apparent. If His Highness earnestly desires the suppression of the slave trade, he must expect temporary derangement of the commerce with the slave trading countries, which he must be satisfied to accept as a present evil for the sake of a future good.

His Highness said he was entirely ignorant as to the future plans of Sir Samuel. There is a report current here that he is on his way down the river, but at this moment there is not trustworthy news aside from what I have here reported.

M. F. Shukry. *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan (1863-1879)*, App. A, pp. 7-8. (Cairo University Press, 1938.)

Basing his criticisms on this report and certain other contemporary documents Dr. M. F. Shukry (op. cit., p. 163) has alleged that "it was the non-

adherence of Baker to the letter and spirit of his instructions that largely caused the failure of his mission to accomplish its most immediate and paramount object—the establishment of government and the suppression of the slave trade in the Upper Country”.

With the American Consul-General we must say that “It will not do to condemn Sir Samuel unheard”. Without holding any special brief for Baker, it is clear that Dr. Shukry has overlooked certain facts which throw a different light on the documents upon which he has relied.

In the first place it is necessary to see what were Baker’s original instructions. Dr. Shukry tells us that “on 27 March 1869, Sir Samuel Baker, as an employee of the Egyptian Government, drew up the terms of his own contract of service with the Khedive”. (ibid. p. 160.) The text of this alleged contract is set out Appendix A, pp. 1-2 of Dr. Shukry’s book. It is signed by “Samuel White Baker” and is dated “Alexandria, 27 March 1869”. If this document had been the actual contract between Baker and the Egyptian Government, it might have been fair to say that in a number of respects Baker subsequently failed to conform to the letter and the spirit of his instructions. But the document was not a concluded contract. It merely sets out Baker’s original proposals as to the terms upon which he was prepared to serve the Khedive. In Baker’s words “after some slight modifications” the terms of the final contract were embodied in a firman. (Baker, *Ismailia* i, 6.) Here, it is not proposed to set out in any detail the differences between the proposals of 27 March 1869, and the text of the firman, but mention should be made of the all important one as to the duration of the contract. Baker had originally proposed a term of “two years at least” from 1 April 1869. The firman declared the term to be four years from that date.

The firman reads as follows:

We, Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, considering the savage condition of the tribes which inhabit the Nile Basin;

Considering that neither government nor laws, nor security exists in these countries;

Considering that humanity enforces the suppression of the slave hunters who occupy those countries in great numbers;

Considering that the establishment of legitimate commerce throughout those countries will be a great stride towards future civilisation and will result in the opening to steam navigation of the great Equatorial Lakes of Central Africa and in establishing a permanent government;

We have decreed, and now decree, as follows:

An expedition is organised to subdue to our authority the countries situate to the south of Gondokoro;

To suppress the slave trade;

To introduce a system of regular commerce;

To open to navigation the Great Lakes of the Equator;

And to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depots at intervals of three days’ march throughout Central Africa, accepting Gondokoro as a base of operations;

The supreme command of the Expedition is confided to Sir Samuel White Baker for four years commencing from the first April, 1869; upon whom also

we confer the most absolute and supreme power, even that of death, over all those who may compose the expedition;

We confer upon him the same absolute and supreme authority over all the countries belonging to the Nile Basin, south of Gondokoro.

(Baker, op. cit. 1, 6, 7; Murray and White. *Sir Samuel Baker—A Memoir*, pp. 148-9.)

On 19 May 1869, Baker wrote from Alexandria saying "I have settled everything satisfactorily with the Khedive. All is signed, sealed and delivered; and I have the most absolute power over the southern Nile Basin." (Murray and White, op. cit. p. 149. As to Baker's interpretation of the contract see his letter of 22 October 1869, in the same work pp. 150-1. For reasons which will hereinafter appear, it is not necessary to consider whether he placed a correct construction on the terms of the firman.)

It is very clear that both Ismail and Baker underrated the immensity of the task which confronted the expedition. For reasons, which need not be discussed here, the expedition was very slow in getting under weigh. Baker did not reach Gondokoro, which was to be the base of his operations, until 15 April 1871, when half the period of his contract had already expired. On arrival he found it necessary to consolidate his position there before he could set out further to the south.

On 26 August 1871, Baker wrote to the Prince of Wales from Gondokoro saying:

I am building a new town and port of Ismailia, after which I shall go through the Bari country with 600 men and thoroughly subdue them . . . I have news from Europe to the 9th of January 1871. (*Times*, 8 February 1872.)

On 19 October 1871, he again wrote to the Prince from "Gebel Regiaf, 14 miles south of Gondokoro", saying:

Since the enclosed letter was written to Your Royal Highness, I have been obliged to make a month's campaign against the Baris, from which I returned a few days since, having completely subdued them . . . The officers on the 12th inst. declared in writing their intention to abandon the expedition and to return with the troops to Khartoum. This declaration was also signed by the Colonel (Ra'uf Bey) in command on the plea of scarcity of corn. I think I checkmated them by at once leading them to this land of abundance on the main river, which is the granary of the country, and I have forwarded to the Viceroy the written declaration of the officers, with a request that he will express his opinion in the most severe terms on so gross a breach of discipline. (*Times*, 8 February 1872.)

On 20 October 1871, Baker also wrote to Gustave Oppenheim at Alexandria from "N. Lat, 4° 55'" (the latitude of Gondokoro) giving the same information as was contained in his second letter to the Prince of Wales. This letter was published in *The Times* of 30 January 1872. Those to the Prince were forwarded to *The Times* by the Prince's private secretary on 6 February. A telegram, which Sir Henry Rawlinson communicated to *The Times* on 19 January 1872, shows that these letters must have reached Cairo at least two days before. It was from the British Consul at Cairo and read as follows:

Cairo, 17 January 1872—News from Baker dated 8 October 1871. Latitude 4.55 deg. North. All Europeans well.

It must therefore have been at about the date of this telegram that the Khedive received the letter which Baker refers to in his letter to the Prince of Wales 19 October 1871. We know that this letter was dated 8 October 1871, and we know something about its contents. Baker tells us that:

Although I had written most important letters to the Khedive and also to his minister, Cherif Pasha, on the 8 October 1871, which necessitated a reply, I never received an answer. I reported the conduct of Abu Su'ud in having captured herds of cattle from the Shir. I had also reported the conduct of my regimental officers in having purchased slaves in large numbers. I had also represented in severe terms the conspiracy of the officers to abandon the expedition and I had begged for an immediate reply. (*Ismailia*, ii, 518-9.)

As Baker's letter of October 1871, to the Prince of Wales shows, he also expressed his dissatisfaction with Ra'uf Bey. Abu Su'ud, to whom Baker refers in the above cited passage from *Ismailia*, was at this date the head of the trading firm of Aqqad & Co. to which the Khedive had granted a monopoly of the ivory trade in the southern Sudan and which was also indulging in a traffic in slaves.

In fact a reply was drafted to Baker's letter and there is even reason to believe that it was despatched to him at Gondokoro, but more will be said regarding this anon. The reply shows that Baker also made two other requests. The first was that his tour of duty should be prolonged for a fifth year; the second that his nephew and fellow traveller, Lieutenant Julian Baker, a naval officer, twenty-six years of age, should be appointed to succeed him in his post.

Ismail Pasha's reply to this letter was written in French on some date (unspecified) in February 1872, that is to say, at least a fortnight after receipt of Baker's letter. It translates as follows:

My dear Sir Samuel,

I have received the report which you have sent me dated 8 October regarding the situation at Ismailia, where you have arrived after a voyage of more than five months. Before acquainting you with my replies to the questions which you have addressed to me, and my ideas on the actual situation, I tender to you all my congratulations on the success of your journey and the energy which you have had to employ to surmount the obstacles which nature itself had put in your way.

I express also my satisfaction at the courage and patience of the troops, which I have placed under your command, who have been obliged not only to cut out à route amid the swamps, but also to haul after them a steamer and some loaded vessels.

As the subordination to his chief is the first duty of every officer, I am going to recall Ra'uf Bey, against whom you have lodged a complaint with me. Nevertheless, in judging the conduct of this officer, I shall not forget the fatigues which he has undergone, the privations which he has endured, and that he has helped his soldiers to endure even the lack of food, when from what you tell me, you were in need of durra and were compelled to send to Khartoum to look for it. I will send another officer to take his place.

The period which I assigned to Aqqad for withdrawing from the Sudan and to stop the trade which they are doing there is drawing to an end and you believe that it would be good to incorporate these men with your troops and at the same time to replace your troops by the people who compose the bands of Aqqad, as they are broken into fatigues and more accustomed to the country.

I differ entirely from your opinion. Your mission is a mission of pacification and of progress. You have been called to reconcile the inhabitants of the country to the men with a white skin. Up to the present time these latter have been brought into their land solely for killing, pillaging and making slaves. If I have paid large sums to Aqqad and those who devote themselves to this form of commerce, or rather of brigandage, it was not for the purpose of showing my government to the native tribes under any aspect of pillage. So if the natives see the companions of Aqqad under my orders, they will necessarily be led to believe that the system is the same and that instead of bringing peace and tranquillity and instead of introducing a reign of calm and order amongst them, you have come like the former slavers, and in greater strength than former slavers, to seize their durra, their cattle, and even their people.

On the contrary, you should endeavour to impress on the minds of the chiefs of the tribes the difference that exists between you and the former slave dealers. This is an essential point of which you must never lose sight; and, if I properly understand your report, I see with regret that the want of provisions and durra has led you to have recourse to force in order to procure them for yourselves. The natives refuse without doubt to give them to you, because they confuse in their minds the men whom you command with those who have always despoiled them. However difficult in itself the want of durra may be for men who have endured such great fatigues, it is vexatious that this want of provisions should first of all bring you into collision with the natives and show your mission in an aspect entirely different to its true character.

I attach considerable importance to the first impression which you ought to produce amongst the savage tribes whom we are seeking to attach to ourselves. Therefore I am led quite naturally to give you my ideas, to which I beg you to conform. They are as follows.

You have arrived in a fair and fertile country. You are surrounded by a defiant population, who have become hostile by reason of the former actions of the slavers, actions to which it is moreover your duty to put an end. Your communications with Khartoum are long and difficult. In these circumstances it would appear to me to be imprudent for you to advance further, leaving behind you tribes which have not been pacified and brought to trust us. Stop at Gondokoro and fortify yourself. Begin your task employing every means possible to make it known to the chiefs of the tribes. As you propose, monopolize the trade, not because I am a friend of monopoly, but because here it is justified, for it is necessary to circumvent the traffickers who obtain slaves for themselves under the guise of barter. Only you must exercise it in a large and liberal manner in order to substitute amongst the natives a lawful for an unlawful interest.

I wish to be informed as to the articles of barter which may be most likely to interest the natives. You have got Inglebotham (Edwin Higginbotham, died at Gondokoro, 28 February 1878). I think a single engineer is not enough. I will send another to serve under his orders. Employ them in looking for means to facilitate your communication with Khartoum. You have been vigorous with respect to the Bari chiefs. Be also just towards them and they will gain con-

fidence in you and will quite quickly learn that you have come to instruct them.

This moral and material task will take up a lot of your time. I cannot say how much. But since you have reached a certain point, be persuaded that, without leaving Gondokoro, you will have lying open to you an easy road to the lakes, from which you are separated by more than 100 leagues.

I have traced for you in broad outline the line of conduct which I want to see you take. It is for you and for your intelligence to find the means of attaining this end. In one word, do not advance, teach, colonize, make friends with the inhabitants, and once this has been done, advance.

I cannot overstress my ideas on this subject. You have seen for yourself the spirit of the troops which you command. They have splendidly endured fatigues, hunger and privations and they have followed you. In fact you are beginning to lose your ascendancy over them. If you advance, they will be tempted to abandon you. The idea of having to undergo fresh fatigues may lead to despair amongst men, who are already enfeebled. The idea of staying for a time in a fertile country will bring them back to their sense of duty. The change of Colonel will show them how well you have been supported by me in your mission and will restore discipline and obedience amongst them. It is impossible to recall these troops and replace them by Aqqad's adventurers for the reasons which I have explained to you. To recall them so as to send fresh troops in their place, before they had arrived in the land of the Bari would cause great discouragement to the new troops. Look after your men. Let them rest and you will find them ready when the moment comes to advance.

Thus from every point of view you must stop your forward march. This, as I have told you, will at length be able to ensure more easily and more certainly the attainment of my purpose.

You wish to have your powers extended for a year. I consent thereto with pleasure and my orders will be given to that effect . . .

You propose to me your nephew as your successor. Certainly the experience which he has acquired under your command is a ground for recommending him in my eyes. But the idea of opening the centre of Africa to science, commerce and progress is a great idea, which has gained hold of me to such a high degree, that I believe that the greatest circumspection is needed for the choice of those whom I shall entrust with realizing it. I cannot therefore give you at present any reply on the subject. I shall think about it.

(Shukry, *op. cit.* App. A, pp. 2-4.)

Here, it is not proposed to examine or criticize the contents of this letter in any detail. Whilst the Khedive may have been influenced in writing to Baker by information given to him by certain of Baker's subordinates, who were not well disposed to having a foreigner set over them and may not have been as cooperative with Baker as they ought to have been, it is clear that much of his criticism was of Baker's own actions as described by Baker himself. For present purposes we will confine ourselves to the main theme of Khedive's letter. Baker is not to proceed further south of Gondokoro until he has consolidated his position at that place.

By this date the Khedive had realized that in the original firman he had granted to Baker what was more or less a blank cheque. He undoubtedly had a perfect right to alter or modify those very wide instructions in the light of later knowledge acquired by him. There is nothing to criticize in his letter, but

it has to be remembered that Ismail Pasha was dictating his letter from his study in the Abdin Palace in Cairo and could not possibly have fully appreciated the difficulties which confronted the man on the spot. Nevertheless, after receipt of these instructions, it would undoubtedly have been Baker's duty to conform as closely as possible to both the letter and spirit thereof, unless intervening circumstances beyond his control had rendered it impossible for him to do so.

We must now return to note Baker's movements after he had sent the Khedive his letter of 8 October 1871. He left Gondokoro on 22 January 1872, and set out on his expedition southwards. It was not until a week or more later that Ismail Pasha put his signature to his reply to Baker's letter. Baker did not reach Fatiko until 6 March 1872. Thence he proceeded to Masindi, the capital of Kabarega, Mukama of Bunyoro. On 14 May 1872 acting in reliance on the instructions contained in the firman of 1869 "to subdue to our authority the countries situate to the south of Gondokoro", in the presence of Kabarega, he proclaimed the annexation of Bunyoro to Egypt. On 8 June Kabarega attacked the fort which Baker was erecting at Masindi. This attack was driven off with heavy loss and in retaliation Kabarega's town was burned to the ground. Baker, however, realized that his position in Bunyoro was untenable and, after destroying his heavier baggage, he hastily retreated across the Nile into the Acholi country. He eventually made his way back to Fatiko, where he arrived on 1 August 1872. He found that his station at this place was being seriously threatened by the local slave traders employed by the firm of Aqqad & Co., whom he proceeded to attack and to rout with heavy loss. For the next six months he spent his time in building a fort at Fatiko and in extending his rule to the adjacent tribes. Thereafter, he made his way back to Gondokoro, where he arrived on 1 April 1873, the very day on which in accordance with the firman his contract expired.

To judge from the time which it took for Baker's letter of 8 October 1871, to reach Cairo, the Khedive's reply thereto in the following February could not have reached Gondokoro until the early days of May, 1872. By that time Baker was already in Masindi and his expedition could not possibly have been called off. But that was not all. Both in his *Ismailia* and in subsequent letters to friends in England Baker was constantly complaining that he could not get any reply to his letters to Cairo. Thus, he says that on arrival at Gondokoro:

Although I had written the most important letters to the Khedive and to his minister in October 1871, I had to my amazement not received one word in reply by the post that had arrived from Egypt. I had apparently been looked upon as a dead man that did not require a letter. It appeared that my existence was utterly ignored by the Egyptian Government, although I had in due course received my letters from England.

(*Ismailia* ii, 480. See also *ibid.* ii, 518-9.)

Even when he reached Khartoum in June 1873, on his way to Cairo he complained that "there was no letter either from the Khedive or Cherif Pasha, in reply to the important communications that I had written more than two years before". (*ibid.* ii, 487.)

The reason for the failure of this letter to reach Baker can only be a matter

of conjecture. Two things can be certain; that Ismail Pasha was most anxious that it should reach Baker before he advanced south of Gondokoro, and that the letter never came into Baker's hands.

After October 1871, neither the Khedive, nor his ministers, nor any of Baker's friends in England received any communication from him for some eighteen months. Meanwhile rumours began to spread to the effect that somewhere to the south of Gondokoro Baker's expedition was isolated and in a position of great danger. On 17 April 1873, *The Times* commented in a leading article on a rumour that Sir Samuel and Lady Baker had been murdered and expressed the hope that the report was untrue. Three weeks later the *Pall Mall Gazette* repeated the story, adding that according to the report the whole of Baker's party had been massacred (*Times*, 10 May 1873).

Not unnaturally reports such as these caused great anxiety to the Bakers' friends in England. Colonel Stanton, the British Consul-General at Cairo, was repeatedly asked by the British Government to send any authentic information which he could possibly obtain from the Egyptian Government. The Khedive was equally worried. Though from such information as came to his notice he believed that Baker himself was solely responsible for the precarious situation in which he was supposed to be, he felt that he was under an obligation to do everything possible to extricate him. According to some reports he even meditated sending a succouring expedition to Mombasa to make its way thence to Baker's relief.

On 24 March, Sir Henry Rawlinson informed the members of the Royal Geographical Society that they:

No doubt felt greatly distressed at the intelligence which had appeared in the *Times* of the danger in which Sir Samuel Baker was placed. No official telegram had, however, been received from Colonel Stanton, our Consul-General in Egypt, although he was in the habit of telegraphing all important information. It was therefore fair to conclude that no official intelligence of such a calamity overtaking Sir Samuel Baker had been received at Cairo or Alexandria. The relief expedition organized by the Khedive had left Suez for the east coast of Africa; and they would proceed into the interior from Mombas or some point in the vicinity, from whence they would pass along the base of Kilima Njaro and the shores of the Barengo lake, so as to endeavour to relieve Baker from the south. The expedition, however, only consisted of 80 or 90, and, if the news about Baker were true, it is doubtful whether he would be able to hold out till their arrival. If, however, any information of such a disaster to Baker's party had reached the Egyptian Government, there could have been no doubt that it would have been at once communicated to the British Government.

(*Proc. R.G.S.*, 17 (1872-3), 161.)

On 17 April 1873, Edward Saunders wrote to *The Times* as follows:

When I left Cairo in March, an expedition was in process of organization to proceed via Zanzibar to the relief of Sir Samuel Baker under the command of an American officer in the service of the Khedive, named Colonel Purdy. But not only had the expedition not started when I left Egypt in March, but it was quite uncertain when it would depart. I therefore fear that any hopes of Sir S. Baker's relief by the Zanzibar expedition must be discarded.

(*Times*, 19 April 1873.)

At this date Purdy Bey (Erastus Sparrow Purdy) was employed on a number of surveys in Upper Egypt between the Nile and the Red Sea. It is just possible that Ismail Pasha toyed with the idea of diverting one of his survey parties to Mombasa or Zanzibar in order to make its way overland to Baker's relief. But, as the Khedive was evidently aware, there were a number of objections to any such project. Mombasa was known to be within the coastal strip claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar, who might not allow the passage through his dominions. Furthermore any such expedition would have to be on a very large scale and to be fully equipped for a long march from the coast through the lands of possibly hostile tribes. Last but by no means least, there was the time factor. Baker's fate might well have been sealed before the expedition could set out. The course actually taken by Ismail was the more obvious and the infinitely more practical one of instructing the Governor-General at Khartoum to send strong reinforcements from Fashoda to Gondokoro and from thence to get in contact with Baker in order to supply him with provisions and whatever else he might need (Colonel Stanton to Foreign Office, 5 March 1873, *Times*, 25 March 1873).

As the report by the American Consul-General regarding his interview with the Khedive shows, unofficial rumours that Baker was in difficulties had reached Cairo in the early days of December 1872. A letter from Martin Ludwig Hansal, the Austrian Consul at Khartoum, had reached Alexandria towards the end of that month and was published in *The Times* on Christmas Day 1872. A much fuller report was published in the *New York Herald* in the same month, having been communicated to that journal by its correspondent at Khartoum, who would appear to have derived his information from the same source as had Ismail Pasha. The opening sentences of this report read as follows:

On the 7th day of November the merchant fleet arrived here, comprising ten sail, owned by Muhammad Aqqad, who is the sole proprietor of the ivory establishment situated south of Gondokoro. The expedition brought tidings from Sir Samuel Baker that you will perhaps regard as more precious than ivory. Baker himself has not written a line either to Europe or to the Egyptian Government so far as I can learn. I, therefore, can only report what I have patiently gathered from men who have seen Baker in the equatorial regions. Although they have come direct from there and from association with him, the reports must, until further advices, be received with a certain degree of caution. (*Proc. R.G.S.*, 17 (1872-3), 305.)

Except that the report makes no reference to Baker's proclamation of the annexation of Bunyoro to Egypt, it describes his subsequent retreat from Masindi and his fight with the slave traders at Fatiko, who were employees of Abu Su'ud. It ends with the two following sentences:

The trading enterprise of Aqqad is therefore interfered with and Abu Su'ud proposes to go to Egypt with a view of personally reporting to the Khedive.

Regarding Sir Samuel, *whose contract expires very soon*, we can form no ideas. (*ibid.* p. 308.)

This last sentence is significant. Evidently nobody at Khartoum was at this

date aware that the Khedive had written to Baker extending his contract for another year.

As the contents of the report show, Abu Su'ud bore a grudge against Baker and the information, supplied either by him or by his employees, was hostile to Baker and had to be received with considerable reserve.

There is no need to repeat the many rumours which reached England during the first half of 1873. Suffice to say that all anxiety regarding the safety of Baker's party was finally allayed by the following telegram addressed by the Hon. H. C. Vivian to the Foreign Office:

Alexandria, 30 June (1 p.m.)—Telegram just received from Sir Samuel Baker, dated Khartoum yesterday, reports his arrival there in good health with all the other Europeans. The country as far as the Equator annexed to the Egyptian dominion. All rebellions, intrigues and slave-trade completely put down. Country orderly. Government perfectly organized and road open as far as Zanzibar. El Zaraf navigable. Victory on 8 June with only 105 men over army of Onioso (sic.). The mission is completely successful.

(*Annual Register* (1873), Part II, p. 58.)

The story of the final winding up of Baker's expedition can best be given in his own words:

We reached Cairo on the 24th August at 4.30 p.m. On the 25th I had the honour of presenting myself to His Highness the Khedive to explain the large chart of his new territory that I had annexed in Central Africa.

I received from His Highness the Imperial Order of the Osmanie, 2nd class, as a token of his approbation of my services. I had already had the honour to accept from his hands the order of the Medjidie, 2nd class. His Highness now conferred upon Lieutenant Baker the order Medjidie, 3rd class . . .

. . . His Highness expressed his determination to judge Abu Su'ud by a special tribunal . . .

. . . I insisted upon appearing personally as accuser against Abu Su'ud, but I was begged to return to England and to confide him to the hands of the authorities, as His Highness declined to bring him before the public tribunal . . .

After a delay of about six weeks in Egypt, His Highness afforded us a gracious and hospitable occasion of taking leave of himself and the young princes, to all of whom I am indebted for much courtesy and kindness.

(*Ismailia*, ii. 494-8.)

From these passages in *Ismailia* one gathers that Baker and Ismail Pasha parted on the best of terms. There is no mention in that work or in any of Baker's correspondence which has come to my notice of the letter which the Khedive addressed to him in February 1872. In the absence of any such reference one must conclude that Baker was unāware that any such letter had been written. Thereafter he persistently defended Ismail when attacked on the ground that he did not genuinely wish to suppress the slave-trade in the Sudan. "I still believe," he subsequently wrote, "that the Khedive is sincere at heart in wishing to suppress the slave-trade, but he requires unusual moral courage to enter the lists single-handed against Egyptian public opinion." (*Ismailia*, ii, 521.)

The conclusion that one draws is that no allusion was ever made by the

Khedive to his letter or to any of its contents, because he realized that Baker had never received that letter. If he had referred to it, he would have had to disclose the fact that he had agreed therein to prolong Baker's period of office and he would also have had to announce that he was not prepared to consider Lieutenant Julian Baker as his uncle's successor. Sir Samuel believed that his contract had come to an end by the effluxion of time and it suited the Khedive's purpose to leave him in that belief. He was not entirely satisfied with the manner in which Baker had interpreted his original instructions and the easiest and smoothest way of dispensing with his services for the future was to thank him for his past services under a contract which had duly expired.

Baker must therefore be exonerated from having violated the letter and spirit of written instructions which had never come into his hands. But that does not conclude the matter.

One has only to read between the lines of Baker's *Ismailia* and his letters to friends in England to realize that he had not achieved all that he claimed in his boastful telegram to Vivian from Khartoum. In a letter to his sister, Charles Gordon, who became Baker's successor in office, wrote after his arrival in the Equatorial Sudan saying:

The only possessions Egypt has in my provinces are two forts, one at Gondokoro and the other at Fatiko. There are 300 men in one and 200 in the other. As for paying taxes or any government outside the forts, it is all nonsense. You cannot go out in safety half a mile because they have been fighting the poor natives and taking their cattle.

(G. Birkbeck Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, p. 15.)

As Gordon informed Colonel Stanton at about the same date.

Needless to say, I dispute that Baker annexed the country to (the) Equator, or that the native pays corn tax, or that he deposed Kaba Rega, but that does not matter; he told (the) Khedive so.

(*Sudan Notes and Records* 10 (1927), p. 27.)

His own version of the facts as given in *Ismailia* shows that Baker failed effectively to annex Bunyoro to Egypt or to dethrone Kabarega. Like the evacuations of Corunna and Dunkirk, his repulse of Kabarega's attack upon his camp at Masindi, immediately followed as it was by his hasty retreat across the Nile, may have been an exhibition of masterly strategy in the conduct of a rearguard action under great difficulties, but it can in no sense be styled a victory.

Here it is not proposed to enter into an exhaustive discussion of the rights and wrongs of Baker's operations in Bunyoro. *Judicabunt alii*. The question for us is whether despite the very wide powers bestowed upon him by the firman of 1869, Baker was as a matter of military strategy justified in undertaking the operations which led to his subsequent predicaments.

It is of course axiomatic in many military operations that the commanding officer must be prepared knowingly to undertake one or more calculated risks. But it is equally axiomatic that no general ought to hazard his forces in operations which at the best have only the remotest chance of success and are little better than reckless throws of the dice. The only justification for

risks of this latter nature is that they succeed despite all odds. Was Baker's march into Bunyoro a calculated, but in the circumstances a justifiable, risk? Or was it no better than a gambler's throw of the dice?

This is what Baker himself had to say in regard thereto:

I was well aware of the difficulties of my position, but I had only the choice of two evils. If I remained at Gondokoro, my term of service would expire fruitlessly. I should simply have reduced the Baris and established the station. Abu Su'ud would remain in the interior among his numerous slave establishments to ridicule my impotence and defy my orders that he should quit the country. He would thus continue in the heart of Africa until I returned helplessly to England. He would then have resumed his original work of spoliation. The expedition would have been a failure.

On the other hand, should my small force meet with defeat or destruction, both the military and civil world would exclaim "Serve him right! The expedition into the interior made under such circumstances showed a great want of judgment; a total ignorance of the first rules of military tactics. What could he expect, without an established communication at a distance of three or four hundred miles from his base?"

I knew the risks and the responsibility; but if I remained passive, I should be beaten. I had often got through difficulties, and if risks are to be measured in Africa by ordinary calculations, there could be little hope of progress.

I determined to carry as large a supply of ammunition as could be transported, together with sufficient merchandise, carefully assorted, to establish a legitimate ivory trade in my old friend Kamurasi's country.

(*Ismailia*, ii, 3-4.)

In a letter, which he wrote to his brother James Baker from Gondokoro on 13 May 1873, shortly before he started on his return journey to Khartoum en route for Cairo, he gave this account of the difficulties which beset him in this enterprise:

By the general conspiracy of the officers in October 1871, who wished to abandon the expedition, my force of 1,700 men was reduced to 502 (including officers). With this absurdly small force I had everything to do. The sick and refractory had returned to Khartoum.

I took 212 officers and men and, having engaged carriers 87 miles south of Ismailia (sc. Gondokoro), I pushed on to Fatiko—161 miles distant from this.

On arrival I found it the headquarters of slavers, who occupied the country in great force . . . The total force of slavers comprised about 1,000 men in the country between Fatiko and Unyoro.

. . . Having arranged matters and made friends with all the native chiefs, to whom I was well known on my former visit, the country declared its allegiance to the Government.

I left 100 men under Major Abdullah, with the heaviest baggage and ammunition, to hold a station at Fatiko while I pushed on to Unyoro.

. . . I arrived with a little force of 112 men in Unyoro. I was now 318 miles from Ismailia at the capital of Unyoro—Masindi, a day's march from the Albert Nyanza . . .

Having arranged with Kabba Rega, he professed allegiance to the Sultan. I hoisted the Ottoman flag and formally took possession . . . Everything

appeared *couleur de rose*. I sent 11 men with the post to Fatiko, 157 miles distant, together with 25 prisoners (sc. slave-traders captured *en route* to Bunyoro). I was quite unprepared for the treachery that was intended.

(*Times*, 14 August 1875.)

One of the many letters, which Baker addressed to his friends just prior to setting out on this expedition, was written at Gondokoro on 8 October 1871, and addressed to Gustave Oppenheim at Alexandria. The following are some of the sentences contained therein:

If the Viceroy does not order the main stream to be cleared, there is little use in spending money on the annexation of Central Africa . . .

Upon arrival here we were quickly plunged into war with the Bari tribes . . . I trust to reduce them to subjection shortly . . . I hope no intrigues in the Soudan or Egypt will interfere with my expected reinforcement of 800 men. I have now 1,035 troops, including ten guns. It is too small a force to divide amongst distant stations.

(*Times*, 30 January 1872.)

On 22 January 1872, without waiting for these reinforcements and after his fighting strength had become depleted to 502 officers and men, Baker set out for Bunyoro.

I do not think further evidence on the subject is called for. Baker was well aware that his lines of communication were most unsatisfactory and that the troops at his disposal were quite inadequate for the project he was about to undertake. Finally when he set out from Fatiko on his march to Masindi, he was well aware that he was leaving in his rear an armed force of hostile slave-traders, who outnumbered both the garrison which he had left at Fatiko and the small column under his command by close on five to one. His misadventures in Bunyoro were not due to misfortune despite sound strategy and good generalship. He had taken a gambler's chance and it was not in the least surprising that he had failed.

Baker's expedition to Bunyoro was therefore a grave strategic blunder, if nothing else. As so often happens, a blunder may have more far reaching consequences than an actual crime. Baker never got over Kabarega's attack at Masindi. "When you arrive in Unyoro," he told Gordon, his successor in office, "let me implore you not to trust Kabarega. There is no country that I have seen where such treachery and cunning are to be found as in Unyoro. Falsehood and treachery are reduced to a science; and no kindness or good intentions are appreciated." (Baker to Gordon, 18 September 1875. Murray and White, *op. cit.* p. 241.) When a few years later he learnt that Emin Bey had visited Kabarega and been received by him in the most friendly manner, he again wrote to tell Gordon that "he (sc. Emin) must be very careful in that quarter, as the Wanyoro are treacherous people". (Same to same, 5 May 1878. Murray and White, *op. cit.* p. 241.)

For many a long year Kabarega was known to the British public only by the reputation given to him by Baker. Unfortunately for Kabarega and his people, Baker's assessment of his character appeared to receive corroboration from rival claimants to the throne of Bunyoro and from his hereditary enemies, the ruler and leading chiefs of Buganda, all of whom had strong

personal motives for painting his portrait in lurid colours. Emin Pasha was to prove that, if sympathetically handled, he had the making of an excellent agent for the introduction of more civilized ideas into the Lake Regions of Central Africa. But this was not to be. Emin's visit to Kabarega never received the publicity, which was given to Baker's visit, Baker had given Kabarega a bad name which clung to him with results disastrous to him and his country.

Kabarega was born too late. His ambition was to recover the territories which his immediate predecessors had lost, but the time for achieving this had passed. With Hamlet, he might well have exclaimed that the time was out of joint and that it was a cursed spite which prevented him from putting it right. Moreover fate had decreed that Buganda and not Bunyoro should encounter western civilization under the more liberal manifestations presented by such as Stanley and the Christian missionaries. Had Kabarega enjoyed the advantage of more direct contacts with the outside world which were conferred upon Mutesa by his geographical situation the history of the kingdoms of the Equatorial Lake region would almost certainly have been very different, and Bunyoro might well have become the dominant Kingdom.

Like contemporary neighbouring rulers, Kabarega had faults which were neither few nor small. But he retained the loyalty of many of his subjects even after he had been driven from his kingdom. The work he did was done with all his might and it was the work of a born ruler of men. When in the end he was grievously wounded and brought to bay, Kabarega might well have uttered the words spoken four centuries before by a very brave English nobleman—'I was taken as a knight should be'.

Whilst Baker's march to, and attempted annexation of, Bunyoro undoubtedly exposes him to severe criticism, different considerations apply to his operations in Acholiland. In the first place, at Fatiko, he was much nearer to his main base at Gondokoro. Secondly, and this is the strongest point in his favour, at Fatiko he met with far greater success. As Gordon pointed out, he did succeed in establishing a permanent military station there. It is easy to point out a number of mistakes which he made regarding the administration of that post and the adjacent countryside, but against all these must be set the fact that he gained the confidence of the local inhabitants. So much was this the case that today, close on a century after he finally left Fatiko, he is remembered by the Acholi as the one great administrator in their land before the advent of the Uganda Protectorate.

When Charles Delmé-Radcliffe took charge of the Nile Province in 1899, he learnt that in Acholiland:

Sir Samuel and Lady Baker . . . seem to have inspired the natives everywhere with the greatest possible affection. They never ceased to tell us wonderful stories of 'Murrdu', or Lion's Mane, as they called Sir Samuel, and of 'Anyadue', or Daughter of the Moon, which is their name for Lady Baker. Many of Baker's old adherents came to us to ask for news of them . . . Our best recommendation to the natives we found to be that we belonged to the same nation as Baker, and that our government would be like his.

(C. Delmé-Radcliffe, 'Surveys and Studies in Uganda', *Geographical Journal* 26 (1905), 482-3.)

Half a century later an anthropologist working in the field in Acholiland found that:

Baker had become an integral part of nearly all the groups that I studied. He is known as *Pasha*, and his wife as *Nyadwe*, Daughter of the Moon: stories of his hunting exploits and physical strength, and of her beauty were known to all. The battle in which the *mono kutturia*, slave traders, were defeated by the use of rockets has become part of the folklore of the Acholi. Baker has become a kind of archetypal figure, a symbol of the roseate days when Europeans freed the people from the slavers.

(F. K. Girling, *The Acholi of Uganda*, (H.M.S.O., 1960), p. 132.)

When during a brief period of residence in a strange land a stranger so far gains the affection and trust of the dwellers therein as to obtain an enduring reputation such as this, it cannot be denied that there must have been in him many of the elements which go to make a man a great administrator.

## NOTES

### BAKER AND RUYONGA

By JOHN R. BAKER

AT the time of Samuel Baker's first visit to Bunyoro in 1864<sup>1,2</sup> a feud had existed for some years between Kamurasi and Ruyonga,<sup>3</sup> the two principal aspirants to supremacy in the country. Kamurasi invited his rival to visit him at his headquarters in Mruli for friendly discussion. The unsuspecting Ruyonga accepted, but was made prisoner and condemned to death by burning. He was rescued by a gallant friend, Sali, who was captured and tortured to death by Kamurasi. Ruyonga escaped to the north. In alliance with Fwooka (Mpuhuka), another powerful chief, he and his adherents occupied the many islands in the Nile between the Karuma and Murchison Falls, and threatened to separate off the northern part of Bunyoro as an independent kingdom of Chopi.

Baker's main purpose was to discover the great lake (Albert Nyanza) that had been reported to exist on the western side of Bunyoro. He knew that he must pass through territory under Kamurasi's control if he was to achieve his object. If he made friends with Ruyonga, Kamurasi would oppose his entry into Bunyoro. Baker therefore took particular care to avoid Ruyonga and his adherents. He crossed the Nile near the Karuma Falls and moved south to Kamurasi's headquarters.

On the day after his arrival at Mruli, a powerful chief named Mugema, impersonating Kamurasi but acting in fact as his deputy, suggested an alliance to attack Ruyonga. The rifles in the possession of Baker's party would have constituted a powerful addition to Kamurasi's military strength. On this and all subsequent occasions Baker resolutely refused to lend his aid to an attack on Ruyonga, who had not injured him in any way.

After the discovery of the Albert Nyanza and Murchison Falls, Baker and his party were kept by Kamurasi for more than two months in a state of semi-starvation at a place a few miles south of the Nile, east of the Murchison Falls. The intention was to force him to agree to an attack on Ruyonga and Fwooka, but Baker kept to his resolution. Kamurasi at last relented when Baker's moral support had saved Kamurasi from attack by Arab traders.

On his second expedition to Central Africa,<sup>4,5,6</sup> as commander of the Khedive's Expedition for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, Sir Samuel Baker was accompanied by his nephew, my father, then Lieutenant Julian A. Baker, R.N., as his aide-de-camp. When the party reached Bunyoro in 1872, Kamurasi was dead and had been succeeded as Omukama by his son,



FIG. 1

At Nyakagwenyi, Bunyoro, 19 July 1957. (A) Kachope and (B) Ruyonga are sons of (C) Omubito Kosiya K. Labwoni. (D) John R. Baker

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Kabarega. On crossing the Nile into the latter's territory near the Karuma Falls, the Bakers at once heard that an Arab trader, Suleiman, was about to join Kabarega in an attack on Ruyonga, whose headquarters were now on the island of Kanyamaizi, some 15 miles upstream from Foweira. Baker forbade and prevented this attack, and shortly afterwards arrested and imprisoned Suleiman.

After the battle of Masindi (8 June 1872), Baker's party, though victorious, was left in a very precarious situation. They were short of food and deprived of the assistance of native porters. Baker at once decided that the only possible move was a retreat to the Nile at Foweira, and an alliance with Ruyonga. The party reached Foweira on 24 June, having been under almost continuous attack from Kabarega's forces on the way. Ruyonga's spies had kept him informed of the situation, and he soon sent his nephew to establish communication. Baker built a stockade at Foweira and went south in Ruyonga's canoes to establish personal contact. He landed on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Kanyamaizi Island.<sup>7</sup>

On 19 July 1872,<sup>8</sup> Ruyonga crossed to the west bank with his retainers. An alliance was at once concluded, and sealed by the ceremony of blood-brotherhood. Ruyonga exchanged blood with Samuel Baker, and his son, Komwiswa, with my father. This alliance was extremely valuable to both parties. Without it, Baker's force would have lacked food and at the same time would have been subject to a continuation of Kabarega's attack. It would have been difficult or impossible to cross the Nile and reach the expedition's base at Patiko. The alliance removed these difficulties. At the same time Baker was able to leave the Egyptian Colonel, Abd-el-Kader, with 65 soldiers in the stockade at Foweira, and this made Ruyonga's position much more secure.

When Baker had firmly established himself at Patiko, he sent another officer with 60 or 65 men to replace Abd-el-Kader's detachment.<sup>6,9</sup> In his valuable paper on 'European Travellers in Bunyoro, 1862-1877', Dunbar<sup>10</sup> gives the misleading impression that Abd-el-Kader and his men were recalled without replacement. This would have left Ruyonga unsupported.

Samuel Baker<sup>6</sup> describes Ruyonga as "a handsome man of about fifty, with exceedingly good manners . . . perfectly at his ease . . . [He] was well aware how often I had refused to attack him, and he confessed that I had been his saviour by the arrest of Suleiman, who would have joined the forces of Kabba Réga (Kabarega) to have crushed him . . . he seemed quite rejoiced that I, who had always declined to molest him before I had known him personally, should now have taken him by the hand".

When Colonel C. Chaillé-Long, Gordon's Chief-of-Staff, met Ruyonga in 1874, he was 'singularly impressed'. He refers to 'the ever-gratefully remembered Rionga,' brave, loyal, and honest, 'every inch a king'—a king who, in marked contrast to the despotic Mutesa, 'never exercises over his subjects the punishment of death.'<sup>11</sup> The Adjutant-Major at Foweira told Long that Ruyonga's word was his bond.

My father was 24 years old at the time of the blood-brotherhood ceremony. He married late in life and I was not born until 28 years after the alliance with Ruyonga. I realized that my very existence might quite probably be

due to this alliance, since the whole of Baker's force would have been imperilled without it. I was therefore anxious to meet Ruyonga's descendants. This was arranged through the kind help of Sir George Duntze, Bart., Mr. E. R. Norris, and especially Mr. P. N. Lane. On 19 July 1957, exactly 85 years to the day<sup>8</sup> after the conclusion of the alliance, I met Ruyonga's grandson, Omubito Kosiya K. Labwoni, and the latter's sons, Kachope and Ruyonga. With Mr. Lane we travelled several miles southwards by Land-Rover from Mutunda down a narrow track parallel with the Nile, and then walked along a footpath to reach the river at Nyakagwenyi,<sup>7</sup> near the place where the alliance was concluded, within sight of Kanyamaizi Island. Here I clasped hands with Omubito Labwoni and we agreed that the blood-brotherhood had descended to us and would be transmitted to our respective sons.

On our return to Mutunda, Omubito Labwoni made a short speech and presented me with a spear that had belonged to Ruyonga and is now one of my most treasured possessions. I replied, and gave photographs of Sir Samuel and Lady Baker, suitably inscribed, to him and his sons.

It is a source of special satisfaction to me that I have made a close bond with Ruyonga's family.

I must mention the extraordinary helpfulness of everyone I met in Uganda, especially the Government officers. The arrangements made for my benefit worked everywhere with clockwork precision. I hope to have opportunities of acknowledging the assistance of others than those named in this article, when recording further experiences of my visit to Uganda. My cousin, Mr. Robin Baily, kindly allowed me to make use of Samuel Baker's manuscript diaries<sup>1, 4</sup> in writing this article.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Baker's Diary of his first African expedition, in manuscript (in the possession of Mr. Robin Baily).

<sup>2</sup> Baker, S. W. (1866). *The Albert N'yanza, Great Basin of the Nile*. 2 vols.

<sup>3</sup> Baker and Chaillé-Long both spelled the name 'Rionga'. In the present note the proper names of African persons and places are spelled in accordance with the modern phonetic convention.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Baker's diary of his second African expedition, in manuscript (in the possession of Mr. Robin Baily).

<sup>5</sup> Julian A. Baker's diary of Samuel Baker's second African expedition, in manuscript (in the possession of the author of the present article).

<sup>6</sup> Baker, S. W. (1874). *Ismailia*. 2 vols.

<sup>7</sup> Information from Omubito Kosiya K. Labwoni.

<sup>8</sup> On 5 November 1872, it was discovered by Julian A. Baker by astronomical observations, that the expedition was one day in error in its record of dates. In Samuel Baker's diary<sup>4</sup> the date of the ceremony of blood brotherhood is given as 20 July 1872, but the correct date (19th) is given in his book.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Samuel Baker's diary,<sup>4</sup> entry of 21 August. *Ismailia*, vol. ii, p. 413.

<sup>10</sup> Dunbar, A. R. (1959). 'European Travellers in Bunyoro-Kitara, 1862-1877', *Uganda J.*, 23, 101.

<sup>11</sup> Chaillé-Long, C. (1876). *Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People*.

THE SAMSON AND DELILAH STORY<sup>1</sup>

By A. T. MATSON

A GREAT deal has been recorded concerning the exploits of the Baganda hero, Kibuka, and the part played in his downfall by a captive Munyoro girl.<sup>2</sup> As legends based on the Samson and Delilah theme also occur among other tribes in the Lake Victoria area, it may be of value to collect the recorded stories together as a contribution to the folk-lore and history of the region; this may also encourage other observers to record legends on the same theme.

The gossip, Sabadu, told the following version to Stanley, when the explorer visited Mutesa's court in 1875: "One of the heroes of Nakivongi was a warrior named Kibaga, who possessed the power of flying. When the king warred with the Wanyoro, he sent Kibaga into the air to ascertain the whereabouts of the foe, who, when discovered by this extraordinary being, were attacked on land in their hiding places by Nakivongi, and from above by the active and faithful Kibaga, who showered great rocks on them and by these means slew a vast number. It happened that among the captives of Unyoro Kibaga saw a beautiful woman, who was solicited by the king in marriage. As Nakivongi was greatly indebted to Kibaga for his unique services, he gave her to Kibaga as wife, with the warning, however, not to impart the knowledge of his power to her, lest she should betray him. For a long time after his marriage his wife knew nothing of his power, but suspecting something strange in him from his repeated sudden absences and reappearances at his home, she set herself to watch him, and one morning as he left his hut she was surprised to see him suddenly mount into the air with a burden of rocks slung on his back. On seeing this she remembered the Wanyoro complaining that more of their people were killed by some means from above than by the spears of Nakivongi, and Delilah-like, loving her race and her people more than she loved her husband, she hastened to her people's camp, and communicated, to the surprise of the Wanyoro, what she had that day learned. To avenge themselves on Kibaga, the Wanyoro set archers in ambush on the summits of each lofty hill, with instructions to confine themselves to watching the air and listening for the brushing of his wings, and to shoot their arrows in the direction of the sound, whether anything was seen or not. By this means on a certain day, when Nakivongi marched to the battle, Kibaga was wounded to the death by an arrow, and upon the road large drops of blood were seen falling, and on coming to a tall tree the king detected a dead body entangled in its branches. When the tree was cut down, Nakivongi saw to his infinite sorrow that it was the body of his faithful flying warrior Kibaga."<sup>3</sup>

Another version of the same story is given by Ashe.<sup>4</sup> This is probably more accurate than the one recorded by Stanley, since Ashe was in Uganda for several years and spoke the language of the people. "Kibuka was a mighty warrior of old times, who lost his life fighting for the king in Ganda Kibuka killed multitudes of the people of Unyoro with his arrows, but subsequently married a woman of that nation, who, pitying the plight of her people,

betrayed the mystery of her warrior-husband, and warned them in the next engagement to aim their arrows at a black cloud, which they would see hanging over the battle-field, and that then they would kill Kibuka. In the next battle they did as she had directed them, and the corpse of Kibuka rolled before them, having fallen from the cloud, and Kibuka *living* ceased to trouble them; though from that day to the present his shade has inspired them with so much dread of vengeance, that no man of Unyoro will pass Embale, where Kibuka's temple stands; and when the reigning king wishes to send either wives or slaves to Kibuka's priest, care is taken that no Unyoro person shall be among them." A description is also given of the shrine of the warrior god and the rites associated with his worship.

These two versions have been embellished (presumably by the tellers and, therefore, probably with the authority of tribal tradition) from the two traditional accounts of Kibuka's death given by Sir Apolo Kagwa,<sup>5</sup> which are reproduced by Sir John Gray in his paper on Kibuka. In the simpler of Kagwa's versions, the wounded Kibuka fled from the Banyoro and took refuge in a *muvule* or *kirundu* tree, from which vantage point he shot at the Banyoro, without their being able to see him. Two days later a captive Munyoro girl came close to the tree, realized why the Banyoro had been discomfited and escaped to tell her men-folk. They were rallied by her discovery, returned to the attack and discharged their arrows into the tree, with the result that they killed Kibuka, but did not know whether they had succeeded in their mission as there was a mist at the time. This is the simplest and, therefore, probably the original story, to which the supernatural adornments have been added as the legend has been repeated over the years. Sir John Gray is of this opinion and suggests that "the association of the dead hero's name with the verb *ku-buka* (meaning 'to fly') may well account for subsequent embellishments of that tale." The second version is much closer to that recorded by Ashe, except that in this (as in the simpler form described above) there is no explicit statement that the Munyoro girl used her position as Kibuka's lover to obtain the information which led to his death.

The legend recorded by Father Le Veux in 1882<sup>6</sup> also follows the Ashe version, but stress is laid on the headstrong determination shown by Kibuka in visiting and releasing the beautiful captive from the stocks, despite the remonstrances of his comrades, who had been warned that their leader must not look upon a Munyoro woman.

Across the lake in Kenya, the Wanga around Mumias have a story, which has more in common with the one recorded by Ashe than with Stanley's earlier version. The following is a paraphrase of the legend told in 1953 by the Appeal Court President, Mulama, who was a senior member of the Wanga reigning dynasty. "During the reign of Mukholi, the Nandi, who were always enemies of the Bawanga, were at war with them; several indecisive battles had been fought so Mukholi sent for help to Were, the god of the lake and the fishermen. Were made several pronouncements on the matter and among them was one that Wambatsa, his brother, whom he was sending to help the king, should avoid having any dealings with Nandi women, and one that he should avoid letting the enemy know where he was stationed in the

battle. Wambatsa flew up in a cloud and shot down arrows and spears, while the Bawanga attacked from the front, so that the Nandi were forced to retire. Wambatsa's fancy was taken by one of the women prisoners who was sent to his hut, with the result that after a while she discovered where her lover was stationed in the fight. She escaped and told her people, who on the following day sent volleys of arrows into the black cloud. Wambatsa was killed and after him the king and many Bawanga." When reading Mulama's elaborate and somewhat formalized account of Wanga history and institutions, it is difficult not to query how much is reliable and how much has been copied from the Baganda. The fact that the Wambatsa and Kibuka stories are so similar might, however, be an indication that both tribes derived their folk lore and organization from a common source.

Further east, the Luo and Abaluhiya versions are concerned also with attacks from the Nandi, to which both tribes were persistently subjected. In these legends, a hero arises who rallies the tribal warriors and encompasses the defeat of their enemies in battle. In the Luo story the hero is Luanda Magere—Luanda, the Stone—who was invincible in battle because he was immune against the spear thrusts of the Nandi. Realizing they were confronted with the supernatural, the Nandi took counsel among themselves and chose a beautiful virgin, who was sent to Luanda to become his wife and to discover the secret of his invulnerability.<sup>7</sup> After she had discovered that his strength lay in his shadow, she communicated this discovery to her people and, shortly afterwards, Luanda was killed in battle when a Nandi speared the hero's shadow. Luanda was turned into a stone, which is situated on the Kano plain and bears his name. In the Abaluhiya versions, the story is the same except that it is a warrior of that tribe who is betrayed by his Nandi wife. In this case, the hero might be connected with Luanda, the market near Maseno, on the border between the Nilotic and Bantu tribes.<sup>8</sup>

Two variants sometimes occur in the Luo story. Some narrators describe how, when Luanda was attacked by spears, these passed through his flesh which then closed up again, or rebounded from his body as from a stone. In other versions the discovery of Luanda's secret is described in the following manner: the warrior was sick unto death so that even bleeding was of no avail; in desperation he commanded his Nandi wife to bleed his shadow; as she was reluctant to do so, Luanda told her that therein lay his strength; she then obeyed him by piercing the shadow thrown on the wall by the sick man's fire. In this manner Luanda regained his strength but lost his secret.

The theme is found among both Bantu and Nilotic tribes, with the Nilo-Hamitic Nandi playing an important part in some versions, so that it would seem that geography plays a more significant part in the distribution of the story than do tribal affinities. A factor common to all the legends is that the hero is a man of the weaker tribe, who leads his people successfully against a more powerful neighbour and, in this way, gives the morale of his tribe a shortlived but much needed encouragement. That such was the result is evidenced by the persistence of the epic and, to some extent, by the fact that the memory of the warrior leader is preserved in a permanent form, for example in the worship of Kibuka and the stone of Luanda. Unfortunately

there is no lacustrine Delilah, as in none of the versions is the name of the woman recorded. She plays her part in the story and then disappears from the scene once her purpose has been fulfilled. The Luanda tale differs from all the others in one important respect: the initiative is taken by the tribe which has suffered from the warrior's prowess. The Nandi select a virgin to inveigle the secret from Luanda, whereas in the other versions the girl is a chance captive whose charms seduce the victorious warrior. There is also much less play on the supernatural trappings in the Luanda story, so that it is possible that this version is of comparatively recent origin. There has been insufficient time for the miraculous incidents, so beloved by the African story-teller, to become part of a legend which, in its present form, has nothing of the extraordinary about it to the African mind, which readily accepts the connection between a person's shadow and his soul.

It would be interesting to learn whether the stories are known to the dominant tribes, who were temporarily discomfited by the hero's supernatural powers, or whether the narrative was as unpopular with the Banyoro and Nandi as the story of Samson must have been to the Philistines.<sup>9</sup> It would also be interesting to find out whether the theme is found among other people of the Nyanza basin, and especially among some of the more recent immigrants into the area.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. A. Southall for encouragement and help in the preparation of this note.

<sup>2</sup> In particular Sir John Gray's article 'Kibuka' in *Uganda J.*, 20 (1956), 52-71, which also has biographical references.

<sup>3</sup> Stanley, H. M. *Through the Dark Continent*, 6th ed., 1887, pp. 221-2.

<sup>4</sup> Ashe, R. P. *Chronicles of Uganda*, 1894, pp. 96-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ekitabo kye Bika bya Baganda*, Kampala, 1949, pp. 68-9.

<sup>6</sup> *Manual de langue luganda*, Maison-Carrée (Alger) 3rd ed., 1914, p. 331.

<sup>7</sup> Samson wanted to take a wife from among the uncircumcised Philistines (Judges xiv. 2); whereas the uncircumcised Luo took as wife the circumcised Nandi virgin.

<sup>8</sup> For an excellent imaginative account of the Luanda story, see *Kenya Weekly News*, 6 March 1959, 'African Samson' by Humphrey Harman, to whom I am also indebted for some of the other ideas in this note.

<sup>9</sup> I have been unable to find any Nandi elder who will admit to any knowledge of either the Wambatsa or Luanda legends.

## SPEKE AND STANLEY AT THE COURT OF MUTESA

By THE REV. F. B. WELBOURN

The following account, dated 12 January 1934 and signed by Isaya Kasakya (a favourite page of Kabaka Mutesa I), is among the papers of the late Ezera Kabali (Omuwanika of Buganda, 1925-28), to which I have had access through the kindness of his son and heir Mr. S. K. Masembe-Kabali. It is addressed to H.H. the Kabaka, Daudi Chwa, ruler of all Kings, and is in old Luganda, in the translation of which I have been assisted by Mr. Paul Mugambi.

Isaya's dating is somewhat telescoped.

My Lord and Husband,<sup>1</sup> I relate to you what took place when we were with my master Kabaka Mutesa Walugembe Mukabya at Banda. One day a white man

arrived and we were all astonished at the miracle, for the eyes of Baganda had never before seen such a person. But more surprising still was to see the Kabaka decide neither to kill the European nor to send him away but to treat him as a friend whom he had known for long.

The Kabaka said, "Who are you?"

"I am Speke," answered the European.

Then all the chiefs and officials and priests<sup>2</sup> came and said, "Lord, let us kill this prodigy."

"No! I will not kill my friend," answered the Kabaka. So they went to Lusaka and told Namasole,<sup>3</sup> "We have asked the Kabaka to kill the European and he has refused." Namasole came to Mutesa and said, "The chiefs have asked you to kill the European. Why have you refused, my son?"

"I will not kill my friend because I have already welcomed him. I will not kill him."

After a time Speke decided to go home to Europe. When he had gone the Kabaka saw his own slaves, Kirumba and Kujagata, wearing clothes and asked, "Where did you get those clothes? Probably you stole them from my friend." He ordered them to be killed together with five hundred others; and this slaughter was called *Njala evumbuka*.<sup>4</sup>

Then the Kabaka left Banda and went to Nakawa, where he heard that another European was coming from Buddu. The Kabaka was overjoyed and said, "My friend Speke is coming because I asked him to come back soon." It was not Speke but an Arab called Amisi.<sup>5</sup> Still, when he came, Mutesa liked him as he had liked the European. Amisi fought in the battle against Busagala, where Magunda was killed. Then he decided to return home. The Kabaka asked him, "My friend, do you live near the Europeans?"

"Yes," said Amisi, "but there is a sea between us and them."

"Will you bring them here?" asked Mutesa.

Amisi agreed to do so and the Kabaka made him many gifts—cattle, goats, ivory and bark-cloth. Then the Kabaka went to Nabulagala, which is now called Kasubi. Here Amisi returned. The Kabaka was very pleased and asked, "Have you brought my friends?"

"I did not get to their land," answered Amisi. "I reached Bunyanyembe, which is called Tabora. But when I go back I will bring them with me, Sir." Shortly afterward Amisi left with many more gifts than he had received before. After a short time the Kabaka sent about four hundred men, including me, saying, "Go to Amisi and he will take you to my friends the Europeans, whom I would like you to bring back here." We met some people called *Abasombwa*<sup>6</sup> and found that they had killed Amisi. They told us that there was a white man in the valley ahead of us. We put on our best clothes and, when we reached the place, we asked the Arabs who were there, "Who is this?" They answered that he was a European who was very pleased to see us.<sup>7</sup>

He asked, "Who are you?"

We told him that we were Baganda.

"I would like to meet Baganda. During all my travels I have met no people who dress as you do," said the European. "Let me collect my things and come."

We told him our country was in the east. Before we left he gave Mukasa, our leader, a gun. After four days' journey the people who had killed Amisi attacked us and about seventy of us were killed.

Although we had left Mutesa at Kasubi, when we had nearly reached home he sent us a message from Rubaga, where he had moved, telling us to stop the night

at Natete. Next day, when we reached the palace, he sent a message telling us to remain seated at the main entrance till the evening, when he would meet us. He sent food for us to eat. When he came in the evening he said that he would just have a look at us. But next day in Bulange,<sup>8</sup> to which he summoned us, he asked, "My children, did you meet the Europeans?" We answered, "We saw them. But we found Amisi had been killed by the *Abasombwa*. The European was at Tabora. He has gone to collect his things and then come. His name is Stanley."

The Kabaka was very pleased and gave us one hundred and fifty cattle to eat. [There would here be an interval of about four years, 1871 to 1875.—F.B.W.] After two months we went to Busabala, where Stanley met us and came with us to Rubaga. He was very well received by Mutesa, who took him round Rubaga and the whole *Kibuga*.<sup>9</sup> Stanley said, "I have met no other country, people or kingdom like yours." Before he left he fought with us at Nakalanga.<sup>10</sup> The Kabaka asked him to return with teachers. He was escorted by Sembuzi and Sabadu Kapalaga who reported, when they returned, that they had not reached the home of the Europeans. So Sembuzi was at once deported.

After a long time the Kabaka called his chiefs and said, "I want to send you to Europe"; and they agreed. When they returned they reported that the Europeans were coming. Mackay and Mapera<sup>11</sup> arrived while we were at Kasubi. Mapera lived with Gabunga,<sup>12</sup> while Mackay lived at Natete. The Kabaka liked them very much, especially Mackay, and said, "I sent for you because I wanted you to become of one clan with me, teaching us to read the religion of God." The European was very happy to hear that. It was Mackay who conducted the burial service of Princess Nakakabya and of Namasole; and when the Kabaka became ill he asked that Mackay should bury him when he died. In his will the Kabaka declared that no one should maltreat Europeans because they are our brothers. You have seen, Sir, Daudi Chwa, how Mutesa showed much liberality and kindness to Europeans whom he did not know and whom, being Kabaka, he could have killed. To this day, we walk in the benefits which they have brought.

But, Sir, I would ask you to watch what the Europeans are now doing to this tribe which showed such kindness. These young Europeans say that we have been conquered. But it was only God's grace which redeemed the situation. Had they attacked us, what would have happened. They do not remember the offspring of Mutesa their beloved.

#### INDEX OF PLACES

- Banda: a hill 5 miles east of Kampala.  
 Busabala: on the shore of Lake Victoria, 10 miles from Kampala and close to Kazi, the site of the present Girl Guide camp.  
 Busagala: equates with Ankole.  
 Kasubi: the centre of the *Kibuga* described by Gutkind (*Uganda J.*, 24 (1960)). Now the site of the tombs of Bakabaka Mutesa I, Mwanga and Daudi Cwa.  
 Lusaka: site of the present official palace of Namasole, near Kampala.  
 Nakalanga: on the shores of Lake Victoria, opposite Buvuma Islands.  
 Nakawa: 2 miles east of Kampala.  
 Natete: 3 miles from Kampala. Site of the first C.M.S. settlement.  
 Rubaga: near Kampala. Abandoned as his *kibuga* by Mwanga: is now the site of the White Father's Cathedral.  
 Tabora: Tanganyika. Junction of the routes from Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika.

#### REFERENCES

- 1 *Baze wange*: a common form of address to the Kabaka.
- 2 *balubale*: literally, 'gods'.
- 3 Queen Mother.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'Hunger is found'.

<sup>5</sup> Amisi is the "noble youth of Muscat", Khamis bin Abdulla (*U.J.* (1947), 86, 111). Stanley speaks of his handsome bearing and liberality which had attracted Mutesa to accept Islam and Arab ways. Apolo Kagwa (*Basekabaka*, 1st ed., pp. 140-1) records that he was with Mutesa at Nakawa between Ramadan 1867 and Ramadan 1868 and then purchased very many slaves. At the latter time Mutesa made war on Busagala, during which Senkoloto Magunda was killed. It seems that Amisi accompanied Mutesa's army, and later returned on a second visit to Buganda.

Stanley (*How I found Livingstone*) first met him—"the noblest among the Arab population . . . in courage and manly worth"—at Unyanyembe in June 1871. But two months later he was killed during an attack by Mirambo on the Arab settlements at Tabora. Stanley and Livingstone did not meet until 10 November following.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably *Wasumbwa*, now a sub-tribe of the Wanyamwezi, living near Tabora. W. H. Whiteley and A. E. Gutkind, *A Linguistic Bibliography of East Africa*, East African Swahili Committee, 1957.

<sup>7</sup> H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Sampson Low, 1878, vol. i, p. 150, wrote of his journey through Usukuma, "Mtesa of Uganda might prick up his ears . . . and hope (the white man) would soon visit him".

<sup>8</sup> The Council Chamber.

<sup>9</sup> The township surrounding the Kabaka's palace, described fully by P. C. W. Gutkind, *Uganda J.*, 24 (1960), 29-43.

<sup>10</sup> This campaign against the Bavuma islanders is described by Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-43. This was in September 1875.

<sup>11</sup> Mackay of the C.M.S. reached Buganda in November 1878 and Lourdel (Mapera) of the White Fathers Mission in February 1879.

<sup>12</sup> Commander of the Kabaka's canoes.

## REVIEWS

*NORTHWEST ETHIOPIA: PEOPLES AND ECONOMY.* By FREDERICK J. SIMOONS. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960. 250 pp., maps, photographs. \$5.00.

Associate Professor Simoons spent the year 1953-54 in Ethiopia collecting material and making observations, devoting eight months of the period to the Province of Begemder and Semyen which forms the subject of the book. His point of view is that of "the historically oriented cultural geographer", which in this case comes very close to the position of a social anthropologist with a special interest in material cultures. His observations have been supplemented and placed in perspective by extensive library work, the results of which appear in the text and in the footnotes with which the volume is liberally furnished. The two sources of information have been thoroughly integrated and since the author uses the anthropological present tense it is sometimes not easy, despite the meticulous references, to know whether conditions observed by, say, James Bruce in the late eighteenth century do or do not occur today.

The short sketch of the natural setting with which the book opens serves its introductory purpose, but one wonders a little wistfully whether from a professing geographer the account might not have been fuller and deeper. For the equally brief outline of the historical background Professor Simoons draws mainly upon the work of J. S. Trimingham. Whilst the succeeding chapter on the ethnic groups of the province gives a natural emphasis to the dominant, Semitic-speaking Amhara, there is also a careful treatment of the various minority groups: the Jabartis (native Moslems), the Falasha (Black Jews), the Agow-groups (remainders of the Hamitic-speaking folk) and the negro Gumis of the Sudan border country. Settlement forms and house types are briefly considered.

The three principal chapters of the book are those on agriculture, cultivated plants and animal husbandry, in the treatment of which the position of Ethiopia on the margins of the North African and Middle Eastern world as contrasted with the negro world of Tropical and South Africa emerges as a rightly inevitable theme. Consideration is given to the Ethiopian area as one of plant diversity in which a number of crops are believed to have been first brought under cultivation. Attention is devoted, too, to the almost exclusive concern of the Amhara farmers with the cultivation of cereals and pulses as opposed to root crops, green vegetables and fruit trees. The emphasis in the north-west is thus on techniques of seed reproduction and broadcast sowing, although quite different planting techniques and the crops which go with them are to be found in the south-west and the south-east of Ethiopia. It is suggested that the cultural attitudes of the Amhara may have resulted in the neglect of environmental opportunities in the north-west; but it is especially in relation to this view that there would seem to be need for a closer study

of the environment itself. In any case, it should be added that whilst no one staple can of itself provide a satisfactory food, the average grain or pulse is decidedly more nutritious than the banana-like *ensete* of which only the stem is eaten. The much-prized cattle of the Amhara in northern Ethiopia are of the shorthorned zebu type in contrast with the longhorned cattle of the Galla; and there seems to be no well-defined sexual division of labour in the task of milking them.

The remaining chapters of the book are short. They cover such topics as fishing, hunting and gathering activities; food, cooking and nutrition; crafts and industries; markets and trading; and the effect of man's activities on vegetation and soil. The information on markets and trading is especially illuminating. "It is not surprising that Ethiopia has remained backward and poor when one examines the hindrances to what elsewhere is considered normal trade." (p. 195.) Nowadays there are well developed regional and local markets but modern commerce labours under almost impossible difficulties of communication and transport.

A book which could not be included in the ample list of references cited is E. Ullendorf's *The Ethiopians: an introduction to country and people*, published in 1960 by the Oxford University Press. Readers of the *Journal* may like to be aware of this excellent account, complementary to that of Professor Simoons in that it deals with the country as a whole and lays its stress on the non-material aspects of culture.

S. J. K. BAKER.

*KENYA DIARY 1902-1906*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957. viii + 365 pp. 30s.  
*MIDDLE EAST DIARY 1917-1956*. London: Cresset Press, 1959. xi + 376 pp. 35s.  
*ARMY DIARY 1899-1926*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960. viii + 301 pp. 35s.

By R. MEINERTZHAGEN.

Colonel Meinertzhagen is now probably best known as an ornithologist—an amateur in the very best sense of the word. But, since he retired from the Army as long ago as 1926, it is often overlooked that he was for 27 years a highly proficient professional soldier and that, as an intelligence and political officer, he was for much of that time very close indeed to the mainsprings of action.

He confesses to an early addiction to keeping a diary which now runs to some 70 volumes. From these have been filtered the three which are noted above. *Army Diary* spans the whole of his service career with the exception of the few years which are dealt with particularly in *Kenya Diary*. Both these have special interest for East Africa.

*Kenya Diary 1902-1906* records the glad confident reactions of a young subaltern of the King's African Rifles to the colourful personalities who moulded Kenya in those formative years and their environment, and to the fabulous big-game shooting then so readily obtainable. The author describes his part in the unhappy affair of 19 October 1905 in which the Nandi Laibon was shot. That he acted in good faith as he saw the situation is not open to question. Whether his diagnosis of that situation was accurate is not now susceptible to objective enquiry.

But it could be a light-hearted age. In January 1906 the Nandi Campaign was suspended *in mediis rebus* while Headquarters adjourned to attend Nairobi Races. Hereafter *Army Diary* takes over.

From Kenya he returned to regimental duty in South Africa, India and elsewhere; and he succeeded, where so many of his contemporaries failed, in keeping himself alert in those enervating years preceding World War I which marked the end of an era.

Typical of that age is the story of his arrival for garrison duty in an outpost of empire (not Uganda!) to be faced by a momentous problem—whether to adhere to the party of “the stupid little minx” who, as the bachelor Governor’s niece, reigned at Government House, or to enlist under that “perfect hell-cat of a woman”, the lady of the Officer Commanding Troops. Such ‘goings-on’ may evoke memories for some of our older readers; but are of course unthinkable in these enlightened days.

In November 1914 Meinertzhagen came from India as intelligence officer with General Aitken’s expeditionary force for the attack on Tanga; and for the next two years he was in a key position to watch the unfolding of the campaign against German East Africa. His observations on these years are perhaps the most important part of his *Army Diary*.

No such devastating account of the Tanga fiasco has hitherto appeared. He notes the exclusiveness of the Navy and the deliberate unhelpfulness of the East Africa Protectorate Government—to the unqualified co-operation of Sir Frederick Jackson in Uganda he pays a tribute. Both the Indian Army and later the South Africans on entering the campaign scorned the potentialities of well-led African troops. An ever-mounting sick-roll at last compelled them to compromise with their prejudices. The only substantial element of this vast war machine ultimately to gain credit from the campaign was the King’s African Rifles, whose qualities the author had learned to appreciate when he soldiered with them ten years before.

The South Africans under General Smuts proved doughty fighters when surroundings were familiar to them. But the overshadowing political consideration by which South African strategy was swayed is glaringly exposed. There must be nothing which could be stigmatized as a ‘blood-bath’ by political opponents. So battle casualties were at all costs to be avoided in favour of a war of manoeuvre, thus giving the Germans opportunities of extricating their forces which they deftly seized. Time after time, at a critical moment, an encircling movement was suspended which if pressed home at some immediate cost, would have ended the campaign and so saved untold sickness and cost.

So the War in East Africa dragged on. Britain is said always to win the last battle. In G.E.A. there was no last battle; at the Armistice the German general, von Lettow, with an incomparably tough and disciplined body of troops, was still safari-ing around southern Africa.

The official *History of the Great War: Military Operations East Africa*, vol. i, August 1914—September 1916 (H.M.S.O. 1941; vol. ii, has never been published) presents the story of these two years with judicious detachment. Meinertzhagen now rolls back the carpet, and in an uninhibited day-by-day

record exposes the appalling inefficiency and confusion, the pomposity and pettiness, and the inter-service jealousies which underlay the prosecution of this most costly and futile campaign. The background of the Crimean War has recently been told in *The Reason Why* (1953); here is much of the 'reason why' of the German East Africa Campaign.

*Middle East Diary 1917-1956*, equally frank and forceful, recounts long association with Palestine from the earliest days of the Mandate and with the Zionist movement which came to fruition in the State of Israel. During these years the author encountered nearly everyone of note, and his thumbnail sketches of such as Lloyd George, Hitler and T. E. Lawrence are pungent and illuminating. But this calls for no further notice here.

There uncensored impressions of a shrewd and competent commentator are immensely readable, and, though not everyone will accept all his opinions, hold lessons which could still be of value to those who, from high places, direct affairs. They can be cordially recommended for bed-side reading—far more gripping and provocative than *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and with none of the wearisome longueurs of that over-rated book.

H. B. THOMAS.

*EAST AFRICAN REBELS* A Study of Some Independent Churches. By F. B. WELBOURN. London: S.C.M. Press, 1961. xiv+258 pp. 21s.

There are in South Africa today about one thousand independent churches. These represent part of the indigenous African's response to the political and social tensions which pervade his life, and particularly in South Africa where religion is one of the few directions in which he has a measure of freedom to express his individuality.

These churches while exhibiting the widest diversity of constitution and of, often extravagant, practice have this in common, that they recognize the headship of Christ. That even the weakest desires to retain a claim to membership of the Universal Church, rather than to adopt paganism, is indeed remarkable.

A classic study of this aspect of South African life has been published in *Bantu Prophets* (2nd ed. 1961) by Dr. Sundkler, the Swedish theologian who has recently been appointed Lutheran bishop of the Haya Church in Bukoba, Tanganyika.

In East Africa similar tensions, if in differing degree, are producing the same trends towards independence, though here tribal familiarity with traditional authority does something to check, particularly in Uganda, the seemingly limitless fragmentation which is a feature in South Africa.

This is the situation which Mr. Welbourn examines and it may be said at once that he has produced a penetrating, and at times profoundly moving, analysis of the underlying causes which lead the individual to part company with the Christian missionary-founded church in which he has been reared.

He has not attempted to catalogue every small splinter group—the schisms in Kavirondo are not, for instance, touched on. Instead he has undertaken 'field' studies (and it is of interest that in East Africa independence has found a more fertile soil in rural than in urban surroundings) of certain distinctive movements, three in Uganda and one in Kikuyu. From the data thus accumu-

lated he has summed up with sympathetic understanding and a complete absence of condescension; and in a final chapter 'The Missionary Culture and the African Response' he outlines his conclusions.

In Uganda the story centres upon three dominant, but very different, figures, each of whom rebelled against one particular aspect of the Christian environment in which he or she had grown up, and here the author is filling in more of the background for J. V. Taylor's masterly *The Growth of the Church in Buganda* (1958). Joswa Kate Mugema, founder of the Society of the One Almighty God, the Bamalaki, protested against the use of medicine. Mabel Ensor, the creator of the Mengo Gospel Church, rebelled against convention which was, she held, debasing the witness of the Church. Reuben Spartas made his stand against paternalism. His is in many ways the most interesting story of all; for his struggles led him to the formation of the African Greek Orthodox Church. And it is remarkable that just as the Anglican Church in Uganda gains full independence, the A.G.O.C. which started with the cry of 'Africa for the Africans' should come under the authority of a Greek Metropolitan. According to a recent announcement the University of Salonika is setting up an institute for Afro-Asian studies in which to train Greek Orthodox missionary priests for service in Uganda and elsewhere.

Kikuyu presents a different and more confusing picture. In the absence of one dominating personality there is here a tendency towards fission. Tensions, largely politically inspired, are more acute, and problems such as land, labour, independent schools and female circumcision are to the fore. Some elements, unable to obtain recognition from the established mission churches have formed an association, independently from Uganda, with Greek Orthodoxy. Whether the new nationalism in Kenya will be Christian may well be in the balance.

Both in Kenya and Uganda the author has taken immense pains, by interviews with leaders and by a study of vernacular documents, to arrive at a true picture. His biographical sketches of a number of those concerned, etched in as they are with intimate personal touches, make fascinating reading. Very full notes add to the value of the whole.

These studies evoke a host of problems in the solution of which missionary statesmanship of a high order and Christian charity will be essential—and without the latter the future will indeed be gloomy. The status of baptism, polygamy, the validity of orders, 'revivalism', the blending of hierarchical and presbyteral church government, intercommunion, the relations between 'established' churches and independency, all come to mind.

World politicians pre-occupied with problems of world government and mass welfare may overlook the fact that spiritual fulfilment—the individual's passionate longing to sustain his human dignity in a place where he can 'feel at home'—is indispensable, in Africa as elsewhere, to the building up of the 'whole man'. Here is a thought-provoking book which throws a searching light upon East Africa's inmost needs.

H. B. THOMAS.

## SOCIETY NEWS

The development and extension of the Library has been one of the main concerns of the Committee during the year, and many new books were acquired. A Suggestion Book is now available for the use of members.

The following lectures were given during the year 1960:

- 16 March Presidential Address: 'On Chastity in Africa' by Dr. A. W. Southall, following the opening of the Society's new premises by His Excellency Sir Frederick Crawford, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.
- 19 April 'Tax Avoidance' by Mr. Milton Grundy.
- 4 May 'Dramatic Art Today' by Mr. Chandravaden Mehta.
- 21 September 'Ruwenzori—Climbing and General History' by Mr. D. Pasteur.
- 5 October 'Recent Geological Discoveries on Ruwenzori' by Mr. F. P. Henderson.
- 12 October 'Aspects of Parliament' by Mr. D. Pring (in co-operation with the Extra-Mural Department, Makerere College).
- 19 October 'Natural History of the Ruwenzori' by Mr. H. Osmaston.
- 26 October 'African Origins—Stone Age Forbears' by Dr. M. Posnansky.
- 9 November 'African Origins—Bantu Genesis' by Dr. M. Posnansky.
- 23 November 'African Origins—The Emergent Kingdoms' by Dr. M. Posnansky.
- 15 December 'Peat, Pollen and Prehistory' by Dr. M. E. S. Morrison.

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For some time the Committee has been studying current arrangements for the publication of the Journal. A particular concern has been the delay in the distribution of each issue which is largely a consequence of printing and publication in England while the Editorship and a majority of members are in Uganda. As an instance as much as two months may elapse between the despatch by sea mail from England of copies of the Journal, and their delivery to subscribers in Uganda.

The recent installation of additional machinery at the Government Press, Entebbe, led the Committee to approach the Government with a suggestion that the printing of the Journal might, as in the past, be undertaken in Uganda. The Government, demonstrating once again its unfailing interest for the Society and its activities, readily acceded to this suggestion, and with the cordial goodwill of the Government Printer this new arrangement will come into effect with the issue of March 1962.

This then is the last number of the Journal to be printed by Messrs. Headley Brothers Ltd., of Ashford, Kent. The termination of a long and happy association extending over fifteen years cannot be allowed to pass without a tribute

to their unfailing courtesy and the technical excellence of the finished Journals—some thirty in number with at least two major supplements—which have come from their press. Particularly will many of those members who have from time to time taken their part in the editorial work of the Journal recall with gratitude the painstaking forbearance and understanding with which difficult and all too often untidy copy has been handled. Our English printers have provided a pattern of execution and service which should stand the Journal in good stead.

### NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

*J. H. M. Beattie*, for some years in the Tanganyika Administration, carried out from 1951 to 1957 field work in Bunyoro as a Scarborough Student. Since then he has been lecturer on Social Anthropology at Oxford. Is author of *Bunyoro, an African Kingdom*, and various articles.

*The Rev. Fr. J. P. Crazzolaro, F.S.C.J.*, is a member of the Verona Fathers Mission. He came to Uganda in 1910 and is now working in the diocese of Arua. The author of *A Study of the Acoli Language*, a *Lugbara Grammar*, *The Lwoo* and many articles. He is at present studying the Kebo language.

*O. W. Furley*, lecturer in History at Makerere 1956-1960 and now at the University College of the West Indies. Has published articles both on English political history and on aspects of the history of East Africa.

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